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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. I

^fINSCRIPTIONS ³OF ASOKA

By

Hultzsch

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NEW EDITION

BY

E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

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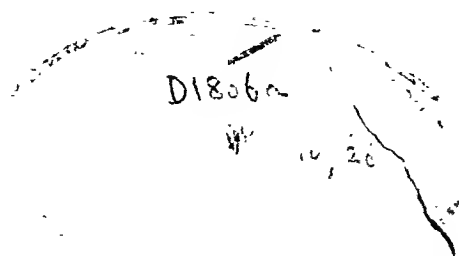


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PREFACE

THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archæological Survey Department under orders of Sir John MARSHALL. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. KRISHNA SASTRI. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr. Carl PLETTNER. With the exception of the two Shāhbāzgarhī edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharōshthī versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel STEIN's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr. J. F. FLEET. To the late Professor Arthur VENIS I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Gīrnār and Kālsī versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert SEWELL and Professor Th. ZACHARIAE.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE,
October, 1922.

*Printed for the Govt. of India
at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1925*

POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. PLETTNER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshthī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

HALLE,
January, 1924.

E. H.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AJP = American Journal of Philology.
ASSI = Archæological Survey of Southern India.
ASWI = Archæological Survey of Western India.
BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).
CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.
EI = Epigraphia Indica.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Grammatik = Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen (Pischel).
IA = Indian Antiquary.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Ind. Alt. = Indische Alterthumskunde (Lassen).
Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).
JA = Journal Asiatique.
Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).
Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
Skt. = Sanskrit.
SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

THE above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known 'fourteen edicts', and (2) the two 'separate edicts' which the Dhauli and Jaugada versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1).

This famous set of Aśoka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of **Junāgaṛh**, the capital of the Junāgaṛh State in the Kāṭhīāvār Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred **Girnār**' mountain.¹ The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base.'² The boulder bears, beside Aśoka's edicts, two other valuable documents: An inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa* **Rudradāman** records the restoration of the lake **Sudarśana**, which had been 'originally constructed by the *Vaiśya* **Pushyagupta**, the provincial governor (*rāshṭriya*) of the **Maurya** king **Chandragupta**, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the **Yavana** king **Tushāspa** for Aśoka the **Maurya**.'³ Among local names it mentions **Girinagara**, i. e. the town of Junāgaṛh or its ancient representative, and **Ūrjayat**, i. e. the mountain now called Girnār.⁴ The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the **Gupta** king **Skandagupta** and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A. D. 456-7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Parṇadatta who was governor of **Surāshṭra**.⁵

The Aśoka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in JRAS, 12. 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII; and

¹ ASWI, 2. 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Girnār in JASB, vol. 7, plate 54.

² ASWI, 2. 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

³ Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

⁴ EI, 8. 42. The later (Prākṛit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṃgraha*, III, 279, and his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, 97; ASWI, 2. 154 ff., and 8. 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Index. Another name of the Girnār mountain is Raivata or Raivatāka. See e.g. Hēmachandra's two *Kōśas*, loc. cit.; Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, IV, 1; GN, 1921. 41.

⁵ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 57 f.

edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Girnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.¹ Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgarh to Girnār.² At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet and, with it, of the Girnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.³ His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay.⁴ Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,⁵ and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.⁶ These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Girnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Girnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*), E. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (*Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Açoka den Buddhist*; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Girnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5. 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Girnār edicts is included in Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Girnār rock *in situ*. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften* (ZDMG, vols. 37-48), and the full text of the Girnār version in EI, 2. 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Girnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junāgarh Museum.⁷ Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī alphabet of the Girnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Girnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial *ā*, at the top of *a*, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter *r* is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Girnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

¹ ASWI, 2. 95.

² JASB, 7 (1838). 219 ff.

³ Id., p. 871 ff.

⁴ They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.

⁵ Cf. JASB, 7. 874.

⁶ Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.

⁷ JBBRAS, 1. 257 f., and 2. 410.

II. ✓ THE KĀLSĪ ROCK (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near **Kālsī**, a town in the Chakrātā tahsil of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an **elephant** is traced in outline.'

'When first found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'¹

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Bühler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43. 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol. 39. In EI, 2. 447 ff., Bühler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī alphabet exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter *kh* has a loop at the bottom; see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of *j* (id., No. 15, column III) and of *s* (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters *ś* and *śh* are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,² and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33-36, 39) the punctuation mark 1, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maski rock-inscriptions.

✓ III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK (Text, p. 50).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brāhmī, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Bühler restored the indigenous name **Kharōshthī**. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.³ A number

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.

² Also once in each of the Bairāt, Maski, and Siddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

³ JASB, 23. 714; *Ind. Pal.*, § 6.

of Kharōshthī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was discovered.

Shāhbāzgarhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the head-quarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagarhī.¹ It 'is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgarhī.'² The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M. (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharōshthī inscription near Shāhbāzgarhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.³ His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word *Devanampiyasa*. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846). 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Girnār inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 f.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāhbāzgarhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12. 153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10. 107) and of edict VIII (JBBRAS, 15. 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI *in situ* (JA (8), 11. 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1. 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43. 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2. 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1. 16).

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK (Text, p. 71).

Like the Shāhbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the **Kharōshthī** alphabet. **Mānsehrā** is the head-quarters of a tahsil in the Hazāra district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 8.

² Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, plate 3.

³ JRAS, 8. 293 ff.

the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,¹ and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archaeological Survey.²

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), II (1888). 511 ff.) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12. 319 ff.). Bühler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43. 273 ff., and 44. 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2. 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

V. THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p. 84).

Dhauli is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Purī district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēśvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama'.³ It 'is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.'

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The *Aswastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an **elephant**, four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'⁴

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Girnār edicts (JASB, 7. 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Girnār version, but compensates for them by **two separate edicts** (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV,⁵ and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham⁶ showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict': the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugada rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

¹ JA (8), II. 508.

² ZDMG, 44. 702.

³ Can this name be due to a misreading of the word *gajātame* (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālsī rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

⁴ JASB, 7 (1838). 435-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

⁵ The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 16, 20.

Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved *after* No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (JRAS, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them¹ was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauli version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (ZDMG, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (ASSI, 1. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64-66).

VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at **Jaugaḍa**, a ruined fort in the Berhampur tāluka of the Ganjām district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjām town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'²

'The Jaugaḍa inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauli.'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśoka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'³

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśoka's edicts, which had already been found at Shāhbāzgarhī, Gīrnār, and Dhauli.'⁴

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The **two separate edicts** of Jaugaḍa were edited with those of Dhauli by Professor Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.⁵ Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (id., 41. 1 ff.). His

¹ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 105 ff., and IA, 19. 82 ff.

² Mr. W. F. Grahame in IA, 1 (1872). 219.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f. In JPASB, 17. 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *o*'s, and the *m* as the final letter of the sacred syllable *ōm*.

⁴ Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugaḍa inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 4.

⁵ For references see above, under Dhauli.

second edition of the whole Jaugada version (ASSI, I. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67-69).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT (Text, p. 118).

Sōpārā is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the **eighth rock-edict** of Aśōka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sōpārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.'¹

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the **Bombay Asiatic Society**.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśōka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough.'² It used to be known by the names of 'Bhīma-sēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Fīrōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwālik pillar'. Shams-i Sirāj, a historian of **Fīrōz Shāh** (A.D. 1351-88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills';³ that Sultan Fīrōz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Fīrōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety *kōs* from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Fīrōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 14. 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present **Tōprā**, on the direct line between Ambālā and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (*kōṭlā*) of Fīrōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern **Delhi**.⁴ An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

¹ JBBRAS, 15. 282.

² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 35.

³ Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 350.

⁴ See a note by Lieutenant Kittoe, JASB, 6. 796 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears **seven edicts** of Aśōka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Aśōka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,¹ the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chāhamāna **Viśaladēva** of Śākambarī, son of Ānalladēva (EI, 9. 67, n. 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19. 215 ff.).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Aśōka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the *Researches*² seem to have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions.—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!' (id., p. 567).³

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brāhmī alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words:

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,⁴ I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, दानं. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajās* or flag-staffs, images, and small *chaityas* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter ञ, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurāshṭra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *ssa* of the Pāli, or *sya* of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel *ā* and Anusvāra led to the speedy recognition of the word *dānam* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 167, and 5. 143 f.

² See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 6–10.

³ Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, I. 379.

⁴ 'Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.'

alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column' (id., p. 460 f.).

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 1 ff.) were based on Cunningham's eye-copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Bühler added transcripts in the Nāgarī character (IA, 13. 306 ff.), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Bühler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2. 245 ff.).

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137).

This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern Delhi.¹ Like the Delhi-Tōprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Fīrōz Shāh. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of Mīraṭh, now a town and the head-quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Fīrōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikār or 'Hunting-Palace',² which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.³

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribblings,⁴ a more or less damaged version of the first five edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.⁵

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was' sawn off⁶ and 'sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'⁷

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mīraṭh pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Bühler (p. 122 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the sixth edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mīraṭh pillar.

¹ The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

² Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 353.

³ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 168.

⁴ Id., 5. 144.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 167.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

III and IV. THE LAURIYA-ARARAJ AND LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLARS
(Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Both pillars bear the first **six edicts**, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.¹ Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are $2\frac{1}{2}$ and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauṛiyā-Ararāj and Lauṛiyā-Navandgaṛh pillars.² His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named **Lauṛiyā**, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kēsariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiyā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for *lingas* (Hindī *lauṛā*). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauṛiyā, Cunningham combined with the former **Ararāj**, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgaṛh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902. 153, note) added that 'Navandgaṛh' is a mistake for '**Nandangaṛh**'.

The Lauṛiyā-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone, $36\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height above the ground.'³ According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of **Garuḍa**.⁴

The Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.'

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a **lion** facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.'⁵

Besides the Aśōka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor **Aurangzib** and a few modern scribblings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma.⁶

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauṛiyā-Ararāj and Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr. Garrick's impressions.

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR (Text, p. 151).

Another copy of the first **six edicts** is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr. Carlleyle at **Rāmpurvā** in the Champāran district, $32\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Betiyā.⁷ The relative positions of Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh, and Rāmpurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 16.

¹ See JASB, 3 (1834). 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

² *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39 ff.

³ Id., p. 40.

⁴ *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65. 227.

⁵ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 72 f. For pictures of the pillar see id., plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

⁶ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 41.

⁷ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 22. 51.

'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.¹ The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.'²

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing **lion-capital**.³ The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauriyā pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.⁴

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at **Allahabad**. It 'is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.'⁵ 'Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'⁶

Habent sua fata columnae! The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records:

- (1) The original inscriptions of Aśoka, viz.:
 - (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar;
 - (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
 - (c) the so-called 'Kauśāmbī edict' (above b).
- (2) An inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta (below 1).
- (3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters.
- (4) An inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr.

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.⁷ 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the *gadā* or staff of Bhīmasēna' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśoka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal *ā*, *e*, and Anusvāra.

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 22, plate 7.

² Id., vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28.

³ JRAS, 1908. 1086, and plate I, fig. 1.

⁴ See *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1912-1913, p. 36.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 105.

⁷ See Lieutenant Kittoe's note in JASB, 4. 127.

Six months later he recognised the consonants *y*, *v*, *s* (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Aśoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar.¹

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion;² but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngīr in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'³

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, I. 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of **six edicts** (I, *a*), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngīr [4].'⁴ IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Bühler (p. 306 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

The **Queen's edict** (I, *b*) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,⁵ while the **Kauśāmbī edict** (I, *c*) was first noticed by Cunningham.⁶ Both were edited by Senart⁷ and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19. 122 ff.). The Kauśāmbī edict was re-edited by A.-M. Boyer.⁸

The Kauśāmbī edict is addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśoka at Kauśāmbī,⁹ which is the modern **Kōsam** on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.¹⁰ He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Fīrōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōprā and Mīrāth pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Fīrōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by **Akbar**.¹¹ This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Bīrbal¹² and of his son Jahāngīr are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of **Samudragupta** (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1; it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (*ayam uchchhritaḥ stambhaḥ*, l. 30).

¹ JASB, 6 (1837). 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.

² Cf. JASB, 4. 127.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plate 13.

⁴ Fleet in IA, 13. 305.

⁵ JASB, 6. 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38.

⁷ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 99 ff., and IA, 18. 308 f.

⁸ JA (10), 10. 120 ff. and 141.

⁹ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

¹⁰ See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 2; also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11. 91 and 141.

¹¹ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the *British Museum Catalogue of Moghul Coins*, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlix, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

¹² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

The Nāgarī interlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'¹

Jahāngīr's inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.²

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

Sāmchī³ is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Bhilsā and about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśōka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft; but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by **four lions**, which, no doubt, once surmounted it.'⁴ It is now lying in the jungle; but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāmchī Stūpa.⁵

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2. 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f.) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10. 123 ff. and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911. 167 ff., and 1912. 1055 f.).

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

Sarnāth, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of **Benares**, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the **Migadāya** (i. e. 'deer-park') at **Isipatana** in which he preached his first sermon.⁶ Here Mr. F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśōka.⁷ He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by **four** magnificent **lions** standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred *dharmachakra* symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy.'⁸

The Chinese traveller, **Hsuen Tsiang**, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a *Stūpa* built by **Aśōkarāja**, and which was about 70 feet high.⁹

¹ Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38 f.

² See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

³ Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sāñchī, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

⁴ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 42.

⁵ See EI, 2. 366, n. 2, and JRAS, 1902. 30.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 107; SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 90; *Buddhist Birth Stories*.

1. 111 f.

⁷ *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 68 ff.

⁸ V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

⁹ Beal's BRWW, 2. 46.

As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first *aksharas* of each of lines 1-3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found *in situ* underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date : an inscription of king **Aśvaghōsha** which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the Aśoka edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early **Gupta** characters above the Aśvaghōsha epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the Aśoka edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR (Text, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of Aśoka about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarāī. The pillar stands near the shrine of **Rummindēi**, about a mile to the north of the village of **Parariyā**, which is about two miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Bastī.¹

The new Aśoka pillar is a mere stump, but still *in situ* and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.'² The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898,³ and records that Aśoka visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the **Buddha Śākya-muni** was born here', and that the king exempted the village of **Lummini** from taxes.

Both Lummini and the modern name Rummindēi must be identical with the **Lumbinī** grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.⁴ This identification is confirmed by **Hiuen Tsiang**, who mentions a pillar set up by **Aśōkarāja** in the Lumbinī garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil',⁵ which is now called Tilār-nadī, i.e. apparently 'the tēlī's or oilman's river'.⁶ He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a **horse**, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the Rummindēi pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

¹ See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai* (Calcutta, 1901).

² Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place* (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

³ EI, 5. 1 ff. For subsequent articles on the Rummindēi inscription see IA, 43. 17.

⁴ See the Introduction to the *Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word *Lumbinī* see IA, 43. 18.

⁵ Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 6.

but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindēi contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana*.

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśoka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarāi on the western bank of a large tank called **Nigālī Sāgar**, about a mile south of **Niglivā**. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēi and belongs to the Nepalese tahsil of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Basti).¹

The pillar is now called *Nigālī* or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhīmasēna.² It is not *in situ*, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few mediæval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśoka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.³

The inscription was first edited by Bühler in VOJ, 9. 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5. 1 ff. It records that Aśoka 'enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōṇākamaṇa** to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Hiuen Tsiang seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.⁴ He states that it stood in front of a *Stūpa* containing relics of **Kanakamuni Buddha**, that it was surmounted by a **lion**, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by **Aśōkarāja**. The *Stūpa* referred to by Hiuen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.⁵

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 166).

Rūpnāth is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, fourteen miles west of Sleemanabad railway station⁶ on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

'The Rūpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the **Kaimur** range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of **Bahuriband**.⁷ Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rāma, the next after Lakshmaṇa, and the lowest

¹ For the relative positions of Niglivā and Rummindēi see plate 1 of Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai*.

² Id., p. 30, and Führer's *Monograph*, p. 23.

³ For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

⁴ Beal's BRWW, 2. 19.

⁵ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 3 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

⁷ A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur; see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 9. 39.

after Sītā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a *līṅga* of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.¹

'The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśoka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.'²

'The edict of Aśoka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.'³

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871-2 by Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 7. 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6. 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.⁴ Senart's treatment of it is included in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (IA, 20. 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr. Bloch.⁵

II. THE SAHASRĀM ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

Sahasrām is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihār. 'About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called **Chandan-Pīr**, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.'⁶

The edict of Aśoka 'is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the *Chirāghdān* or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr. Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.'⁷

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. I, above). In editing it the third time (IA, 22. 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (loc. cit.). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871-2 by Mr. Carlleyle about a mile to the north-east of **Bairāt**, the head-quarters

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 21.

² Mr. Cousens in *Progress Report*, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 22.

⁴ IA, 7. 141 ff., and, with Fleet's facsimile, id., 22. 299 ff.

⁵ *Annual Report*, AS, *Eastern Circle*, 1907-8, p. 19.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 11. 132 f.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 20 f.

of a tahsīl in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhīm-kī-ḍuṅgrī* It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'¹

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.'²

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x.

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 172).

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in **Calcutta** by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' **Bairāt**, the town near which some years later Carlleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9. 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRAS, 16. 357 ff., with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 197 ff., and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgess, in IA, 20. 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage appeared in JA (8), 9. 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāt was six *kōs* distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9. 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake: the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block.³ According to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 2. 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāt]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bījāk-Pahār* or "inscription hill"'. It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanūmān below the rock known as *tōp* or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.'⁴

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 174).

Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 23. 29.

² Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 6. 98.

³ See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45.

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.

neighbourhood of **Maski**, a village in the Lingsugur tāluka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski :

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maśgi or Maśigi; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muhammadans Masgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosaṅgi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the *Brahmapurī of Mosamgi*. A later record of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa of the thirteenth century calls the place again *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as *Mosage*, the chief town of *Mosage-nāḍu*.'

To these remarks we may add that **Mosaṅgi**, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of **Muśaṅgi**, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by Rājendra-Chōla I.¹

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,² who describes the site as follows :

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff.; Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff.; and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70. 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only *Dēvānā priya*, but in addition to it **Aśōka**,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the *Purāṇas*.

VI, VII, VIII. ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892.³ They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Bühler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.). In 1894 Bühler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 11, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.):⁴

'The Aśōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-haḷḷa or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

¹ See *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, 1. 95 f.; EI, 9. 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

² *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. I; *The New Asokan Edict of Maski*, 1915.

³ *Edicts of Aśōka in Mysore*, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

⁴ See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.

the Molkālmuru tāluq [of the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of **Siddāpura**,¹ between 14° 47' and 51' north latitude and about 76° 51' east longitude. The best preserved is the **Brahmagiri** inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the *Ganjigunṭe-mūle*. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *Akshara-guṇḍu* or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15' 6" by 11' 6". Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.'

'The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to **Siddāpura**, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called *Yenamana Timmayyana guṇḍu* or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks". It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13' 6" by 8', and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the **Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara** hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the *Baḷegāra-guṇḍu* or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17' 6" by 6' 6". There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note² we are glad to learn that 'erections have now been put up over this and the other Aśoka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

¹ According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Śiddāpura.

² *Ep. Carn.*, vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.

IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS (Text, p. 181).

‘The Hills called **Barābar** are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of **Gayā**’ in South Bihār. ‘Although Barābar is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called “Barābar”, also “Siddhēśvar” from a temple to Mahādēva that once crowned it.’¹

‘All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barābar and Nāgārjunī, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.’²

‘There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barābar or Siddhēśvara group, and three to the Nāgārjunī group.’³ Each of the three Nāgārjunī caves contains an inscription of **Dashalatha Devānāmpriya**, i.e. Aśōka’s grandson Daśaratha.⁴ Among the four Barābar caves, three bear an inscription of king *Devānāmpriya*, and one (the so-called ‘Lōmaśa Rishi cave’) a Vaishṇava inscription of the **Maukhari Anantavarman**, which seems to show that the original name of the Barābar Hill was **Pravaragiri**.⁵

According to the second and third Barābar inscriptions the name of the Barābar Hill was then **Khalatika**. Both the first and second inscriptions of king *Devānāmpriya* and the three Nāgārjunī inscriptions of Daśaratha specify as donees the monks of the **Ājivika** sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *Ājivikehi*. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to Kṛishṇa, and two of the Nāgārjunī ones to Śiva and Pārvatī.⁶

The three Barābar inscriptions of king *Devānāmpriya* were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe.⁷ They were examined by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Senart⁸ and, with Fleet’s facsimiles, by Bühler (*IA*, 20. 361 ff.).

CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

THE king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prākṛit forms of which the Sanskrit would be *Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*.⁹ This full

¹ Captain Kittoe in *JASB*, 16 (1847). 402.

² Cunningham’s *Arch. Reports*, 1. 40.

³ Id., p. 44. For the modern names of the single Barābar caves and for plans of them see id., plates 18 and 19. Cf. also Fergusson’s *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 1. 130 ff.; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 37 ff.; V. A. Smith’s *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 20.

⁴ For the bibliography of these inscriptions see Lüders’ *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954–6.

⁵ See Fleet’s *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 222.

⁶ See id., Nos. 48–50.

⁷ *JASB*, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4–6.

⁸ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 209 ff., and *IA*, 20. 168 ff.

⁹ In a few cases (Kālsī rock-edict I, A; Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict II, A; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word *rājā* is omitted, and once (Shāhbāzgarhī, I, A) the word *Priyadarśī*. Cf. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1908. 482.

form of his title is shortened into *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* in section C of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of *Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka*. On the Sārṇāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ*. On the Sāmchī pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sāmchī and Sārṇāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.¹

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself *Priyadarśī rājā*, and in the three others *rājā Priyadarśī*. In the Calcutta-Bairāt record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sāmbōdhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lummini (Rummindēi pillar), and to the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamaṇa (Nigālī Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājīvikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term *Dēvānāmpriya* is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like *bhavān*, *dīrghāyuh*, and *āyushmān*.² Pāṇini himself does not mention *Dēvānāmpriya*, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (षष्ठा आक्रोशे, VI, 3, 21). The *Kāśikā* commentary adduces the two examples चौरसकुलं, 'the family of a thief', and वृषलसकुलं, 'the family of a low-caste man'.³ Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* five *Vārttikas*, the third of which states that the compound *Dēvānāmpriya* ought to be added. Neither the *Mahābhāṣya* nor the *Kāśikā* have the word मूर्ख, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the *Siddhāntakaumudī* adds to the *Vārttika*. This secondary meaning of *Dēvānāmpriya* was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa,⁴ while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used *Dēvānāmpriya* in an ironical sense. In Bāṇa's

¹ Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, *passim*, and Bühler, IA, 7, 144 f.

² Cf. Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 13, 337, n. 1.

³ Cf. वृषलःपुत्रः in the *Kāśikā* on the next *Sūtra*. It is worth noting that in the drama *Mudrārākṣha* Chāṇakya uses the term वृषल with reference to Chandragupta.

⁴ Cf. *Bāḥamanōramā* on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.

Harshacharita it is found twice as an honorific.¹ In the same way *Devānuppiya* is employed frequently in Jaina literature.²

In the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Devānāmpiya* is prefixed to the name of Aśōka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,³ and in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśōka's grandson **Daśaratha**.⁴ In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of *rājan*, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called *Devānāmpiya* and *Devanāmpriya*, while the Girnār and Dhauli versions have *rājāno* and *lājāne*; and the word *Devānāmpiye* in the second separate edict at Dhauli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to *lājā* in the Jaugada text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadassi* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavaṃsa*⁵ as equivalents of **Aśōka**, the name of the great **Maurya** king.⁶ In the drama *Mudrārākṣhasa*,⁷ *Piadaṃsana* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. **Chandragupta**, the name of Aśōka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśōka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription informs us that Priyadarśin was a **Māgadha** king, i.e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was **Pāṭaliputra**; for, the words 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying [towns]' at Girnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā, and Dhauli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the **Yōna** king **Antiyoka** (*Antiyaka* at Girnār, *Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka'; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the **Yōna** king **Antiyoka** (*Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. **Turamāya** (*Tulamaya* at Kālsī), **Antekina** (*Antikini* at Shāhbāzgarhī), **Makā** (*Magā* at Girnār), and **Alikasudara** (*Alikashudala* at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to *Devānāmpiya Tissa* of Ceylon.⁸ This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at Pāṭaliputra. The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha *Devānāmpiya*, whom Prinsep at once identified with **Daśaratha**, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśōka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found *Piyadassi* or *Piyadassana* used as a surname of Aśōka in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* with Aśōka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). *A limine*, another member of the Maurya dynasty

¹ See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908. 505.

² See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. *dēva* + *anupriya*. Hēmachandra (*Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, III, 17) assigns to *Dēvānāmpriya* the meaning of 'fool'.

³ See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 485. ⁴ IA, 20. 364 f. ⁵ See the Index to Oldenberg's edition.

⁶ Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama *Priyadarśikā*, its heroine is called both *Priyadarśikā* and *Priyadarśanā*.

⁷ Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the *Kauṭīliyaśāstra* (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

⁸ JASB, 6 (1837). 472 f., 566 f.

might be meant as well ; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title *Dēvānāmpriya*, and the *Mudrārākshasa* applies the epithet *Priyadarśana* to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself *Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka*.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-edict. He found in the Girnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Am̐tiyako Yona-rājā*, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Am̐tiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with **Antiochus III** of Syria.¹ In March, 1838, he discovered in the Girnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of *Turamāya*, *Am̐tikona*,² and *Magā*, whom he most ingeniously identified with **Ptolemy II** Philadelphus of Egypt, **Antigonus** Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and **Magas** of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name *Antiyoka* to **Antiochus I or II** of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Girnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after *Magā*, is lost. The Shāhbāzgarhī version calls him *Alikasudara*. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek *Ἀλέξανδρος*, and suggested hesitatingly that **Alexander of Epirus**, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.³ This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,⁴ Lassen,⁵ and Senart.⁶ But Professor Beloch now thinks that **Alexander of Corinth**, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.⁷

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśōka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280–261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300–c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272–c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252–c. 244.⁸ The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśōka's *abhishēka*, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.⁹ If we assume that the rock-edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhishēka*, when Aśōka appointed '*Mahāmātras* of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśōka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta.

¹ JASB, 7. 156 ff.

² In reality Girnār and Kālsī read *Am̐tekina*, and Shāhbāzgarhī *Am̐tikini*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

³ JRAS, 8 (1846). 305.

⁴ *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

⁵ *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (2nd ed.). 253 ff.

⁶ IA, 20. 242.

⁷ *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 105.

⁸ The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Geschichte*, vol. 3.

⁹ See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the **Maurya** dynasty **Chandragupta**, and as his two immediate successors **Bindusāra** and **Aśōka**. The pseudo-prophetic account of the *Purāṇas* runs thus :

‘Kauṭilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśōka thirty-six years.’¹

According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra’s son Aśōka thirty-seven years (V, 101).²

The *Mahāvamsa* states that the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra’s son Aśōka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōṣa’s *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.³

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.⁴

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta’s reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśōka succeeded his father Bindusāra **214 years** after Buddha’s Nirvāṇa,⁵ and that his anointment took place four years after his father’s death, or **218 years** after the Nirvāṇa.⁶ The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.⁷

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A.B. 186–214, and the latter A.B. 162–186.⁸ If we deduct the year of Chandragupta’s accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B.C., the result is 382 B.C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources. For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,⁹ who identified him with Σανδράκοττος of Παλίβοθρα, the contemporary of **Seleucus** Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Fleet showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

¹ See Pargiter’s *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

² The length of Bindusāra’s reign is not specified in the *Dīpavaṃsa*; but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Muṭasiva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 481, and 1909. 25.

³ *Vinaya-piṭaka*. ed. by Oldenberg, 3. 321.

⁴ Bigandet’s *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, 4th ed., 2. 128.

⁵ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 20 f.

⁶ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 1, 21 f.; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 21 f.; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

⁷ Bigandet’s *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128 f.

⁸ According to Bigandet’s *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128, Chandragupta reigned A.B. 163–187, and Bindusāra 187–214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A.B. 189.

⁹ In his *Anniversary Discourse*, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his *Works* (London, 1799), I. 152 f., and in the *Centenary Review of the ASB*, part 2, p. 85 f.

result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.¹

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśoka's *abhishēka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.² Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.³ Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.⁴

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV, 4 : ⁵

‘[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis impulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei detersit expergefatumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domita mansuetudine eum tergo excepit duxque belli et proeliorum insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus conpositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.’

McCrinkle translates this as follows : ⁶

‘[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble

¹ JRAS, 1909. 333, 335.

² *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (XII); *Dīpavaṃsa*, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; *Mahāvaṃsa*, IV, 8; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

³ Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13. xxii: ‘This is no doubt a round number; and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.’

⁴ Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 94 ff.

⁵ Ruehl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119.

⁶ *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster, 1893), p. 327 f.

life,¹ but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,² and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonos.'

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's *Ῥωμαϊκά*, book *Συριακή*, chapter 55 :³

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο.

'[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.'⁴

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.⁵ We know from various sources that **Megasthenes** became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.⁶ Strabo adds that **Deimachus** was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades :⁷

Ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὁ δὲ Δημάχος πρὸς Ἀλλιτροχάδην⁸ τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν· ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον τοιαῦτα.

'Megasthenes and Deimachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country'.⁹

¹ According to the *Mudrārākshasa*, Chandragupta was a Vṛishala, i.e. a member of the Śūdra caste; see above, p. xxix, n. 3.

² This 'Nandrus' must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857). 262. Instead of the accusative 'Nandrum' the older editions read 'Alexandrum'; cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been 'Nandum'.

³ Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), I. 426.

⁴ McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 114.

⁵ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 217 f.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 132 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44. 154 ff.

⁶ Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (Paris, 1848). 398; McCrindle, IA, 6. 115.

⁷ *Geographica*, ed. Müller et Dübner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

⁸ The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for Ἀμιτροχάδην or Ἀμιτροχάτην.

⁹ McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 115.

It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname **Amitraghāta**,¹ i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of **Antiochus** (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus:²

Οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράψαι Ἀντιόχῳ ἀξιούντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι. 'ισχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἑλλήσιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.'

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine; but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist."'

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Deimachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusāra-Amitraghāta. From Pliny³ we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent **Dionysius** as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusāra or Aśoka.⁴

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.'⁵ Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his *Ἰνδικά*, reached from Paṭnā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.⁶ With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahāvamsa* is accepted, **Chandragupta** would have ruled 320-296, and **Bindusāra** 296-268. **Aśoka** would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Aśoka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhishēka*. 264-12/13 = 252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Aśoka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the *Antiyoka* of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

¹ See P. von Bohlen, *das alte Indien* (Königsberg, 1830), I. 92. The word *amitrāghāta* is mentioned by Patañjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87; cf. JRAS, 1909. 425.

² *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).

³ *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).

⁴ As stated above (p. xxxi), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Aśoka's rock-edicts.

⁵ Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.

⁶ JRAS, 1906. 985.

Antiochus II (261–246), and that the *Alikasudara* of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but **Alexander of Corinth** (252–c. 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the *Purāṇas* assign to Bindusāra twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kalingas; rock-edict XIII.
2. **Ten years** after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Sāmbōdhi (i.e. Bōdh-Gayā); rock-edict VIII.
3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (B.C. 252):
 - (1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict III.
 - (2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects; rock-edict IV.
 - (3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.
 - (4) He gave two caves to the Ājīvikas; two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock-edict V.
5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamaṇa to the double (of its size); Nigālī Sāgar pillar.
6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājīvikas); the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.
7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited the Buddha's birth-place at Lūmmīni and the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamaṇa; Rummīndēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI.
9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII.

CHAPTER III.

ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśoka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśoka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Gīrnār on the Kāṭhīāvār peninsula and at Sōpārā on the

Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindēi pillars in the Nepalese Tarāi and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāraṇ district.

The capital of this vast empire was **Pāṭaliputra**, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables *Pāṭa*, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sārnāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 25, &c.) and the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Aśōka's capital. From the *Mudrārākshasa* and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather **Chandragupta**. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the Παλίβοθρα or Παλίμθορα of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:¹

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μῆκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵνα περ μακροτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐσωτῆς ὥκισται ἐς ὀδοήκοντα σταδίου, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον δὲ περιβεβλησθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ εὖρος ἐξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχεων· πύργους δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch¹ encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates.'²

The identity of Pāṭaliputra with the modern **Paṭnā** is well known to the Hindūs.³ The capital belonged to the ancient province of **Magadha**,⁴ which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśōka styles himself *Māgadha*, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.⁵ This is **Sambōdhi**, now **Bōdh-Gayā** to the south of Paṭnā.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar mentions **Kōsambī** (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit), which is the modern **Kōsam** (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśōka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,⁶ Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., **Ujjēnī** (*Ujjayinī*) and **Takkhasilā** (*Takshaśilā*). Aśōka's governor of the former was a royal prince (*kumāra*). In Buddhist tradition Aśōka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayinī in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.⁷ Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, and the 'Οζήνη of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, is the modern **Ujjain** in the Gwalior State. Takshaśilā, the Τάξιλα of the

¹ Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, ed. by Eberhard in *Arriani Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).

² McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 131.

³ Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed., 2. 136.

⁴ BRWW, 2. 82 ff.; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 452 ff.

⁵ BRWW, 2. 115.

⁶ BRWW, I. 235 ff.; EI, II. 141.

⁷ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 15; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 39, and XIII, 8.

Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with **Shāh dhōrī** in the Rāvalpindī district, Panjāb.¹

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśōka's southernmost province was a place of the name **Suvarṇagiri**, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayinī, was a royal prince (*āryaputra*). Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of **Isila**, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym **Kanakagiri** in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśōka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.²

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśōka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of **Kaliṅga**³ on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I–X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauli were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī**, who were headed by a royal prince (*kumāra*, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugaḍa belonged was called **Samāpā**,⁴ and the Jaugaḍa rock had then the name **Khōpingala**.⁵

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as **Khalatika**. The Rumindēī pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. **Lummini**, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, **Lumbinī**.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśōka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (*anta*).⁶ Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were 'the **Yōnas**, **Kambōjas**, and **Gandhāras**, the **Rāṭhikas** (*Ristika*, which is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭrika*, at Gīrnār) and **Pitīnikas** (also spelt *Pitēnika* or *Pētēnika*). As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambōjas have to be placed in Kābul.⁷ Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the *Si-yu-ki*, its capital was **Purushapura**, now **Peshāvar**.⁸ The Rāṭhikas or Rāṣṭikas (= *Rāṣṭrika* in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kāthiāvār, whose governor bore the title of *Rāṣṭriya*.⁹ The Pitīnikas or Pitēnikas¹⁰ have not yet been localized.

¹ *Arch. Reports*, 2. 116, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 111.

² Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

³ In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of *Modogalinga*, i.e. 'the three Kaliṅgas' (from Telugu *mūdu*, 'three', + *Kaliṅga*); see IA, 6. 338, and Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 32f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Mactocalingae or Maccocalingae as a tribe of Brāhmaṇas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of *Mukkaliṅga*, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu *Mūdugaliṅga*. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression *Trikaliṅga* see Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s. v. The earliest king of Kaliṅga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.

⁴ See the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, B, and II, B.

⁵ See the Jaugaḍa rock-edict I, A.

⁶ See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

⁷ See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

⁸ See Beal's BRWW, 1. 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the *Rigvēda*, and Gandāra in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. Zimmer's *Altind. Leben*, p. 30 f.

⁹ See the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8. 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word *Rāṣṭrika* see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

¹⁰ The identification of Pitēnika with Pratiṣṭhāna is phonetically impossible; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 262.

According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśoka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparṇī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamiḷ country, and Tāmraparṇī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon.¹ The Chōḍas or Chōḷas (Śōḷa in Tamiḷ) were known to Ptolemy,² the Pāṇḍya king (Πανδίων) to the author of the *Periplus* as well, and Tāmraparṇī (Ταμροβάρνη) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparṇī two other borderers, viz. Satiyaputra (Sātiyaputa at Kālsī) and Kēralaputra. The former has not yet been identified successfully.³ The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called Κηρόβοτροπος in the *Periplus*⁴ and Κηρόβοτροπος by Ptolemy.⁵

The two sections in which the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmraparṇī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśoka's borderers, the Yōna king Antiyoka and his four neighbours.⁶ The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (*iha rāja-vishayē*), viz. 'the Yōnas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis (*Nabhiti* at Shāhbāzgarhī), the Bhōjas and Pitinikas (*Pitinikya* at Kālsī), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince;⁷ and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (*Bhōjādhirāja*) is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kaśmīr.⁸ Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.⁹ Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the *Andarae*, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.¹⁰ As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.¹¹ The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśoka's empire.¹²

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśoka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

¹ See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

² See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 95 f.

³ See Text, p. 3, n. 7.

⁴ ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

⁵ See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 99.

⁶ See above, p. xxx f.

⁷ Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.

⁸ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, verse 151; cf. EI, I, 155. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title *Mahābhōja* in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 100, and Senart, EI, 7. 50.

⁹ See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.

¹⁰ See IA, 6. 339.

¹¹ The variant at Kālsī, *Pālada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gedrosia; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I (sec. ed.). 1028.

¹² According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Krakuchchhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavāstu; see BRWW, I. xlviii. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 19 b) assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 138.

Aśoka's
administration

entrusted to royal princes (*kumāra* or *āryaputra*), viz. Ujjayinī, Tōsalī, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two *Kumāras* were probably sons of the king himself, and the *Āryaputra* perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in **Pāṭaliputra** and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne¹ is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name **Kāluvākī** and was the mother of **Tivala**.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the **Yavana** king **Tushāspā** who was governing Gīrnār in the time of the **Maurya Aśōka**.² Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named *Mahāmātra*,³ or, as they seem to be called in one place, *Prādēśika*.⁴ Other *Mahāmātras* were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the *Mahāmātras* at **Isila** were subordinate to the prince and the *Mahāmātras* at **Suvarṇagiri**.⁵ In two places⁶ we hear of a council (*parishad*) of the *Mahāmātras* or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kauśāmbī edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Kōsambī**, the Sārnāth edict perhaps to those at **Pāṭa[liputra]**, and the Queen's edict to 'the *Mahāmātras* everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term *āhāla* (= *āhāra* in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rūpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārnāth edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (*kōṭṭa-vishaya* in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (*aṭavī*) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī** and **Samāpā** were exercising judicial functions in the city (*nagara-vyavahāraka* or *nāgaraka*).⁷ At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered,⁸ i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) *Anta-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of *Mahāmātras* was created by Aśōka when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the *Dharma-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of morality',⁹ whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special *Mahāmātras* had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas and Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.¹⁰ Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (*stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra*, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word *Mahāmātra* is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In Aśōka's edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.¹¹

Another class of high officers were the *Rājūkas*¹² or *Lajūkas*. They were 'placed

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 19 f., 33; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

² See the Junāgarh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8. 47.

³ See the Dhauli separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

⁴ See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

⁵ See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.

⁶ See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

⁷ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, A and Y, and at Jaugaḍa, B and Z.

⁸ See the second separate edict at Dhauli, F, and at Jaugaḍa, G.

⁹ See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M; the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

¹⁰ See the same pillar-edict, Z.

¹¹ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

¹² See the Gīrnār rock-edict III, C.

in charge of many hundred thousands of men',¹ and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.² Bühler has shown that the two dialectical forms *Rājūka* and *Lajūka* are derived from **Rajjūka*, and that this is an abbreviation of *rajju-gāhaka*, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the *Jātaka*.³ The *Rajjūka* originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.⁴

Along with the *Rājūka* and the *Prādēśika*, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the *Yutas* or 'secretaries', who correspond to the *Yuktas* of the *Kauṭīliya*.⁵ The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras* or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (*dūta*) of *Dēvānāmpriya* do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśōka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśōka's court.⁶

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (*chāra* or *gūḍha-purusha*).⁷ It seems probable that these are meant by the word *Purusha* in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the *Lajūkas* (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśōka himself, were the 'reporters' (*prativēdaka*), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'.⁸ It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśōka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (*nāga-vana*) of the king. As Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātithi,⁹ the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

¹ See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

² See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

³ See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Collector*. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (*ἄρχοντες*) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

⁵ See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

⁶ See above, p. xxxv.

⁷ These are evidently the *ἔφοροι* or *ἐπίσκοποι* of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp [cf. Māgha, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

⁸ See the Girnār rock-edict VI, D.

⁹ Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.

'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the *Aśvādhyaksha* and *Hastyadhyaksha* of the *Kauṭīliya* (p. 132 ff.). The *Gōdhyaksha* of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the *Vracha-bhūmikas* or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpen is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśōka uses the word *lipikara*, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikareṇa* in Kharōshthī characters,¹ showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.² The word *lipi*, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the *Unādisūtras* (IV, 119) derives *lipi* from the root *lip*, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharōshthī versions use instead of *lipi* the form *dipi*, which is found in the Achæmenidan inscriptions.³ Besides, the participles *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita* are replaced at Shāhbāzgarhī by *nipista*, *nipesita*, *nipesapita*,⁴ which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root *nish-pish*, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian *ni-pish*, 'to write'.⁵ The words *ayi dhrama-dipi nipista*, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhbāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15 :—*[tu]vam kā hya aparam imām dipim vaināhy tyām adam niyapi[sha]m*, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written';⁶ and Xerxes says at Van :—*yanaiy dipim naiy nipishtām akunaush pasāva adam niyashṭāyam imām dipim nipish-tanaiy*, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'.⁷ The conclusion is irresistible that neither *dipi* nor *nipista* are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of **Sindhu** and **Gandhāra** belonged to the Persian empire.⁸ The Kharōshthī alphabet⁹ and the Persepolitan capital¹⁰ came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśōka's edicts : 'king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achæmenidan formula : *θātiy Dārayavaush (Xshayārshā, Artaxshathrā) xshāyaθiya*, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspha, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśōka's governor of Girnār,¹¹ seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśōka enlisted Irānians in his service.

¹ Brahmagiri, l. 13; Śiddāpura, l. 22; Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara, l. 22.

² Bühler, EI, 3. 135.

³ Cf. Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 33 f.

⁴ See JRAS, 1913. 654.

⁵ See id., 1914. 97.

⁶ See Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.

⁷ See id., p. 53 f.

⁸ The provinces of Hindu and Gandāra are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the *Ἰνδοί* and *Γανδάριοι* among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

⁹ See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 8.

¹⁰ See the Indices to Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2. 515, and to V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 513.

¹¹ See above, p. xl and n. 2.

CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

FROM Buddhist literature we learn that Aśoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kaśmīr historian Kalhaṇa also reports that Aśoka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many *Stūpas*.¹ According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*), and the accounts of the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 72) and of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his *abhiśhēka*.² He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 *Vihāras* in as many towns, besides the *Aśokārāma* at Pāṭaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.³

Aśoka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.

(1) In the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the *Samgha* or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* or doctrine, and the *Samgha*, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the *Dharma*' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.⁴

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sāñchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Samgha*. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.⁵

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to **Sambōdhi**, i.e. Bōdh-Gayā, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 393), Aśoka visited **Bōdhi** in the company of the *Sthavira* Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at **Lumbinī-vana**, the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rummindēī pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of **Lummini** and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the (mythical) Buddha Kōṇākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kālsī and Dhaulī rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.⁶ On the Girnār rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

¹ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Aśoka seems to have had the surname *Śāntāvasāda*.

² See *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 18, 24; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 34; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 300.

³ According to the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20. 233, n. 18.

⁴ See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

⁵ See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

⁶ See Text, p. 50, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.

elephant;¹ cf. the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut *Stūpa*.²

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (*śrāvāṇa*) as Aśoka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half years and somewhat more' after he had become a **Buddhist** (*Śākya* at Rūpnāth, *Buddha-Śākya* at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the *Samgha* (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa* that Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka* (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (*upēta*) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered'; and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading *adhitisāni* at Rūpnāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpnāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 153). After Oldenberg had shown that *adhitisāni* was a misreading for *adhatiyāni*, 'two and a half',³ Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3. 137). As Aśoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,⁴ Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the *Divyāvadāna* relates that Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist *Samgha*'.⁵ Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (*āṇapayati*, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśoka inscriptions for two reasons:—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fait accompli*; (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka's *Dharma*, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rūpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the *Samgha*' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the *Samgha*, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases *yajñam*, *vratham*, or *brahmacharyam upa-i*'. But the only other testimony for such a *pabbajjā* is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk;⁷ and the expression *saṃgham upa-i* for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20. 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

¹ See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

² Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235, No. 98: *Bhagavato ūkramṇti* (read thus instead of *okramṇti* and see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, section C, No. 6).

³ See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

⁴ See *Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 101; *Mahāvamsa*, XX, 6.

⁵ Fleet in JRAS, 1913. 657.

⁶ See Senart, IA, 20. 236.

⁷ See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 496.

form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upēta* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Samgha*.¹ Aśoka's first visit to the *Samgha* is placed by the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvamsa* (V, 76), and *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the *Samgha*'.²

As stated above (p. xlv), the Rūpnāth edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśoka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Samgha* (section D). The word *sumi*, 'I am', in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the *Samgha*, but included the second period.³ Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts read: 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśoka, having visited the *Samgha*, showed himself very zealous.⁴ In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (*dēva*) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (*dīvyāni rūpāṇi*) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.⁵ The 'festive meetings' (*saṃāja*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivaseti* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivāsayati* in section I of the Sārnāth edict. As I have shown elsewhere,⁶ this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivāsayati* at Sārnāth and, along with it, *vivaseti* at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'.⁷ Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

¹ See IA, 20. 234, and cf. JA (11), 7. 435 ff.

² *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 3; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 185; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 304.

³ This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19. 481, and cf. my remarks in JRAS, 1910. 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7. 436.

⁴ See Rūpnāth, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, E.

⁵ See JRAS, 1913. 652 f.

⁶ See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

⁷ Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15. 518.

issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśoka himself,¹ when he had spent 256 nights² on tour. It follows that Aśoka had started on tour a few months after visiting the *Samgha*, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśoka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the *Samgha* took place; but they furnish a few details which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz. :

- (a) Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*.
- (b) He visited the *Samgha* one year after (a).
- (c) He started on tour.
- (d) He issued the Rūpnāth edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśoka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form :

No. 1	Rock-edict XIII	8 years after the <i>abhishēka</i>	Conquest of Kalinga.
" 2	" " VIII	10 " " "	Visit to Sambōdhi.
" 3	Pillar-edict VI	12 " " "	Publication of rescripts on morality.
" 4	Rock-edict IV	" " " "	Institution of public shows of edifying subjects.

On p. xlv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśoka's *abhishēka*, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign.³ If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśoka's visit to Sambōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kalinga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.⁴ Herewith we may compare the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 189 :

'Before, he had been known as Chaṇḍāśoka (i.e. the fierce Aśoka) on account of his evil deeds; afterwards he became known as Dharmāśoka (i.e. the pious Aśoka) on account of his virtuous deeds'.⁵

The *Mahāvamsa* places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśoka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous.⁶ But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśoka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

¹ See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

² The discovery of the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thomas; see JA (10), 15. 520.

³ This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

⁴ See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

⁵ The same statement is made in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 382.

⁶ Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20. 235.

At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśoka with the *Devānāmpriya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśoka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Sāmbōdhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (*dharma-yātrā*) for 'visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* thirteen years after the *abhishēka*. As the tour during which Aśoka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first *dharma-yātrā*. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar;¹ but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpnāth and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāṇa.²

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription or 'letter to the *Samgha*' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Samgha*, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbī, Sāṃchī, and Sārnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.³

CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśoka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (*dharma-śrāvāṇa*) or 'rescripts on morality' (*dharma-lipi*) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B:

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

¹ JRAS, 1911. 1097.

² id., 1910. 1307 f.

³ See above, p. xix.

transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xlv), Aśoka's first proclamations (*śrāvaṇa*)¹ were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.² In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C):

'Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājūka*, and the *Prādēśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'³

In the next year of his reign he created special '*Mahāmātras* of morality' (*Dharma-mahāmātra*, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the *abhishēka*, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindūs have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāṃkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindū kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśoka. As a pious Hindū he acknowledged the 'debt' (*riṇa*) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (*śaḍbhāga*) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (*pālana*):

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).'⁴

In the same spirit he says:

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'⁵

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E:

'(Thinking): "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

¹ Rūpnāth, H, M; Sahasrām, H, J; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I, K.

² Rūpnāth, J, K; Sahasrām, L, M; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.

³ Cf. also the Dhauri separate edict I, Z—CC.

⁴ See the rock-edict VI, L, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauri, H, and at Jaugaḍa, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him; see id., L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

⁵ See the first separate edict at Jaugaḍa, F, G, and the second, E, F.

Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmātras* to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājīvikas,¹ Nirgranthas (i.e. Jainas), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock-edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects² and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other :

‘For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely’ (section H).

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (*samavāya*, section I) and the guarding of speech (*vachō-guṇṭi*, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśoka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.³ The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the *abhishēka*, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight *kōs* he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R–T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his *abhishēka*, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his *Lajūkas*, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days’ respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhauḷi, J, K, Y ; Jaugada, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapada*, i.e. ‘words of morality’. Here we find Buddhism *in statu nascendi*. ‘From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.’⁴ ‘The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions.’ The *Dhammapada* ‘lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

¹ The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājīvikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśoka.

² Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, E, and VII, Y.

³ Megasthenes speaks of officers who ‘construct roads, and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances’ (IA, 6, 238), and of the ‘royal road’ (ὁδὸς βασιλική = *rāja-patha* in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pāṭaliputra, which ‘has been measured by *schoeni* (1 *σχοῖνος* = 40 *stadia*), and is in length 10,000 *stadia*’ (id., p. 126).

⁴ Senart, IA, 20. 260.

us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.¹

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M-Q):

‘Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharmagūṇa*) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.’

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

‘Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious’ (III, D).

‘Abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged’ (IV, C).

‘Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas’ (IX, G).

‘Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals’ (XI, C).

‘Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion’ (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section HH, speaks of a progress ‘in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants’.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.² As Senart (IA, 20. 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśoka denounces Brāhmaṇical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns ‘many and various vulgar (“offensive” at Shāhbāzgarhī) and useless ceremonies’ which women are practising ‘during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey’, and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.³ Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naively confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the ‘abstention from killing animals’ which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen; but he promises that even this

¹ Senart, IA, 20. 26

² Megasthenes mentions the *Βραχμάναι* and *Σαρμάναι* as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι; see IA, 6. 243.

³ Cf. the *Maṅgala-sutta* (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, V; JRS, 1870. 312 ff.) or *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta* (*Suttanipāṭa*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers ‘the highest maṅgala’.

slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (*samāja*, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,¹ and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśoka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (*posatha*).² From the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of *ahiṃsā* was a concession which Aśoka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects :

'Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by instruction.³ But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence ; by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ–NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśoka's *Dharma* was liberality or charity (*dāna*). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers ; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD :

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says :—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.' These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods :

Sachchaṃ bhaṇe na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito ।
etehi tīni tṭhānehi gachchhe devāna santike ॥

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbapāpass' akaraṇaṃ kusalass' ūpasampadā ।
sachittaparyodapanam etaṃ Buddhāna sāsanaṃ ॥

¹ See Thomas, JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.

² Cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 99 f., and *Vinaya Texts*, part I (SBE, 13), p. x. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.

³ This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of *nijhati*. Cf. *Suttanipāta*, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.

In the fourth rock-edict Aśoka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (*aśīlasya*, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (*dharmē śīlē tishṭhantaḥ*, F). In the *Dhammapada* we read in verse 217 :

Sila-dassana-sampannaṃ dhammaṭṭhaṃ sachchavādinam ।

and in verse 84 :

sa sīlavā paññavā dhammiko siyā ॥

Aśoka's remark : *sukaram hi pāpam*, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of *sukarāni asādhūni* in verse 163 of the *Dhammapada*, and the words : *dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā*, 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252 :

Sudassam vajjam aññesaṃ attano pana duddasaṃ ।

and of verse 50 :

Na paresaṃ vilomāni na paresaṃ katākataṃ ।
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha ॥

The lists of evil passions (*āsinava-gāmīni*, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (*jātāni*)¹ do not tally with the *āsavas* and *kilesas* of the Buddhists.² To counteract these dispositions, Aśoka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry'³ and continues :

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise ; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugada, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the *Dhammapada* :

Uttiṭṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṃ sucharitaṃ chare ।

Already Aśoka's earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama* or *prākrama*) for their subject.⁴ He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*, sections H, J) or zeal (*parākrama*, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the *Dhammapada* recommends *utthāna* (verses 24, 25, 280), *parakkama* (verses 23, 383), and *appamāda* (verses 21-32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well ; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H :

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F :

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

¹ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, M, and at Jaugada, N.

² See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

³ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, O, and at Jaugada, P.

⁴ Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, F-H ; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, G-I.

A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E :

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (*dharma-dāna*). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.

Spiritual insight (*chakkhu*), which Aśoka claims to have spread in many ways,¹ is alluded to in the *Dhammapada*, verse 273 :

virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṃ dipadānaṃ cha chakkhumā ॥

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) '*Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven'.²

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the *Dhammapada* :³

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhunā sādhanā jine ॥
jine kadaryaṃ dānena sacchenālikavādinaṃ ॥

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M–O) continues thus :

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.⁴ And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Dēvānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For *Dēvānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (*dharma-vijaya*) which Aśoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P–U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the *Dhammapada* : they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, but presuppose the general Hindū belief that the rewards of the practice of *Dharma* are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (Kālsī); X, C; XI, E; XIII, W, Y, AA; the Dhauī separate edict I, F; II, E, G, K; the pillar-edict I, C; III, H; IV, E, M, N; VII, PP. Cf. the *Dhammapada*, verse 219 f. :

Chirappavāsīm purisaṃ dūrato sotthim āgataṃ ॥
ñātimittā suhajjā cha abhinandanti āgataṃ ॥
Tath' eva katapuññaṃ pi asmā lokā paraṃ gataṃ ॥
puññaṇi patigaṇhanti piyaṃ ñātīva āgataṃ ॥

¹ See the pillar-edict II, D.

² Cf. the Dhauī separate edict II, G.

³ The same verse occurs both in the *Jātaka* and in the *Mahābhārata*; see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20. 320 ff.

⁴ See above, p. li, n. 3.

Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśoka often uses the term 'heaven' (*svarga*). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauli separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The *Dhammapada* (verse 126), however, distinguishes *Nirvāṇa* from *Svarga*:

saggaṃ sugatino yanti parinibbant' anāsavā ॥

* * * * *

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśoka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa.¹ The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI-XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauli and Jaugaḍa formed part of the newly conquered country of Kaliṅga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that *Dēvānāmpriya* will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauli separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgarhī:

'And *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'²

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśoka issued twelve years after his *abhishēka*, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmātras* as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśoka inscriptions.

I. Buddhist Inscriptions.

- (1) Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.
- (2) Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
- (3) Kauśāmbī, Sānchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

- (1) Early edicts.
 - (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski.
 - (b) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

¹ See Text, p. 39, n. 1.

² See above, p. liii and n. 4.

(2) Rock-edicts.

- (a) Edicts I–XIV at Gīrnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.
- (b) Edicts I–X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa.

(3) Pillar-edicts.

- (a) Edicts I–VI at Delhi-Mīraṭh, &c.
- (b) Edicts I–VII at Delhi-Tōprā.

III. Donative inscriptions.

- (1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
- (2) Queen's pillar-edict.

CHAPTER VI.

GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *u* in *osudha* (=Skt. *ausadha*, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the *o* in the preceding syllable; cf. *udupāna*=Skt. *udapāna* in the Māgadha dialect.¹

The *e* of *eta* (= **itra*?) seems to be developed from an original *i*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (XIII, 6), while the form *guru* occurs three times. The *a* may have been introduced from the comparative *garīyas* and the superlative *garishṭha*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 260, n. 1. In *kho* (=Skt. *khalu*) the *a* is lost by syncope, the *l* is assimilated to the preceding *kh*, and Skt. *u* is represented by *o*. The form *kho* is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prakṛits have *khu* (for **khlu*, an enclitic form of *khalu*) instead of it.²

In the foreign name *Anitiyaka*=*Ἀντίοχος*, *o* is expressed by *a*. In *[A]nit[ek]ina*=*Ἀντίγονος*, *e* and *i* correspond to *i* and *o*, and in *Turamāya*=*Πτολεμαῖος*, *u* and *a* to *o* and *e*.

The Gīrnār dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. *ṛi*, which became *i* (after the stress accent) in *etārisa*, *tārisa*, *yārisa* (=Skt. *ētādṛiṣa*, &c.), and *u* (after labials) in *paripuchhā* and *vuta* (= *vṛitta*, X, 2), but generally *a*:—*ānamiṇa* (= *ānṛiṇya*), *kacha* (= *kṛitya*), *kata*, *daḍha*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *maga*, *magavyā*, *mata* (= *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *vistata*, *vyāpata*, *suhadaya*³ (IX, 7), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, IV, 11). In *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, XII, 2, 8, 9) and *usata*⁴ the *ṛi*, which became *a*, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In *vrachha* (= *vṛiksha*, II, 8) the vowel *ṛi* is represented by the syllable *ra*, and in *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) by *ru* through the influence of other forms of the root *śru*.

Of diphthongs, *ai* is found only in *thaira*, *traidasa*, and *samachaira*, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvii f.), and *au* is always changed to *o*:—*dvo*, *pāralokika*, *potra*, *prapotra*, *osudha*, *-opaga* and *-opaya*.

Short vowels are lengthened in *ānāntarāni*⁵ (=Skt. *anantaram*, VI, 8), *āchāyī[ke]*⁶ (= *ātyayīkam*, VI, 7), *mādhūratā* (= *madhuratā*, XIV, 4), *ñāṭisu* (IV, 1), *abhiḥkāra* (= **abhikāra*, V, 7), *abhīramaka* (VIII, 2), *paṭivesiya* (= *prativēṣya*, XI, 3), *paṭibhā[g]a* (XIII, 4), *saṃpratīpati* (=Skt. *saṃpratīpatti*, IV, 2; also spelt *saṃpratīpati* and *saṃpaṭīpati*), *vīvāha*⁷ (= *vivāha*, IX, 2), *vijaya* (XIII, 10; also *vijaya*), *bahūhi* (= *bahubhih*, IV, 4), and at the end of words in *tatrā* (XIII, 1), *paratrā* (VI, 12), *sarvatrā* (II, 6), *etamhī* (IX, 2), *paṇthesū* (II, 8).

Initial *ā* is shortened in *aropitani*, and final *ā* in *tatha* (= *tathā*, XII, 6), *[Yo]na-rāja* (XIII, 8) = *Yona-rājā* (II, 3), and in the enclitic *va*, which is far more frequent than its original form *vā*. The three forms *āradhō*,⁸ *āradhī* (i.e. **āraddhi*), and *aparadha* are perhaps to be derived from the root *radh*

¹ I use the term 'Māgadha dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhi of the Prakṛit grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 284.

² S. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23. 269 f.

³ This word is used in the sense of Skt. *suhrid*, 'a friend'. Cf. *suhajja* in the *Dhammapada*.

⁴ This participle corresponds in form to Skt. *utsṛita*, but its meaning agrees with that of Prakṛit *ussiya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64)=Skt. *uchchhrita*. In other words, the Gīrnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of *uchchhrita* from the root *śri* instead of *śri*.

⁵ The length of the initial *ā* may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadha *ānāntaliyāni*; see the Dhāuli and Jaugada versions, VI, 4.

⁶ Kālsī, Dhāuli, and Jaugada have *atiyāyike*, Pāli both *achchāyika* and *achcheka* (i.e. **achchayika*).

⁷ Cf. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *vivāha*, and Pān. VI, 3, 122.

⁸ Cf. *āraddha-chitta* in the *Dighanikāya*, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.

used in the same sense as *rādh*. The short *a* of *etarisañ* (= *ētādriśam*), *etārisani* (= *ētādriśāni*), *dana* (= *dānam*) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final *ī* is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in *-in*:—*Priyadasī*, *hastī*.

The initial *a* of the enclitic *api* is dropped everywhere except in *evam·api* (II, 2). The initial *i* of *iti* is generally preserved, but it is dropped in *-nisrito ti* (V, 8) and in the compound *kiñti* or *kiti*.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek χ and γ are expressed by *k* in *Antiyaka* = *Ἀντίοχος* and *[A]nt[ek]ina* = *Ἀντίγονος*. In *-opaga* and *-opaya* we seem to have a change of *g* into *y*; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9. 345 ff. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahuka*.

In *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9), *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*; cf. *vrachanti* = Skt. *vrajanti* at Shāhbāzgarhī.

Skt. *n* is preserved in *kalāṇa* (= *kalyāṇa*), *gaṇanā*, *charaṇa*, *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa*, *prāṇa* and *pāṇa*, *vinikhamana* (from *vinish-kram*), *sramaṇa* and *samaṇa* (= *śramaṇa*). In terminations, however, dental *n* is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after *r* and *sh*:—*agena* (= *agrēṇa*), *parākramaṇa*, *putrena* and *putena*, *mitrena*, *abhīramakāni*, *rūpāni*, *sahasrāni*, *Gaṇdhārānāni*, *gurūnāni*, *thairānāni*, *manusānāni* and *mānūsānāni* (= *mānushānām*). On the other hand, lingual *n* is newly developed after *r* in *prāpunati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *darsana* and *dasana* (= *darśana*), *saṁtīraṇā* (from *ūrayati*), and without apparent reason in *Yoṇa* (V, 5), while *Yona* (with dental *n*) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel *ri* in *usaṭa* and *vadhī*, and *d* becomes *r* before an original *ri* in *etārisa*, &c. Similarly, *dh* has turned to *ḍh* through the influence of the preceding *sh* in *osudha* (= Skt. *aushadha*), and *t* becomes *ṭ* after *r* in the preposition *paṭi* (ten times), while the original form *prati* occurs four times in *pratipati* and *saṁpratipati*. In *lipi* (= *dipi* in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xlii) *d* has become *l*. In *idha* the Gīrnār dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. *iha*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 266.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumentals *bahūhi* (= *bahubhiḥ*), *tehi* (= Vedic *tēbhīḥ*), *paṭīvesiyehi*, *satehi*, and in some forms of the root *bhū*, viz. *hoti* (= *bhavati*), *aho* (= *abhavat*), and *ahumisu*, while *bh* is preserved in *bhavati*, *bhave*, *bhūta*.

The semivowel *y* is developed out of *i* in *Antiyaka* = *Ἀντίοχος*, and *Πτολεμαῖος* becomes *Turamāyo*. Initial *y* is lost in *ā* = Skt. *yā* (II, 2) and *āva* = Skt. *yāvat*. In the dative *athā* (XII, 9) = Skt. *arthāya* the whole syllable *ya* seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes *aya* and *ayi* sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to *ai* (*aya* by *Samprasāraṇa*, and *ayi* by the elision of *y*) and contracted to *e*. Thus Skt. *prativedayata* becomes *paṭivedetha*, while e.g. *pūjayati* remains unaltered, and Skt. *kāpayishyati*, *ārādhayitum*, *rōchayitavya*, *a-rōchayitvā* are converted to *kāpesati*, *ārādhetu*, *lochetavya*, *[a]-lochetpā*, while *ayi* remains in *dasayitpā* = Skt. *darśayitvā*. Similarly, Skt. *mayūra* becomes first **maūra* and then *mora* (I, 11). In two instances an original *aya* is not represented by *e*, but by *ai*: **trayadaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) becomes *traidasa* (V, 4), and Skt. **sama-charya*, having passed through the intermediate stages **samachariya* and **samacharia*, becomes *samachaira* (XIII, 7) through metathesis.¹

Lingual *ḍ* corresponds to Sanskrit *ḍ* in *mahidā*, and to Tamil *ḍ* in *Choda*. The *l* of *lochetavya* and *[a]-lochetpā*, which corresponds to Skt. *r*, is due to the influence of the Māgadha dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek λ is represented by *r* in *Turamāyo* = *Πτολεμαῖος*. This word proves that the Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī versions are translations from the Māgadha dialect, where the λ of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulamaye* at Kālsī).² Another instance in which *r* corresponds to *l* is **ārabhate*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē*; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* in *vuta* (= Skt. *ukta*, IX, 6; XIV, 4). As *aya* to *ai* and *e*, *ava* is changed by *Samprasāraṇa* to *ai* and *o*. In this way *bhavati*, *abhavat*, *avarōdhana*, **avavāditavya* become *hoti*, *aho*, *orodhana*, *ovāditavya*. The contracted form *hoti* and its original,

¹ Cf. Geiger's *Pāli*, § 27, and *puiṇa* (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. *punya* and presupposes the intermediate forms **puniya* and **puiṇya*.

² If my explanation of *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right, *supadarave* at Mānsehrā would be another wrong translation from the Māgadha dialect.

(= *rājñā*), *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika* (= *Rāṣṭrika*), *sūpāthāya* (= *sūpārthāya*), *ithijhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*), *kīti* (= *kīrti*), *tī[v]o* (= *tīvrah*), *sāmīp[an]* (= *sāmīpyam*).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in *Tambapamñi* (= Skt. *Tamraparñi*) and *Devānampriya*, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in *atīkrāta* and *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), *[ā]parātā* (= *āparāntā*), *chhāti* (= *kshānti*), *[n]iyātu* (= *niyāntu*), *Pādā* (= *Pāṇḍyā*), *bhāḍa* (= *bhāṇḍa*), *karote* (for **karonte*, IX, 3), *karoto* (for **karonti*), *pāti* (read *hoti*, for **hoṃti*). In *avilāsā* (IV, 6) *i* has taken the place of the *im* of *vihimsā* (IV, 1). Conversely in *susrū[ni]sā*, *susūmsā*, *susūmsera* the short nasalized vowel *um* is substituted for the *ū* of *susrūsā* (III, 4), and in *susrusā* and *susrusatā* the Anusvāra of *um* is omitted.¹ There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel:—*magala* (IX, 3) = *maṅgala*, the two 3. pers. plur. *ichhati* (VII, 2) and *prāpunati* (XIII, 4), *sambadha* (XI, 1) = *sambandha*, *sastuta* (twice) = *saṃstuta*, *sachhāya* (XIV, 5) = *saṃkṣāya*, *pāsaḍa* (twice) = *pāshaṇḍa*, *sayama* = *saṃyama*, *savaṭa* (also *saṃvaṭa*) = *saṃvarta*, *kich[i]* (also *kimchi*) = *kimchit*, *kiti* (also *kimti*) = *kimiti*. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form *pāsaḍa* (= Skt. *pārshada*) is a recognised variant of *pāsāṇḍa* (passim); cf. *prashaḍa* and *prashamḍa* at Shāhbāzgarhī. In *sayama*, which occurs four times, and in *savaṭa* the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms *kichi* and *kiti* occur again in other Aśoka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for *kichchi* and *kitti* = **kid + chid* and **kid + iti*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Gīrnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (*svārabhakti*) between two consonants. This vowel is *a* in *garahati* and *garahā* (= Skt. *garhati* and *garhā*), *i* in *paṭivesiya* (= *prativēśya*), *puiña* (for **puṇiya* = Skt. *puṇya*), *samachaira* (for **samachariya* = Skt. **sama-charya*), and *u* after a labial in *prāpunati* (3. plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. *prāpnōti*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to an initial group in *ithi* (i.e. *itthi*, = Skt. *stri*).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Gīrnār equivalents.

kt becomes *t* (i.e. *tt*) in *abhisita*, *bhati*, *yuta*, *vataiyam*, *vutam*.

ky becomes *k* (i.e. *kk*) in *saka*.

kr remains in *atīkrāt[a]m* (VI, 1), *parākramāmi*, *parākramena*, but becomes *k* in *atīkātam*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate* (X, 3).

kś becomes *chh* in *sachhāya* (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 142.

ksh becomes *kh* in *ithijhakha*, *saṃkhi[e]na*; *chh* in *chhaṇati*, *achhatim*, *chhamitave*, *chhāti*, *chhudam*, *chhudakena*, *vrachhā*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

gr becomes *g* in *agena*, *-anugaho*.

jñ becomes *ññ* or *ñ* in *kataññatā*, *rāñā*, *rāño*, *āñapayāmi*, *āñapayisati*, *āñapitam*, *ñāti*, *ñātika*.

dy becomes *d* in *Pādā* (= Skt. *Pāṇḍyā*).

ny becomes *ññ* in *ānaññam*, *hirañña*; *ññ* or *ñ* in *apuniñam* and *puiñam*.²

tm becomes *tp* in *ātpa*-. Cf. *tp* = *tv*, below.

ty becomes *ch* in *[a]pacham*, *āchāyī[ke]*, *ilokachasa*, *ekachā*, *kacham*, *parichajitpā*, *prachamtesu*. Other instances of palatalization are *j* = *dy*, *jh* = *dhy*, *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*.

tr remains or becomes *t*; see e.g. *trī* and *tī*, *tatra* and *tata*, *añatra* and *añata*, *sarvatra* and *sarvata*, *putra* and *puta*, *mitra* and *mita*, *mahāmātra* and *mahāmāta*.

tv becomes *tp* in *chatpāro*, *ārabhitpā*, *[a]-lochetpā*, *dasayitpā*, *parichajitpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *-hitatpā*. Cf. *db* = *dv* in *dbādasa*.

ts becomes *chh* in *chikichhā*; *s* in *usaṭena*.³

tsth becomes *sṭ* in *ustāna* for **ut-sthāna*,⁴ while the corresponding Sanskrit word is *utthāna*.
dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajetha*; *y* in *uyānesu*.

¹ Perhaps *susrusā* is meant for *susrussā*, as *bhuya* for *bhuyya*; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's *Pāli*, § 6.

² For the epenthesis of *i* see above, p. lvii, n. 1.

³ Cf. *thāna* = Skt. *sthāna* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 309.

⁴ See above, p. lvi, n. 4.

bhavati, are about equally frequent in the Gīrnār text. In *thaira* = Skt. *sthavira*, *v* is elided and *ai* contracted to *ai*.

As in most Prākṛits, the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* have become *s* throughout: e.g. *paśu* = Skt. *paśu*, *dosa* = *dōsha*.

As in all other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in *-a* ends in *-ā* (= *-āt*); Skt. *tat*, *etat*, *yāt*, and *yāvat* become *ta*, *eta*, *ya*, and *āva*; Skt. *bhavēt*, *abhavat*, *vasēyuh* become *bhave*, *aho*, *vaseyu*; and the nom. plur. of masculines in *-a* and of feminines in *-ā* ends in *-ā* (= *-āḥ*). But *ā* is shortened in the dative-genitive *imāya dhammānusastiya* (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. *chikichha* (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative *tisteya* (for **tisthēyāt*). Final *as* generally becomes *o* (e.g. *yaśo* = Skt. *yaśah*, *rāño* = *rājñah*, *tistānto* = *tisthantah*, *Devānāmpriyo* = *Dēvānāmpriyah*); but in some instances the corresponding Māgadha form in *-e* is improperly used (e.g. *Devānāmpriye*, XII, 1), and in others we have *-ā* (*Magā*, XII, 8; *sā* = Skt. *sah*, XIII, 10; *esā* = *ēśah*¹) or *-a* ([*A*]m[*ek*]ina, XIII, 8, *bhuya* = *bhūyah*, VIII, 5, and *esa*). Final *is* becomes *i* in *apachiti*, *ratī*, *hīni*, but *ī* in *līpī*, &c.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. Skt. *dānam* becomes *dānaṁ*, and *karuṁ* (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. *karōti* on the analogy of Skt. *kurvan*. Just as in modern Hindī, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see *ida* (XI, 3), *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavyam*, IX, 6), *dana* (= *dānam*, IX, 7), *phala*, *mata* (= *matam*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛitam*, XIII, 1), *mādava*, *vinikkhamaṇa*, *saka* (= *śakyam*), *ki* (IX, 9), *kiti* and *kīti* (= *kīrtim*), *chhāti* (= *kshāntim*), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhim*), *susuṁsera* (= *śuśrūṣhēran*), *karu* (for *karuṁ*), *ārādhetu* (= *ārādhayitum*), *eva* (= *ēvam*, IX, 1).²

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. *gaṇanāyaṁ*, *bhūtānaṁ*, *yesaṁ*, *ñātināṁ*, *gurūnaṁ*, *anuvātaraṁ*); but it is preserved in *bhūtānāṁ* (XIII, 7), *pūjāṁ*, *yātāṁ*, *anuvīdhiyātāṁ*. Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (= Skt. *pūjām*, XII, 2), *mahāthāvah[jā]*, *susru[m]sā*, *susrusatā*. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *tesa* (= *tēśhām*, XIII, 4) and *saṁtīraṇāya* (loc. sing. of *saṁtīraṇā*, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

III. SANDHI.

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In *tad-opayā* (VIII, 5) and *tad-amñathā* (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base *tad* is preserved in composition,³ and final *m* remains before an initial vowel in *evamapi* (II, 2) and *katavyam-eva* (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [*a*]ñam-amñasa (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 7) and *bhatam-ayesu* (= *bhṛitā-ryēshu*, V, 5; cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, *a* + *ā* are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into *ā*; e.g. *nāsti*, *dhammānusāsanāṁ*, *prāṇāraṁbho*. But the first *a* is elided before *a* in *dhamm-avāyo* (XIII, 1), *dham-anugaho* (IX, 7), *dhām-adhisānāya* (V, 4), *et-ayam* (= **itra + ayam*, VIII, 3); before *e* in *etāy-eva* (III, 3), *ch-eva* (IV, 7; XIV, 3), *ch-esā* (XIII, 4), *ta[t-e]ta* (= *tatraitat*, IX, 4), *ten-esā* (VIII, 3); before *o* in *m[a]nus-opagān[i]* (II, 5), and *u* before *o* in *pas-o[pa]gāni* (II, 6). The result of *i* + *a* is *ī* in *īthījhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 9).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The Gīrnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prākṛits. As remarked by Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Gīrnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

(a) *tp* (written *pt*) in *ārabhītpā*, *dasayītpā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*, *-hitatpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *chatpāro*, *ātpa-*.

(b) *vy* (written *yv*) in *vyamjanato*, *vyasanam*, *vyāpatā*, *apa-vyayatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, *katavya*, *vataavyam*, *prajūlitavyam*, *ovādītavyam*, *vijetavyam*, *lochetavyā*, *paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam*.

¹ Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

² It deserves to be noted that in the Rīgvēda *ēva* is used nearly throughout in the sense of *ēvam*.

³ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 341.

(c) *ṣṭ* (written *ṭṣ*) in *anusasṭi*, *seṣṭe*, *tisṭanto*, *tisṭeya*, *ṣṭitā*, *-adhisṭānāya*, *uṣṭāna*, *nisṭānāya*.

Although in the words given under (a) *tp* is written as *pt*, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe *tp*. Michelson (JAOS, 31. 235 f.) supports this view by referring to *dbādasa* = Skt. *dvādaśa* (III, 1; IV, 12): 'There is no question but that *db* represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic *dv* becomes *db*, then Indic *tv* surely should become *tp*. Hence gerunds in *-tpā* (Skt. *-tvā*) are to be read as such. This settles the reading *ātpa-* (Skt. *ātma-*) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (b) *vy* which is written *yv*. Dr. Michelson writes to me:—'It is inconsistent to transcribe *divyāni*, *vyasanam*, but *-tayva*, as the same symbol is used in all cases. *yvasanam* would be unpronounceable. Bühler's argument from Pāli that *yv* is correct from the analogy of *yh* from Skt. *hy* is useless, as *vy* does not become *yv* but *bḥ* (or remains) in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31. 235.

On the same analogy (c) *ṭṣ* has been transcribed by *ṣṭ*, although Franke (*Gurupūjākaumudī*, p. 26, note) thinks that *ṭṣ* represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Gīrnār alphabet marks the letter *r* in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1. 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (IA, 10. 106 and note). Although the *r* is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe *kr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, and not *rk*, *rt*, *rp*, *rb*. The symbol *rs*, however, does duty for both *sr* and *rs*, and *rv* for *vr* and *rv*. The former must certainly be read *sr* in *sahasra*, *sruṇāru*, *bahu-srutā*, *susrūsā*, *srāvāpakam*, *-sramāṇanam*, *-nisrito*, *a[pa]-parisrave*, but it cannot be meant for anything but *rs* in *vimāna-darsanā* (IV, 3) and *dasa-varsābhisito* (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol *rv* may be read *vr* in *vrachhā* (II, 8), but must be intended for *rv* in *sarva* and *sarvata* or *sarvatra*. The spelling *bhūta-pruva* (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadha form *-puluva* which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce *-purva*, but committed the mistake of connecting the *r* with the *p* instead of inserting it before the *v*; cf. the same spelling in the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prākṛit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvarman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. *aggi* = Skt. *agni* is written *agi*, *attha* = *artha* becomes *atha*, *laddha* = *labdha* becomes *ladha*, *gabbha* = *garbha* becomes *gabha*, and *nijjhatti* = **nidhyapti* is spelt *nijhati*. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. *dhamma* and *dhama* = *dharma*, *aṁṇa* and *aṇa* = *anya*.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prākṛits; e.g. *ñāti* = Skt. *jñāti*, *ti* = *tri*, *pāṇa* = *prāṇa*, *bhātrā* = *bhrātrā*, *chhuda* (i.e. *chhudda*) = *kshudra*. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see *kāsati* (also *kasati*, i.e. *kassati*) = **karshyati*, *dhāma* (also *dhamma*) = *dharma*, *vāsa* (also *varsa*) = *varsha*, *chikīchhā* = *chikitsā*, *rājūka* (from *rajju* or *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see *anusasṭi* = Skt. *anusāṣṭi*, *ayesu* (i.e. *ayyesu*) = *āryēshu*, *kiti* (i.e. *kitti*) = *kīrti*, *digha* (i.e. *diggha*) = *dirgha*, *puva* (i.e. *puvva*) = *pūrva*. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyaḥ*), *anuvīdhiyare* and *anuvīdhiyatām* (from Skt. *anuvīdhīyatē*) suggests that these words have to be read *bhuyya*, *anuvīdhiyyare* and *anuvīdhiyyatām*, and that consequently *tisteya* (VI, 13) may be meant for *tistēyya* with doubled *y* and short *e*, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing. opt. act.¹ But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see *asamāṭ[a]m* (= Skt. *asamāptam*), *āchāyī[ke]* (= *ātyayikam*), *āñāpayāmi* (= *ājñāpayāmi*), *āṭṭa-* (= *ātma-*), *tadātpano(ne)*, *nāsti*, *parākrama*, *brā[m]haṇa* and *bāmhaṇa* (also *bramhaṇa* and *banhhaṇa*), *bhātrā*, *mahāmāta* and *mahāmātra*, *mādava* (= *mārdava*), *mahāthāvaha* (= *mahārthāvaha*), *rāṇā*

¹ Similarly *nichā* may represent **nichchā*, into which *nichā* has been changed on the analogy of *uchchā*; see SPAW, 1914. 844.

dr becomes *d* in *chhudam*, *chhudakena*.

dv remains in *dvo*, *dve*, but becomes *db* in *dbādasa*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *ithijhakha*, *nijhatī*, *majhamena*.

dhr remains in *dhruvo*, [*A**]*mdhra*.

ny becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *amñā* and *añā*, *manñāte* and *manāte*, *ñayāsu*. Cf. *apumñā* = Skt.

apunya.

pt becomes *t* in *gutī*, *nijhatī*, *asamāt[a]m*, *saṁkhiṭ[e]na*, *Turamāyo* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

pn becomes *pun* in *prāpuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

py becomes *p* in *sāmīp[am]*.

pr remains or becomes *p*; see e.g. *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa* (IX, 8), *prāṇa* and *pāṇa* (IX, 5), *Devānaṁpriya* and *Devānaṁpiya*, *Priyadasi* and *Piyadasi*, *pratipatī* and *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4), *saṁpratipatī* and *saṁpaṭipatī* (IV, 6).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladhesu*.

br remains in *brā[m]haṇa* (IV, 2) and *bramhaṇa* (IV, 6), but becomes *b* in *bāmhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa* (IX, 5).

bhy becomes *bh* in the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare*.

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhātrā* or *bhāt[ā]*.

my remains in *saṁya-*.

mr becomes *m̐b* (through the intermediate stage **mbr*) in *Taṁbapaṁñī*.

rg becomes *g* in *svaga*.

rg becomes *gh* in *dighāya*.

rñ becomes *m̐n* in *Taṁbapaṁñī*.

rt becomes *t* in *katavya*, *kiti* or *kīti*, *anuv[a]tare*, *anuvatarāṁ*, *anuvatisare*; *ṭ* in *saṁvata* or *savata*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha*.

rd becomes *d* in *mādava*.

rdh becomes *dh* in [*pra**]*vaḍhayisaṁti* (IV, 9); *ḍh* in *vaḍhayati* (XII, 4), *vaḍhayisati* (IV, 7), *vaḍhita*. Cf. *ṭ* for *rt* in *saṁvata*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhāgāramhi*.

rm becomes *m̐m* or *m* in *kaṁma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhaṁma* and *dhama*.

ry becomes *y* in *ayesu*,¹ but is represented by *riy* in *samachairam̐*, which presupposes the form **samachariyam̐* (= Skt. **sama-charyam*); see above, p. lvii.

rv remains or becomes *v* in *sarva* or *sava*. Instead of Skt. *pūrva* we have *puva* in IV, 5, while *pruva*, which is probably meant for *purva*, occurs in two places; see above, p. lix.

rś becomes *rs* in *vimāna-darsaṇā*, but *s* in *hasti-da[sa]ṇā*, *dasane*, *dasayitpā*, *Priyadasi*; *daspanam̐* (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for *darsanam̐*.

rsh becomes *rs* in *varsa* (VIII, 2), but *s* in *vāsa* (= Skt. *varsha*).

rshy becomes *s* in *kāsati*, *kāsaṁti*, *kasa[m̐]ti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*, *garahā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapā*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalāṇa*.

vy remains in *vyam̐janato*, *-vyayatā*, *vyasanam̐*, *vyāpatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, and in the affix *-tavya* (seven instances), but becomes *y* in *pūjetayā* (XII, 4).

vr becomes *v* in *tī[v]o*, [*pa*]*vajitāni*, *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. *vraja*.

śch becomes *chh* in *paekhā*. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are *kh* = *sk*, *shkr*, *ksh*; *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*; *th* = *str*.

śy becomes *s* in *pasati*, but *siy* in *paṭivesiyehi* (XI, 3).

śr becomes *sr* in *sramaṇa*, *susrūsā*, *susru[m̐]sā*, *susrusā*, *susrusatā*, *bahu-srutā*, *srāvāpakam̐*, *nisrito*, but *s* in *samaṇa*, *susuṁsā*, *susuṁsera*, *seṭṭe* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭham*).

śv becomes *sv* in *sveto*.

shk becomes *k* in [*du*]*kataṁ*, *dukaram̐*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *vinikhamāṇa*.

¹ The 3. plur. imper. act. [*n*]*iyātu* (III, 3) need not be derived from *nir-yā*, but may stand for *niyāntu*; cf. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) from *ni-yā* used in the sense of *nir-yā*.

shṭr becomes *sṭ* in *Ri(Rā)sṭika*.

shṭh loses its aspiration and becomes *sṭ* in *seṣṭe*, *tisṭeya*, *tisṭamto*, *nisṭānāya*, *-adhiṣṭānāya*. Cf. the Māgadhi forms *śuṣṭu* = Skt. *sushṭhu* and *koṣṭāgālaṃ* = *kōshṭhāgāram* (Hemachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 303), and at Girnār *sṭita* = Skt. *sthita*, *uṣṭāna* = **ut-sthāna*, *Ri(Rā)sṭika* = *Rāshṭrika*, *anusasṭi* = *anuṣāsti*.

shy becomes *s* in *manusa*, *āṇapayisati*, and in other futures.

sk becomes *kh* in *agi-kh[a]ṇdhāni*.

st remains in *asti*, *nāsti*, *hasti*, *saṇistuta*, *visṭata*; it becomes *sṭ* in *anusasṭi*.

str becomes *th* in *ithi*.

sth becomes *th* in *thaira*, *st* in *gharastāni*,¹ and *sṭ* in *sṭitā*.

sm becomes *mh* in the locatives in *-amhi*.

sy becomes *s* in the genitives in *-asa*, and in the optatives *asa*, *asu* of root *as*.

sr remains in *sahasra* and *a[pa]-parisrave*, but becomes *s* in *parisave* (X, 3).

sv remains in *svaga*, *svāmikena*, *svayam*, but becomes *s* in *sarasake* (XIII, 11).

hm becomes *mh*, as in Prākṛit, in *bamhaṇa* and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word *brāhmaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jano</i> , &c. } neut. <i>dānaṃ</i> , &c.		Masc. <i>morā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>janam</i> , &c. }		Masc. <i>yute</i> , <i>athe</i> ; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>rūpāni</i> .
Instr. <i>janena</i> , &c.		<i>paṭivesiyehi</i> , <i>satehi</i> .
Dat. <i>athāya</i> , &c.		
Abl. <i>kapā</i> , <i>-hitatpā</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .		
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.		<i>thairānaṃ</i> , &c.
Loc. (a) <i>athamhi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>kāle</i> , &c.		<i>thairesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. *phala*, *mata*, *mādava* (acc.), *vinikhamana*. In many instances the Māgadha termination *-e* is used; (a) masculines:—*parisave*,² *a[pa]-parisrave*, *Devānaṃpiye* (XII, 1), *prādesike*, *bhā[g]e*, *rājūke*, *sakale*, *sayame*; (b) neuters:—*āchāyī[ke]*, *kaṇme*, *-charaṇe*, *tārise*, *dasāṇe*, *dāne*, *-puve*, *bahuvidhe*, *maṅgale*, *-mate*, *mah[ā]-phale*, *mahālake*, *mūle*, *yārise*, *vadhite*, *vip[ul]e*, *seṣṭe*. The wrong form *-paṭividhāno* (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Girnār version thoughtlessly replaced the *-e* of the Māgadha neuter *paṭividhāne* by *-o*, as in the masculine *jano*, &c. = Māgadha *jane*, &c. The foreign name *[A]nt[ek]ina* (XIII, 8) has no termination, while *Magā* lengthens its final *a*.

Dat. sing.—The form *athā* (XII, 9) for *athāya* is found also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII; cf. Text, p. 22, n. 3, and Michelson, JAOS, 31. 240.

Loc. sing.—In *pravāsaṃmhi* (IX, 2) the *m* is doubled. The termination *-e* occurs also in *pakarāṇe*, *prakaraṇe*, *Pāṭalipute*, *vijaye*, *vijite*, *sarasake*; *tadātpano* is a mistake for *tadātpane*.³

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination *-āni*, which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhi dialect, in four instances:—*agi-kh[a]ṇdhāni* (IV, 4) and *sava-pāsaṇḍāni cha* [*pa*] *vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati* (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *vimāna-darsaṇā cha hasti-da[sa]ṇā cha* (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7).

Loc. plur.—The final *u* is lengthened in *paṇthesū* (II, 8).

¹ In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hemachandra, II, 144, Skt. *gṛiha* is replaced by *ghara*.

² The corresponding Pāli word *parissaya* is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1004 and n. 5.

³ Cf. *-paṭividhāno* for *-paṭividhāne* in the nom. sing.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichhā</i> , &c.	(a) <i>katā</i> (II, 4); (b) <i>mahiḍāyo</i> .
Acc. <i>pūjām</i> , <i>yātām</i> .	
Instr. <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Loc. <i>gaṇanāyaṁ</i> , <i>parisāyaṁ</i> .	

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (XII, 2), *mahāthāvak[ā]* (X, 1), *susru[m]sā* (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In *saṁtīraṇāya* (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

Nom. plur.—In *chikichha* (II, 4) the long *ā* of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -āo in the Prākṛits; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 376.

II. BASES IN -ī.

(1) Masculines in -ī.

Nom. plur. <i>trī</i> , <i>tī</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>ñātīnaṁ</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>ñātīsu</i> .

The nom. plur. in -ī is common in Prākṛit; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 380.

(2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>lipī</i> , &c.	<i>aṭaviyo</i> .
Acc. <i>Sambodhiṁ</i> , &c.	
Instr. - <i>anusasṭiyā</i> , <i>bhatiyā</i> .	
Dat. - <i>anusasṭiya</i> (with final <i>ā</i> shortened).	
Nom. sing.—The final <i>i</i> remains short in <i>apachi'i</i> , <i>rati</i> , <i>hīni</i> .	
Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in <i>kīti</i> (X, 2), <i>kīti</i> (X, 1), <i>chhāti</i> (XIII, 11), <i>v[a]dhi</i> (IV, 11).	

III. BASES IN -u.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. *gurūnaṁ* we have three forms of the neuter base *bahu*, viz. nom. sing. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. *bahūni*, and instr. plur. *bahūhi*. The nom. sing. *sādhū* is the same in all three genders.

IV. BASES IN -ri.

Instr. sing. masc. <i>pitā</i> (for <i>pitṛā</i>), <i>bhātrā</i> or <i>bhāt[ā]</i> .
Loc. sing. <i>pītari</i> , <i>mātari</i> and <i>mātr[ī]</i> .

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

As in other Prākṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the *a*-declension. Thus the feminine base *parishad* becomes *parisā* (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. *parisāyaṁ* (VI, 7). The present participle *sat* forms the nom. sing. masc. *saṁto*. Of bases in -an, *panthan* forms the loc. plur. *paṁthesū*, and the neuter *karman* the Māgadha nom. sing. *kaṁme* and the dat. sing. *kaṁmāy[a]*.

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. <i>karuṁ</i> or <i>karu</i> .
Nom. plur. masc. <i>tiṣṭaṁto</i> .

The nom. sing. *karuṁ* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *karōti*. In *karu* the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, *karoto* (for **karoṁto*) and *saṁto* (from root *as*) follow the analogy of the *a*-declension.

(2) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>rājā</i> .	<i>rājāno</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> .	
Instr. <i>rāññā</i> .	
Gen. <i>rāñño</i> .	

In the nom. sing. masc. [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) the final *ā* is shortened, while II, 3 has *Yona-rājā*.

(3) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. <i>Priyadasi</i> , <i>hasti</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>Priyadasinā</i> .
Gen. sing. <i>Priyadasino</i> .

(4) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. Sing. *yaso*, *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyah*).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. <i>aham</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>mayā</i> .
Gen. sing. <i>mama</i> , <i>me</i> .

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>so</i> } neut. <i>ta</i> .	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc.	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Dat. <i>tāya</i> .	<i>tehi</i> .
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	<i>te[sa]ni</i> , <i>tesa</i> .
Loc. <i>tamhi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *sā*.

In *pīti-raso sā* (XIII, 10) the nom. sing. masc. ends in *-ā*. The neuter *ta* (= Skt. *tat*) occurs twice (X, 3; XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadha equivalent *se* is taken over unchanged in I, 10.

(3) Base *na*.

Acc. plur. masc. *ne*; neut. *nāni*.

For this pronoun see Hēmachandra, III, 70, 77.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> (X, 3), ¹ <i>esā</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etañi</i> , <i>esa</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>eta</i> (XI, 3).	
Dat. <i>etāya</i> , <i>etakāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>etasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>etamhī</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *esā* (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. *esā* (VIII, 5;² XIII, 4) cf. *sā* (= Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10) and *Magā* (XIII, 8). The neuter *eta* (= Skt. *etat*) occurs twice, and *etañi* once (X, 4), while the masculine

¹ Cf. above, p. lxii, n. 2.

² See Text, p. 15, n. 7.

form *esa* is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hēmachandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa siram* (= Skt. *ētachchirah*). Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. *se*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *saḥ* and *tat*), and see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ayaṁ</i> ; neut. <i>idaṁ</i> , <i>ayaṁ</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>idaṁ</i> .	
Instr. <i>iminā</i> .	
Gen. <i>imasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>inamhi</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyaṁ</i> , <i>ayaṁ</i> .	
Dat. sing. fem. <i>imāya</i> .	

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idaṁ* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayaṁ* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iyaṁ* (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only *ayaṁ* is used as feminine.

(6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. *ki* (for *kiṁ*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kaṁ*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base *kiṁchid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kochi* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kiṁchi* or *kich[i]* (X, 3). The compound *kiṁti* or *kiti* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

(7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ya</i> ; neut. <i>ya</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>ya</i> , <i>ya[ni]</i> .	
Gen. <i>yasa</i> .	<i>yesaṁ</i> .
Nom. plur. fem. <i>yā</i> .	

The acc. sing. neut. *ya[ni]* is found only in X, 3, while *ya* (= Skt. *yat*) occurs ten times.

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aññe</i> ; neut. <i>añ[a]</i> , <i>añe</i> .	Masc. <i>a[ni]ñ[e]</i> , <i>añe</i> } neut. <i>añāni</i> .
Acc.	Acc.
Dat. <i>añāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>[a]ñamaniñasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>añamhi</i> .	

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *aññe* (VIII, 5) and *añe* (IV, 7) are Māgadha forms,¹ while *añ[a]* (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anyat*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. <i>sarvaṁ</i> , <i>savaṁ</i> .	Masc. <i>sarve</i> .
Loc. <i>sarve</i> , <i>s[a]ve</i> .	<i>[sa]vesu</i> .

(10) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekataṁamhi*.

(11) Base **ēkatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekachā*.²

¹ Cf. above, p. lxii.

² The corresponding Pāli form is *ekachche*; see Childers, s. v., and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 113.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eko*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *dvo*; fem. *dve*.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Gīrnār dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. *trī*, *tī*.

Four.

Nom. masc. *chatpāro*.

Five.

Loc. *pañchasu*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

dasa, *dbādasa*, *traidasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sahasrāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parākramāmi*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate*. The active form *kramati* occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has *krāmati* in the active and *kramatē* in the middle.

Root *gam*: *gachheyam*.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *drīś*: *pasati* (i.e. *passati* = Skt. *paśyati*).Root *bhū*: *bhavati* and *hoti*.

Root *labh*. The absolutive *ārabhitpā* and the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare* presuppose the present **ārabhate*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhatē*).

Root *vas*: *vaseyu*.Root *vrit*: *anuv[a]tare*.Root *sthā*: *tisteya*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *astī*.Root *yā*: *[n]iyātu*.Root *han* follows the analogy of the ninth class: *upahanāti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *prajūhitavyam* presupposes the present **jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati* (for **jūhvati*); see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajetha* (= Skt. *pratipadyēta*).Root *man*: *manñate* (= Skt. *manyatē*).

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class : *prāpuṇati* (for *°namti*).¹

Root *śru* follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active *sruṇāru*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish* : *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both *bhuj* (*bhuj*[*a*] *mānasa*, VI, 3) and *yuj* (*yujamtu*, IV, 11) follow the *a*-conjugation.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi* : *karoti*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation : *chhaṇati*.

Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With *aya* : *pūjayati*, *dasayitpā*, *dīpayema*, *ārādhayaṃtu*, *vaḍhayati*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetha*, *paṭ[i]vedeta*[*v*] *yam*, *pūjetayā*, *ārādheta*, *lochetavyā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*.

(b) With *paya* : *hāpesati* and the derivative *dāpaka*. The long vowel of the root *jñā* is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before *paya* in *āñāpayāmi*. With this agrees the Prākṛit *āṇavedi*, while Pāli has *āñāpeti* with long *ā*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 8.

(c) With *āpaya* : *likhāpayisāni*, *sukhāpayāmi* (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of *sukha*), and the derivatives *khānāpita*, *lekhāpita*, *hārāpita*, *srāvāpaka*. In *lekhāpita* the vowel *i* of the root *likh* is strengthened by Guṇa, while in *likhāpayisāni* it remains unchanged.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *ropāpita*.

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

Active.

1. sing. *parākramāmi*, *karomi*, *āñāpayāmi*.

3. sing. *garahati*, *pasati*, *bhavati* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahanāti*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *chhaṇati*, *pūjayati*, *vaḍhayati*.

3. plur. *pāti* (read *hoti*, XIII, 6), *ichhati* (VII, 2), *prāpuṇati* (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination *-nti* instead of *-ti*.

Middle.

3. sing. *pari(rā)k[a]mate*, *maññate* or *mañate*, *karote*, which follows the analogy of the active *karōti*, while Sanskrit has the weak form *kurutē*.

3. plur. *karote* (IX, 3) for **karōnte*. The termination is *-re* in *anuv[a]tare* (XIII, 9), in the future *anuvatisare*, in the two passives *anuvīdhiyare* and *ārābhare*, and in the future passive *ārābhisare*. The same termination is known from Vedic Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and Pāli; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 458.

(b) Subjunctive.

Active.

1. sing. *sukhāpayāmi* (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative *gachheyam* and the imperative *ārādhayaṃtu*.

3. sing. *maññā* (XIII, 11) from *maññate*. Cf. *paśyāt* and many other Vedic forms.

(c) Optative.

Active.

1. sing. *gachheyam*.

3. sing. *asa* (= Pāli *assa* for **asyāt* from root *as*), *bhave*, *tisteya*. Pāli, too, has both the terminations *-e* and *-eyya*.

1. plur. *dīpayema*.

3. plur. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuh*), *vaseyu*.

¹ Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form *pāuṇanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504.

Middle.

3. sing. *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha* (= Skt. *-ta*) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 129.

3. plur. *susumsera* (desiderative of *śru*) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-raṃ* = Skt. *-ran*.

(d) Imperative.

Active.

2. plur. *paṭivedetha* (VI, 5). As in Prākṛit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yujāntu*, *ārādhayaṃtu*, [*n*]iyātu (with *-tu* for *-mtu*), *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) from **sruṇāti* = Skt. *śṛiṇōti*. With the termination *-ru* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *susumsera*, and the imperative *anuvataṃ*.

Middle.

3. sing. *anuvīdhiyatām* (passive) and *susrusatā* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuvataṃ* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) compared the Vēdic imperative *duhrām*. The middle termination *-raṃ* (for *-rām*) corresponds to Skt. *-ntām*, as the active termination *-ru* to Skt. *-ntu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-ntē*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-ran* agrees with Gīrnār and Pāli.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. *aho* for **abhot* = Skt. *abhavat*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 30, last section.

II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) = Skt. **nyayāsuḥ* from root *yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *nis*; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form *ahum̐su* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. *abhūt*), as Pāli *āsimsu* on *āsi* (= Skt. *āsīt*). In *ārabbhisu* (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive *ārabbhare* (I, 11) = Skt. *ālabbhyantē*, the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bḥ*.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. act. *āha*. The form *ayāya* (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root *yā*. It may be as well a perfect of root *i*, = Skt. *iyāya*, but with modified reduplication.

IV. FUTURE.

Active.

1. sing. *likhāpayisaṃ* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prākṛit and Pāli.

3. sing. *āñāpayisati*, *vaḍhayisati*, *kāpesati*, *kāsati* (= Pāli *kāhatī*) from **karshyati*.

3. plur. [*pra**]*vaḍhayisaṃti*, *anusāsisaṃti*, *kāsaṃti* and *kasa[ṃ]ti* from root *kṛi*.

Middle.

3. plur. *anuvatisare* (V, 2). In the passive *ārabbhisare* (I, 12) the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bḥ*; cf. the remark on the aorist *ārabbhisu*, above, section II.

V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīrnār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives *ālabbhyatē* and *anuvīdhiyatē*:

3. plur. indicative *ārabbhare*, *anuvīdhiyare* are defective spellings for *ārabbhāre*, *anuvīdhiyyare*; see above, p. lix.

3. sing. imperative *anuvīdhiyatām*.

3. plur. aorist *ārabbhisu*.

3. plur. future *ārabbhisare*.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative *susumsera* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susrusatā* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *śuśrūṣhatē*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *sthā*: nom. plur. masc. *tiṣṭānto*.

Root *as*: nom. sing. masc. *saṁto*.

Root *kṛi*: nom. sing. masc. *karoto*, *karuṁ*, *karu*.

Middle.

Root *bhuj*: *bhujy[a]māna*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *kata* (= *kṛita*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vistata* (= *vistrīta*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisṛita* (= **nīṣṛita*), *ṣṭita* (= *sthita*), *atīkrāta* (VI, 1) or *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), *vuṭa* (= *ukta*), *saṁāta* (= *saṁāpta*), *saṁkhīta* (= *saṁkṣhīpta*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *āṇapita*, &c. The participles *viṣita* and *vinīta* (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in *-na* is *prasanna*.

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tava*: *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavya*), *vataṛya* (= *vaktavya*), *prajūhitavya* (from **jūhati* = Pāli *jvhati*), *ovādīṭavya* (from Pāli *ovadati*), *viṣetavya* (from *vi-ṣi*), *pūjetavya* (= *pūjayitavya*), *lochetavya* (= *rōchayitavya*), *paṭ[i]vedeta[v]ya*.

(b) In *-ya*: *kacha* (= Skt. *kṛitya*, IX, 8), *saka* (= *śakya*).

VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative: *ārādhetu* (= Skt. *ārādhayitum*).

(b) Dative: *chhamitave* from root *ksham*; cf. Vēdic forms like *charitave*, and *gantave*, &c., in Pāli.

IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tpā* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ārabhitpā*, *parichajitpā* (from root *tyaj*), *dasayitpā* (from causative of *dṛis*), *[a]-lochetpā* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) The only absolute in *-ya* is *sachhāya* from *saṁ-kṣā* (= *saṁ-khyā*).

F.—SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) *Kṛit* suffixes.

(a) *-anā*: *saṁtīraṇā* from Skt. *tīrayati*.

(b) *-ti*: *nijhati* = **nidhyapti*, *anusasṭi* = Skt. *anusāṣṭi* (Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, 5. 991), while Pāli *anusīṭṭhi* agrees with Skt. *anusīṣṭhi*.

(c) *-ni*: *hīni* (IV, 11) from root *hā* on the analogy of the participle *hīna*.

The first member of the compound *vachī-guti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31. 230) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhmagadhi *vaī* or *vaī* = **vāchī*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

(2) *Taddhita* suffixes.

(a) *-ka*: *rājūka* (from *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: *etaka*, *y[ā]vata[k]a*, *tāvataka*, *sarasaka*, *ñātika*.

(b) *-āla*: *mahāla* (from Skt. *mahat*) = Prakṛit *mahālaya* and *mahallaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, pp. 402, 404).

(c) *-ika*: *ilokika* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12).

(d) *-ya*: *ilokacha* (XI, 4), *ekacha* (I, 6). The first component of *ilokacha* and *ilokika* is the pronominal base *i*, from which Skt. *itara*, *itas*, and *iha* (for *idha*) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895. 535.

(e) *-tara*, added to participles and substantives: *bāḍhataram*, *katavyataram*, *kaṁmataram* from Skt. *karman*.

(f) *-tvana*: *tadātpano(ne)*; see Text, p. 18, n. 8.

G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in *atikātaṃ amṭaraṃ*, 'in times past' (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in *bahūhi v[āsa]-satehi*, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in *dighāya*, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in *pañchasa pañchasa vāsesu*, 'every five years' (III, 2), *sarve kāle*, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and *tadātpano(ne)*, 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4:—*so t[a]thā karu*, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3:—*bhūmī[a]mānasa me*, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with *bhavati* (IV, 10) and *nāsti* (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with *kata* (= *kṛita*, II, 4), *sādhu-matā* (I, 6 f.), and *katavya-mate* (VI, 9).

The 3. sing. *asti* is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and *nāsti* in three places (II, 6, 7; XIII, 5); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 350. In XIV, 1 f., *asti* is used as a particle in the sense of *vā*. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the *Pañchatantra*; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), p. 234, n. 2. For instances from Prākṛit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

CHAPTER VII.

GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* becomes *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= *madhyama*), *vaḍhiyati* (= *vardhayati*), *vaḍhiyisati*, and *u* after a labial in *muta*,¹ *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchā-vucha*. In *gi[h]i[th]a* (= *grihastha*, XIII, 37) and *ud[u]pāna* (= *udapāna*) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In *Alīkyashudale* (XIII, 8) the *u* is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name Ἀλέξανδρος from *alīka*, 'the forehead', and *sundara*, 'beautiful'.

The *e* of *heta* or *hetā* (= **itra*) perhaps goes back to an original *i*; see above, p. lvi. In *edisa* and *heḍisa* the vowel *e* corresponds to the *i* of Skt. *īdriśa*.²

The *a* of *galu* corresponds to Skt. *u*; cf. above, p. lvi. In *munisa* (II, 6) the *u* of Skt. *manushya* has become *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* in the next syllable; cf. the form *manuśa* (i.e. *mannśśa*) at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, in which the *y* has palatalized the preceding *sh*.³ In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *n* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākṛits, the Skt. vowel *ṛi* is lost. It becomes *a* in *[a]naniya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*), *[u]shaṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*,⁴ *gahaṭa* (= *grihastha*, XII, 31), *dakhati*, *bhaṭa*,⁵ *bhaṭaka*, *maṭe*, *vataṃ* (= *vṛittam*, X, 27), *vaḍhi* and *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*), *vithaṭa*, *viyāpata*; *i* in *edisa* and *heḍisa*, *tādisa*, *[ā]disa* (= *yādriśa*), *kiṭanāt[ā]* (= *kṛitajñātā*), *gi[h]i[th]a*, *diḍha*, *panāṭikya* (= **pranāṭṛika*), *pitisu*, *bhātina*, *mige*, *migaviyā*; *u* in *ushuṭa*,⁶ *shune[y]n*,⁷ and after a labial in *a[gabhu]t[i]*, *palipuchhā*, *nī[v]uti* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vutām* (= *vṛittam*, XIII, 11), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*). It will be observed that in some of these words the original *ṛi* has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in *heḍisa*=Skt. *īdriśa* it has lingualized the preceding *d*. In *[lu]kha* (II, 6) the syllable *lu* corresponds to the syllable *vṛi* of Skt. *vṛiksha*; cf. Greek *λύκος* = Skt. *vṛika*, and see Wackernagel's *Altind.*

¹ The same form occurs in Pāli; see Geiger, § 18.

² Pāli has *edisa* and *erisa*, Prākṛit *īdisa* and *erisa*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 121.

³ Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) thinks that the vocalization of *munisa* may have followed the analogy of Māgadha *pulisa* = Skt. *purusha*. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of *munisa*, which stands for *munissa*.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *vikāṭa* (for *vikṛita*), *utkata*, *saṃkāṭa*.

⁵ This Prākṛit word is used also in Sanskrit.

⁶ Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in *ud[u]pāna* = Skt. *udapāna*.

⁷ Here the *u* is due to the analogy of other forms of the root *śru*.

Grammatik, vol. I, § 184, b). The Gīrnār equivalent *vrachha* disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 320), who derived Prākṛit *rukṣha* from Skt. *rukṣa* (*Rigveda*, VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (*VIIIth Oriental Congress, Aryan Section*, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are both lost. The former becomes *e* in *nī[che]* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchāḥ*, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination *-e*; the second becomes *o* in *paṭotā* (XIII, 15), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya*, *-opaga* and *-opa[ya]*.

Short *a* is lengthened in *a[tiyāyike]* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *uyāma* (= *udyama*), *lāti* (= *rati*, VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in *-a*, viz. *uchāvuchā-* (VII, 21), *kiṭanā-* (= *kṛitajña*, VII, 22), *v[i]yā-* (= *vyaya*, III, 8), *śālā-* or *sh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *shāvā-* (= *sarva*, XII, 31), *samanā-* (= *śramaṇa*, XI, 29). The lengthening of *a* is very frequent at the end of words; e.g. *ajā* (= *adya*), *atā* (= *atra* and *yatra*), *anatā* (= *anyatra*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *āhā*, *evā* or *vā*, *chā*, *janasā*, *tasā* (= *tasya*), *tenā*, *dānenā*, *nā*, *nāmā*, *nikhamithā*, *Piyadasisā*, *mamā*, *hidā* (= *iha*), *hetā* (= **itra*).

Long *i* and *u* are nowhere distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowels except in *osadhīn[i]* (II, 5), *Pi[ya]dasī* (I, 2), *s[i]lasi* (IV, 12), *[chū]* (I, 4), *majū[ā]* (I, 4), *la[ṣ]k[e]* (III, 7).

Similarly, *ā* is often represented by *a*. Although in some cases this defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous.

(1) At the beginning: *akāla(le)na*, *anam[ta][i]yenā*, *[a]naniyam*, *apalanitā*¹ *ayatiye*, *alanibhiyisu*, *alabhi[yan]ti*, *alābhi[y]isa[n]ti*, *av[āha]si*, *ahā*² (= Skt. *āha*, V, 13).

(2) In the interior of words: *adisha* (= *yādṛiṣam*, XI, 29), *anathesu* (= *anāthesu* at Dhāuli), *apavahe* (= Skt. *apavāhaḥ*), *ava* (= *yāvat*, IX, 25), *ava[ta]ke*, *kala* (VI, 17), *Devanampiyem* (X, 28), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya* (= *pālalokika* in the two separate edicts at Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa), *paśaḍa* (= Skt. *pāśhaṇḍa*, XII, 31), *badham* (XII, 32), *madhuliyāye*, *laṣā*, *laṣāne*, *laṣinā*, *vijina-mane*, *v[i]dh[a]na[n]*, *vimana-*, *viyapaṭā* (V, 15), *vividh[aye]*, *shav[i]bhage*.

(3) At the end: *a* (= Skt. *ā*, XIII, 6), *anatha* (= *anyathā*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *[e]sh[a]* (XIII, 37), *ma* (XIII, 16), *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *māta-pitisu* (III, 8), *lāja* (IV, 11), *va* (twice = *vā*), *h[da]lokika* (XIII, 18).

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= *api*) and *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*), also in *kiṁti* (only XII, 33) and *kiti*; *e* in *va* (only IX, 26) and *vā*, besides which the full forms *eva* and *evā* are also employed.³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The Kālśī dialect agrees with the Māgadha one in replacing the semivowel *r* by *l*, and the two nasals *ṇ* and *ṇ̄* by dental *n*, throughout.

The two gutturals *k* and *g* were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups *ky* and *gy*, of which the latter occurs three times in the word *Kaligya* (= Skt. *Kaliṅga*), and the former in *[n]iky[ā]y[ā]* (XII, 34), *Aliyashudale* (XIII, 8), and in the affixes *-ka* and *-ika* of *akāliky[e]*, *-thitikyā* and *-phitikyā*, *nātikya*, *panātikyā*, *pālanitikya*, *Pitinikyē[sh]u*, *-bh[u]mikyā*, *sh[a](shu)vām[i]kyena*, *sa[n]sayikyē*, *hidālokikya* and *pa[la]lokikya* (XIII, 18). Instead of the two last words we find also the forms *hi[da]-lokika* and *palalokiya* (XIII, 17 f.), which suggest that *-ika* became *-iya* through the intermediate stage *-ikya*. In the same way Franke (VOJ, 9. 347, n. 2) explains *nilathiya*, which corresponds at Kālśī (IX, 24) to *niratha* at Gīrnār.⁴ Another instance of the change of *k* to *y* after *i* would be *diyadha* (XIII, 35), which Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 230) derived from **dvikārdha*. To this may be added the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* in *mahālaka* and *supadālaya* (V, 14); see below, p. lxxxiv.⁵ The Kālśī

¹ Dhāuli reads *āpalanītā*, and Gīrnār *[ā]parātā*. Cf. the adjective *Āparāntaka* in the *Kautiliya*, p. 81, l. 5.

² This may be an unreduplicated perfect, as in the pillar-edicts; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.

³ Instead of *no* at XIII, 16, we have perhaps to read *yo*, as at Shāhbāzgarhī. For *yo* = Prākṛit *yeva* see below, p. lxxxv.

⁴ Cf. also *ata-patiya* in the pillar-edict IV, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rumindēi pillar.

⁵ In Turkish the guttural ک (kyaf) is liable to a similar palatalization and change to *y*; thus from کۆپک (kyöpek), 'a dog', is formed کۆپکی (pronounced kyöpeyi), 'his dog'.

dialect, like the Girnār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of *y* from *g* in *-opaga* (II, 5) and *-opa[ya]* (VIII, 23). From the form *Kaligya*, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālsī, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was **-opagya*. Greek *γ* is expressed by *k* in *Amteki[ne]* and *Makā*, and *χ* by *g* in *Amtiyoga*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

Of palatals, *ch* has been aspirated in *kechha* (= Skt. *kēcha*, XII, 32) and *kichhi* (= **kid + chid*). In *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*. The letter *j* has become *d* in *palitiditu* (X, 28), the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*. Cf. Kuhn (*Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 36), who quotes from *Dhammapada*, p. 144 [l. 13], the aorist *parichchadi*; E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 25; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in *dnvādasa*; before *ri* in *heḍisa*; after *ri* in *[u]shata* and *ushuta*, *kata*, *dukata*, *kitanāt[ā]*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *mate*, *vithata*, *viyāpata*; after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (= Skt. *prati*). Dental *t* is palatalized in *chithit[u]* (IV, 12), the absolutive of Prākṛit *chiththadi*¹ (= Skt. *tishṭhati*). It is replaced by *d* in *dose* (VI, 19) and *hida-sukhāye* (V, 15).² In *tatopa[yā]* (= *tadopayā* at Girnār and Dhauli) it looks as if *t* had taken the place of *d*. But the first member of the compound might be, not *tad*, but *tata* (= Skt. *tatra*); cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 194. In *hida* (= *idha* at Girnār) the *d* apparently corresponds to an original *dh*; but Johansson (*Shāhb.*, § 57) may be right in connecting *hida* with Vēdic *idā*, 'now'.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, *huveyu*, *husu*, and in the participle *huta* (= Skt. *bhūta*), while *bhuta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* has become *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 4); *v* in *visava* (= *vishaya*, XIII, 9) and *vas[e]vu* (= *vasēyuh*, VII, 21); *h* in *ye[han]* (VI, 20).³ Initial *y* is lost in *aṃ* (= Skt. *yat*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *e* (= *yah*, *yat*, *yē*), *at[a]* (= *yatra*), *athā* (= *yathā*), *[ā]disa* (= *yādṛiśa*), *āva* (= *yāvat*), *ava[ta]ke* (XIII, 39). In *aparvudha* (= *apōdha*) *v* was developed out of *ū*.

The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *palitiditu*, the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*, and in *[a]pa-v[i]yātā* (= *apa-vyayātā* at Girnār), and *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutives in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*).

In *t[e]dasa* (= **trayadaśa*) *aya* is contracted to *e*. The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *dasayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *pūjeti*, *pūjetav[i]ya*, &c.); in *vaḍhiyati* and *vadhīyisati* the second *a* is changed to *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative *nivaṭey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) the *e* corresponds to an original *aye*.⁴ For *ava* we have *o* in *olodhana*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*.

Cases of Cockneyism are *hida* (= Skt. *iha*), *heḍisa* (= *īdṛiśa*), *heta* (= **itra*), *hevaṃ*, and perhaps the conjunction *hamche* (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli *sache*, 'if'. Johansson (*Shāhb.*, I. 66) derives it from Pāli *yamche* (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 603, a) through the intermediate form **amche*, while Senart (IA, 21. 88) traces it directly to *sache*.

In the edicts I–IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Girnār one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* by *s*.⁵ From edict X the writer employs, besides *s*, the signs for *ś* and *sh*. In a few cases, *sh* is used where Sanskrit would require it; see *eshe*, *[va]sha* (= *varsha*, XIII, 35), *pāshamda*, *manu[shāna]ni*, *tesham*, *yesham*, *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *Kambojeshu*, *Kali[m]geshu*, *nātikeshu*, *Nābhapantishu*, *Pitinikeye[sh]u*, *pitishu*, *Y[o]neshe[u]*, *ladhesha(shu)*, *manishu*. But in the majority of instances both *sh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. *taśa* and *tasha* (= Skt. *tasya*), *dāśa* and *dāsha* (= *dāsa*), *śamthuta* and *shamthuta* (= *saṃstuta*), *[a]va* and *shava* (= *sarva*), *śālā-* and *sh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *śiyāti* and *shiyāti* (= *syāt*), *[ś]e* and *she*, *shaha[ś]a* and *shahasha* (= *sahasra*). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.⁶ In other words, the letters *ś* and *sh* at Kālsī are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every *ś* and *sh* is a vicarious symbol expressing dental *s*.

As in the Girnār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*, Pāli *sammā*), *palisā* (= Skt. *parishad*), *puna*

¹ Cf. Singhalese *siṭṭinu* or *hiṭṭinu*, 'to stand', in Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 47, l. 3 f.

² Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.

³ For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.

⁴ For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁵ But *ś* occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (*vaśa* = Skt. *varsha*, and *Piyadaśinā*).

⁶ Cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 37, and Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 14, last section.

and *punā* (= *punar*), *āva*, *ava*, *avā* (= *yāvat*). It is nasalized in *avam* (XIII, 8). The termination *-ās* generally becomes *-ā* (e.g. *putā*), but the *ā* is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvi. Final *-as* becomes *-e*; e.g. *jane* (nom. sing.), *natāle* (= Skt. *napitārak*), *lājine* (gen. sing.), *lājāne* (nom. plur.), *bh[u]ye* (= *bhūyāḥ*), *ne* (= *naḥ*), *se* (= *saḥ*), *ye* or *e*, *aṁne*, *eke*, [*ṣ*] *ule* (= Pāli *pure*, Skt. *purāḥ*), [*m*] *u[kha]t[e]*, *viyañjanat[e]*. But *o* is found instead of *e*, as at Gīrnār, in *Sātiyaputo*, *Ke[lala]puto*, *jani[yo]*, *lā[j]āno*, *yaso* or *yasho*, *tato*; *ā* in *Makā*; *a* in *vadha* (XIII, 36), *hidālokikya* (XIII, 17), *esh[a]* (XIII, 38), *va[cha]*- (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. *dhammam*, *dānam*, and the two present participles *saṁtam* and *kalamtam* (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt. *san* and *kurvan*. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see *kala[m̐ta]* (XI, 30) and *kalata* (XII, 32) for *kalamtam*, *anata* (XI, 30) for *anamtam*, *adisha* (= Skt. *yādṛiṣam*, XI, 29), *pāshaṁḍa*, *pāshaḍa*, and *pāśaḍa*, *bādha* (XIII, 36), *madava* (= *mārdavam*, XIII, 4), *viṣay[a]* and *viṣayataviya* (XIII, 16), [*sha*] *va* (= *sarvam*, X, 28), *heva* (= *ēvam*, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine *-anusa[th]i* (XIII, 12), *kiti*, *khamti*, *vadhi*, *Sambodhi*, *sudhi*, *hini*. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding *a* lengthened; see [*ā*] *disā* (= Skt. *yādṛiṣam*, IV, 10), *ka[m̐]talā* (= **karmataram*, VI, 20), *khudā* (= *kshudram*, IX, 24), *dosā* (I, 2), *nilathiyā* (IX, 24), *pāśaḍā* (XII, 32), *punā* (thrice = *puṇyam*), *bahuk[ā]* (I, 2), *maha-phalā* (= *mahā-phalam*, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in *-e*; see *se*, *she*, *ese*, *eshe*, *ye*, *e*, *aṁne*, *save*, *shave*, *i[ta]le*, *dāne*, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in *dāne* (XII, 31), *bādhatāle* (XII, 33), and in the particles *e* (XIII, 38), *se*, *she*.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long *ā* is generally shortened; e.g. *pānānam*, *tānam* (XIII, 38), *tesham* (XIII, 37), *nāti[nam]* (IV, 10), *bhā[tina]m* (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural [*ba*] *nibhanānā* (XI, 29), *nātinā* (IV, 9), *bh[ag]i[ni]nā* (V, 16), *gulunā* (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular *pujā* (XII, 31), *-daṁḍatā* (XIII, 17), *dishā* (XIV, 23), [*ma*] *hathāvā* (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for *mahathāvahā* (= Skt. *mahārthāvahām*). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*, V, 15), *pāśaḍāna* (XII, 31), *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39), *i[d]āni* (= *idānīm*, I, 3).

III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *ēva* in *tam-eva*, *i[ā]nam-ev[ā]*, [*e*] *vam-evā*, *pālamtikyam-eve(va)*. Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds *aṁnam-anashā* (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 33) and *bhatam-ayesu* (V, 15).

a + a are contracted into *ā* in *etāyāthāye* (XII, 34), [*kaṭābhikā*] *le*, *kuvāpi* (= Skt. *kvāpi*), *gabhā-gāla*, *-vasābhisita*, *dhammānusa[th]i* (XIII, 12) or *dhammānushathi* (twice), &c., but into short *a* in *dhammanusathi* (thrice), *dhamma[vāy]e* (XII, 35), *li[p]ikalapalādhena* (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in *a[ta]tā* (twice = Skt. *yatra yatra*), *apalamtā* (= *āparāntāḥ*, V, 15), *tenatā* (= *tēnātra*, VIII, 23), *diyaḍha* (= **dvikārdha*, XIII, 35), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *supathāy[e]* (= *sūpārthāya*, I, 3).

a + ā becomes *ā* in *pā[nā]lambhe* (IV, 9) and [*ma*] *hathāvā* (= Skt. *mahārtha + āvahām* (?), X, 27).

ā + a becomes *a* before an original group in [*ma*] *hatha* (= *mahā + artha*, X, 27).

ā + u becomes *o* in *pajopadāne(ye)*, on which see below, p. lxxv, n. 1.

a is elided before *i*, *e*, *o* in *bambhan-ibhesu* (V, 15), *ch-eva*, *manus-opagāni* (II, 5),¹ and before *u* in *chu*, 'but',² which corresponds to *chō* (= *cha + u*) in Buddhist *gāthās*.³

i + a are contracted into *i* in *ithidhiyakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 34).

u is elided before *o* in *pas-opagāni* (II, 5).

a is dropped after *e* in *e-yam* (V, 15), *tā[ye-ṭh]ā[ye]* (VI, 19), *etā[y]e-ṭhāye* (VI, 20).

¹ For *tatopayā* see above, p. lxxii.

² Michelson (IF, 23. 261) considers *chu* a contamination of *tu* and *cha*.

³ See Kern's translation of the *Saddharmapundarīka* (SBE, vol. 21), Introduction, p. xvii.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *tv*, *dhr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv*. For the two groups *ky* and *gy* see above, p. lxxi.

Long *ā* preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *a[tiyāyike]* (= *ātyayikam*),¹ *anap[a]yisanti* (III, 8), *anusathi* (= *anusāsti*), *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *ayesu* (= *āryēshu*), *āladhe* (= **ārāddham*), *gadhā* (= **gāddhā*), *tadatvāye*, *palakamāmi*, *palakamātu*, *palakamenā*, *pasavati* (= *prasāvayatē*), *ma[g]a* (= *mārga*, II, 6), *madava* (= *mārdava*, XIII, 4), *mahāmata* (= *mahāmātra*). But the length is preserved in *ānapayite* and *mahāmāta*. Long *ī* preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in *tiṃni* (= *trīṇi*, I, 3). Similarly, *bh[u]ye*, *vedaniya*, *anuvīdhiyāma* (read **yānti*) may be meant for *bhuyye*, *vedaniyya*, *anuvīdhiyyānti*; cf. above, p. lix. Short *a* preceding a group is lengthened in *ānatā* (= *anyatra*, XIII, 38), *panātikya* (= **pranāptrika*, IV, 11), and *shāvā-* (= *sarva-*, XII, 31). In *pālāntikya* (twice = *pāratrika*) the short *a* preceding the group *tr* has been nasalized.²

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in *atikanāntam* (= *atīkrāntam*), *khamti* (= *kshānti*, XIII, 16), *Tam̐bapam̐ni* (= *Tāmraparṇi*), *Pam̐diyā* (= *Pāṇḍyāḥ*), *bam̐bhana* (= *brāhmaṇa*), *[bha]m̐[da]* (= *bhāṇḍa*, III, 8), *sa[m̐]sayikyē* (= *sāṁśayikam*, IX, 26). In *b[ā]bhanā* (XIII, 37), *Devānāpiye* (twice), and in the third persons plural *pāpunāta(ti)*, *palakamātu*,³ *lochetu* (XIII, 17), *[paṭi*]vedetu* (VI, 18), the Anusvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see *Atiyoge* (XIII, 6), *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *anata* (= *ananta*), *anubadh[ā]* (= *anubandhāt*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *alabhi[yaṁ]ti* (cf. the aorist *alaṁbhiyisu*, I, 3), *Alikyashudale* (= *Ἀλέξανδρος*), *Kaligya* (= *Kalīṅga*), *pāśaḍa* and *pāshaḍa* (= *pāshaṇḍa*),⁴ *magala* (= *maṅgala*), *vihisā* (= *vihīṁsā*), *shambadh[e]* (= *sambandhaḥ*), *shav[i]bhage* (= *samvi-bhāgaḥ*), *sayama* and *saṁyama* (IX, 25), *vashati* (= *vasanti*), and *manatu* (3. plur. imperative of root *man*).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is *a* in *ga[la]hati* (= Skt. *garhati*), *galahā*, *Alikyashudale* (= *Ἀλέξανδρος*); *u* before or after labials in *kuvāpi*, *duve*, *duvāḍasa*, *puluva* (= *pūrva*), *suṁāmika*, *pāpunāta(ti)*; and frequently *i*; see *lājina* (= *rājñā*), *lājine* (= *rājñāḥ*), the future passive participles in *-taviya*, *-adhiyakha* (= *adhyaksha*), *[a]naniya* (= *ānṛiṇya*), *apatiye*, *alabhi[yaṁ]ti*, *[e]katiyā*, *Pam̐diyā*, *paṭivesiya*, *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *viyaṁjana*, *viyāpata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *[shamacha]liya* (= **sama-charya*), *shinehe* (= *snēhaḥ*), *siyā* (= *syāt*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to the group *str* in *ithi* (= *strī*).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s* throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

kt becomes *t* in *Nābhapaṁti*, &c.

kv becomes *kuv* in *kuvāpi*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *-adhiyakha*, *khamti* (= Skt. *kshānti*), *khuda* (= *kshudra*), *dakhati*,⁵ *[lu]kha* (= *vṛiksha*), *mokha*, *su(sam)khita* (= *samkshipta*); *chh* in *chhanati*.

khy becomes *kh* in *shamkheye* (read *samkhāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiṭanā[ā]* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), *nāti*, *ānapayite*, but *jīn* in *lājina* (= *rājñā*) and *lājine* (= *rājñāḥ*).

¹ *atiyāyika* presupposes an intermediate form **atyāyika*, in which the initial *ā* was shortened before the group *ty*.

² Cf. *vaṁka* = Skt. *vakra*, *suṁka* = Skt. *śulka*, &c., in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

³ For these two forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁴ The form *pāshaḍa* may be derived from Skt. *pārshada*; see above, p. lx.

⁵ Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 554) derives this form from **dṛikshati*, which is preserved in *idṛiksha*, *tādṛiksha*, &c.

dy becomes *ḍiy* in *Paṇḍiyā*.

ny becomes *ṇn* or *n* in *hilaṇṇa*, *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*), but *niy* in *[a]naniya* (= *ānṛiṇya*).

tp becomes *p* in *pajopadāne*(*ye*).¹

tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, *a[tiyāyike]*, *[e]katiyā*; *ky* in *nikyam*.

tv remains in *tadatvāye* (X, 27), where the *ā* of *tadā* has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix *-tva*; but *tv* is assimilated in *chatāli* (= Skt. *chatvāri*, XIII, 7).

ts becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *chikisā*, *chikisakā*, *[u]shaṭe[na]* and *ushuṭena*.

tsth becomes *th* in *uṭhāna*; cf. *uṣṭāna* at Gīrnār.

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyā*; *y* in *[u]y[ānasi]*, *uyāma*.

dv becomes *d* in *diyaḍha*, but *ḍuv* in *ḍuve*, *ḍuvāḍasa*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *n[i]jhati*, *majhimenā*, but *dhīy* in *-adhiyakha*.

dhr remains in *dhruve* (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in *[Adha]* (= *Andhra*, XIII, 10).

ny becomes *ṇn* or *n* in *aṇṇa* and *ana*, *maṇṇaṭ[i]* and *manati*.

pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *n[i]jhati*, *asamati*, *su(sam)khitenā*, *natāle* (= Skt. *naplārāḥ*), *panāṭikyā*, *Tulamaye* (= *Πτολεμαῖος*).

pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāta(ti)*.

bḍh becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

bhy becomes *bh* in *-ibhesu*, but *bhiy* in *alabhi[yaṇ]ti*, *alambhiyisu*, *alābhi[y]isa[ṇ]ti*.

my remains in *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*).

mr becomes *m̐b* in *Taṁbapaṇṇi*.

rg becomes *g* in *m[a]ge[s]u*, *vagenā*, *svagāṇ*.

rṇ becomes *ṇn* in *Taṁbapaṇṇi*.

rt becomes *t* in *kiti*, *anuvataṁti*, *[a]nuvaṭ[a]tu*, *nivateti*; *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *anuvataṭisa[ṇ]ti*, *nī[va*]ṭeti*, *nīvaṭey[ā]*.

rth becomes *th* in *aṭha*; *th* in *atha* and *nilathiyā*; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.

rd becomes *d* in *madava* (= Skt. *mārdava*).

rdh becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhiyisati*; *ḍh* in *vadhite*, *vadhīyati*, *[pa]v[a]ḍhayisaṇṭ[i]*, *diyaḍha*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhāgālas[i]*.

rm becomes *ṇm* or *m* in *kaṇṇa* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhaṇṇa* and *dhama*.

ry becomes *y* in *ayesu* (= Skt. *āryeṣhu*), but *liy* in *anaṇṇ[ta]ḷ[i]ya* (= *ānantarya*), *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *[shamacha]liya* (= **sama-charya*).

rv becomes *v* in *sava*, *nīvateti*, *nīv[u]tiyā*, but *luv* in *puluva*.

rś becomes *s* in *dasana*, *dasayitu*, *Piyadasi* (also spelt *Piyadashi* and *Piyadaṣi*).

rsh becomes *s* in *vasa* (also spelt *[va]sha* and *vaśa*).

rh becomes *lah* in *ga[la]kati*, *galahā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kaṇṇi*.

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.

vy remains in *divyāni* (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyatē*, IX, 27), and it becomes *viy* in *viyaṇṇa*, *viyashanaṇ*, *viyāpaṭā*, *migaviyā*, and in the affix *-lavīya*.

vr becomes *v* in *tive*, *pav[a]jita[n]i*, *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) = Skt. *vraja*.

śch becomes *chh* in *[pa]chhā*.

śy becomes *siy* in *paṭivesiyenā*.

shk becomes *k* in *dukata*, *dukala*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *nikham[am]tu*, *nikhamisu*, *nikhamithā*, *vinikhamane*.

shṭ becomes *th* in *aṭha* (XIII, 35); *th* in *nikhamithā*.

shṭh becomes *th* in *sethe*, *chithi[u]*; *th* in *adhithā[nāye]*.

shy becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *manusa* and *manusha*, *anap[a]yisaṁti* and other futures.

sk becomes *k* in *agi-kaṇḍh[ā]ni*, while Gīrnār has *agi-kh[ā]ṇḍhāni* (with *kh*).

st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *[ha]thini*, *saṁthuta*, *vitthaṇenā*, *anusathi*.

¹ Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa read *°dāye*, Mānsehrā *°daye*, but Shāhbāzgarhī *pajupadane*, which might correspond to Skt. *prajōtpādane*. At Kālsī the locative of *utpādana* is excluded, because it would end in *-asi*. For *upadā* = Skt. **utpad* see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 431 f.

str becomes *th* in *it̥hi* (= Skt. *strī*).

sth becomes *th* in *gahathāni*, *gih[i]thā*, *ch[la]thitikyā* (V, 17), but *th* in *chila-thitikyā* (VI, 20).

sn becomes *shin* in *shinehe*.

sm becomes *s* in the locatives in *-asi*, but *ph* in *[ta]phā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*, XIII, 35).

sy becomes *siy* (*śiy* or *shiy*) in *siyā*, *śiyā*, *śiyāti*, *shiyāti* (= Skt. *syāt*), but *s* in *a[su]* (3. plur. optative of root *as*) and in the genitives in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svagām* (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in *shayaka* (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. *svayam*,¹ and it becomes *sur* in *surāmika* (IX, 25).

hm becomes *m̐bh* in *bām̐bhana*. The form *bām̐hmana* (XIII, 39) is intermediate between **bahmana* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) and **bamhana* (*bamhaṇa* at Gīrnār, IX, 5).

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhaṇimaṇi</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>dānaṇi</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutāni</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>lupāni</i> .
Instr. <i>dānena</i> or <i>dānenā</i> , &c.	[<i>sa</i>]tehi.
Dat. <i>athāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmat[e]hi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubadh[ā]</i> , [<i>pa</i>]chhā.	
Gen. <i>jana[sa]</i> (IV, 10) or <i>janasā</i> , &c.	<i>pānānaṇi</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>dhaṇimasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—There are two forms in *-o* (*Sāṇiyaputo* and *Ke[lala]puto*, II, 4), two in *a* (*vadha*, XIII, 36, and *hidaloikya*, XIII, 17), and one in *-ā* (*Makā*, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut.—In four instances the termination is *-aṇi* (*anaṇitaṇi*, IX, 26, 27, *-anusāsanaṇi* and *kaṇim[āṇi]*, IV, 12). It is *-a* in *adisha* (XI, 29), and *-ā* in [*ā*]disā (IV, 10), *kaṇi[ma]talā* (VI, 20), *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍa* (four times, XII, 32), *-pāshada* and *-pāshaṇḍa* (XII, 33), [*shayama*] (XIII, 4), *vijay[a]* and *vijayataviya* (XIII, 16). The termination *-aṇi* is replaced by *-ā* in *ata-pāśaḍā* (XII, 32), *bahuk[ā]* and *dosā* (I, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The termination is *-a* in *madava* (XIII, 4); *-ā* in *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *khudā* and *nilathiyā* (IX, 24); *-e* in *dāne* (XII, 31) and *bādhatale* (XII, 33).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *[-nā]tikya* (XIII, 38), *pāśaṇḍa* (XIII, 37), *-pāshaṇḍa* (XII, 34), *[-pāsa]ṇḍa* (VII, 21), *-puluva* (V, 14), *pujatar[i]ya* (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut.—In *kālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā* (II, B and C), the termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni*. The Sanskrit masculine *vriksha* is used as neuter: [*lu*]khāni (II, 6).²

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. in *-āni* are *-kaṇdh[ā]ni* (IV, 10), *Kaligyāni* (XIII, 36), *-pāshaṇḍ[ān]i*, *parv[a]jitā[n]i*, *gahathāni* (XII, 31).

Acc. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* in *vimana-dasan[ā]* (IV, 9).

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍāna* (XII, 31) and *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39). The termination is *-ā* in *[-ba]m̐bhanānā* (XI, 29).

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Singular.

Nom. *ichhā*, &c.

Acc. *pujā*, &c.

Instr. *puj[ā]ye*.

Gen. or loc. *saṇti[ā]nāye*.

Nom. sing.—In *hi[da]lokika* (XIII, 18) the final *ā* is shortened.

¹ See Text, p. 49, n. 2.

² Cf. *ruchhani* at Mānsehrā, II, 8.

Acc. sing.—In [*yātani*] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination *-ām* seems to be preserved, and the *ā* to be shortened before it.

Instr. sing.—In *vividh[aye]* (XII, 31) the penultimate *ā* seems to be shortened.

II. BASES IN *-i*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*.

Nom. sing. neut. *asamati*.

Nom. plur. neut. *osadhī[i]*,¹ *tinī*, *timni*.

Gen. plur. *nāti[nam]*, *nātinā*.

Loc. plur. *Nābhapaṃtishu*.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>lipi</i> , &c.	<i>jani[yo]</i> . ²
Acc. <i>Sambodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>bhatiyā</i> , <i>-anusathiyē</i> .	
Dat. <i>-anusathiyā</i> , <i>vaḍhiyā</i> .	
Abl. <i>ni[v]utiyā</i> , <i>Tambapaṇniyā</i> .	
Gen.	<i>bh[agi]ni[nā]</i> .
Loc. <i>ayatiye</i> .	

III. BASES IN *-u*.

The nom. sing. *sādhu* or *shādhu* is the same in all three genders.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*.

Instr. plur. *ba[h]u[hi]*.

Gen. plur. *gulinā*.

IV. MASCULINES IN *-ri*.

Nom. plur. *natāle* (= Skt. *naṭtārah*).

Gen. plur. *bhā[tina]ni* (= *bhrātṛīnām*).

Loc. plur. *pitisu* or *pitishu* (= *pitṛishu*).

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension : *pitinā*, *bhātinā*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination *-ani*, which is evidently derived from Skt. *-an*, to the strong form of the base : *santani* from root *as*, *kalanitani* (*kala[nita]*, *kalata*) from root *kṛi*.

(2) Bases in *-vat*.

Nom. sing. masc. *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).

Instr. sing. *hetuvatā*.³

With the nom. sing. cf. Pāli *guṇavā* = Skt. *guṇavān*.

¹ The Kālsi dialect has mixed up *osadhi* (= Skt. *ōshadhi*, fem.) with *osadha* (= Skt. *auśhadha*, neut.).

² From Vedic *jani*, 'a wife'.

³ In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not *hētuvāt*, but *hētumat*; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 601.

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lajā, lāja</i> .	<i>lā[j]āno, lajāne</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nāma, nāmā</i> .	
Instr. <i>lājinā, lajinā</i> .	
Gen. <i>lājine</i> .	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *k[am]me* or *kanim[am]*, dat. *kanimāye*.

(4) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. <i>Pi[ya]dasī</i> (I, 2), <i>Piyadasi</i> , <i>Piyadashi</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>Piyadasinā, Piyadašinā</i> .
Gen. sing. <i>Piyadasine, Piyadashine, Piyadasisā</i> .
Acc. plur. <i>[ha]thini</i> (= <i>hathīni</i> at Dhauli, IV, 2).

The gen. sing. *Piyadasisā* follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.

With the acc. plur. masc. *[ha]thini* (i. e. *hathīni*), cf. *yutāni*, &c., in the *a*-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

(5) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. *yaso* or *yasho*, *bh[u]ye*.

The base *va[cha]-* (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.

(6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base *dis* (or *disā*) forms the acc. sing. *dishā* (for *disām*). The two feminine bases **utpad* and *parishad* also follow the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *pajopadāne(ye)* (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), *palis[ā]ye*; nom. plur. *palisā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>hakam</i> .	
Instr. <i>mamayā, me</i> (III, 7).	
Gen. <i>[mama], mamā, me</i> .	<i>ne</i> (V, 16).

The nom. sing. *hakam* must be derived from *ahakam* (= *ahaam* in Māhārāshṭrī); see Pāṇ. V, 3, 71, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 417.

The instr. sing. *mamayā* for Skt. *mayā* is due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. Cf. *mamae*, Hēmachandra, III, 109.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>se, [ś]e, she</i> ; neut. <i>ta, se, [sh]e</i> .	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>tañ</i> ; neut. <i>se, she</i> .	
Instr. <i>tena, tenā</i> .	<i>tehi</i> .
Dat. <i>tā[ye]</i> .	<i>te[hī]</i> .
Abl. <i>[ta]phā, t[ā]</i> .	
Gen. <i>taśa, tasha, tasā, tashā</i> .	<i>tesham, tānan</i> .
Loc. <i>taśi</i> .	

Nom sing. fem. *sā, shā*.

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl. sing. *[ta]phā* goes back to *tamhā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*); cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The abl. *t[ā]* is used as conjunction (V, 13); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 425.

(3) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [e]se (VIII, 23), ¹ [e]she (X, 28), ² esh[a] (XIII, 38); neut. ese, eshe.	Neut. e[t]āni.
Instr. etakenā.	
Dat. etāya (XII, 34), etāye, dha(e)ta[k]āye.	
Gen. etishā.	

Nom. sing. fem. [e]sh[a] (XIII, 37).

With the gen. sing. etishā cf. etisa at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. ayaṁ, iyaṁ; neut. iyaṁ.	Masc. ime.
Acc. neut. imaṁ.	
Gen. imas[ā].	
	Nom. sing. fem. iyaṁ.
	Dat. sing. fem. imāya.

The nom. masc. ayaṁ is taken from V, 15, where eyaṁ perhaps stands for e + ayaṁ (= Skt. yō-yam). The form iyaṁ is used as masculine in V, 16; elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

(5) Interrogative pronoun.

The acc. plur. neut. [kā]ni is used as a demonstrative; see Text, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *chha* = Skt. *cha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechha*) or *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*). As at Girnār, the compounds *kimti* (XII, 33) and *kiti* are used in the sense of 'that'.

(6) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. ye, e; neut. ye, e, a, ani.	Masc. ye, e.
Acc. neut. yaṁ, aṁ, e (XIII, 38).	
Instr. yena.	
Gen. asā.	yeshaṁ.
Loc.	yesu.

(7) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. aṁne.	Masc. aṁne, ane; } neut. aṁnāni.
Acc.	
Dat. aṁnāye.	
Gen. aṁnāmanashā.	

(8) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. save, shave, [sha]va.	Masc. [sa]ve.
Acc. masc. savaṁ; neut. savaṁ, shava[m].	
Loc.	s[a]ves[u], shaveshu.
	Nom. sing. fem. shavā.

(9)

Nom. sing. neut. i[ta]le, while classical Sanskrit has itarat.

¹ Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.

² Cf. id., n. 1.

INTRODUCTION

(10) Base *ubhaya*.Gen. plur. *ubhaye[sa]ni*.(11) Base *ēkatara*.Loc. sing. *ekatalash[i]*.(12) Base **ēkatya*.Nom. plur. masc. [*e*]*katiyā*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *duve*.

This form may be used for all genders in all Prākṛits ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. *tini*, *tiñni*.

Cf. Prākṛit *tiñni* ; Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 91, 438.

Four.

The nom. neut. *chatāli* is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7). The same irregularity is frequent in Prākṛit ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439.

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchasu*, *shashu* (= Prākṛit *chhasu*).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

aṭha, *das[a]*, *duvādasa* (with lingual *ḍ*),¹ *t[e]dasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni* ; instr. [*sa*]*tehi* ; loc. *shateshu*.

The ordinal is *shata* (= Skt. *śatātama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *shah[a]sha* (= Skt. *śahasratama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *shat[a]-shaha[s]e*.Nom. plur. [*sa**]*ta-sahasāni*.

¹ The *ḍ* has been further changed to *r* in Prākṛit *bārasa* and *bāraha*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *palakamāmi*, *nikham[am]tu*.

Root *garh*: *ga[la]hati*.

Root *ji*: the participle *viṇamane* and the absolutive *viṇ[i]tu* (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākṛit *jīṇādi*) and subsequently the *a*-conjugation (Prākṛit *jīṇādi*).¹

Root *driś*: *dakhati*.²

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huveyu* (sixth class).

Root *vas*: *vashati*, *vas[e]vu*.

Root *vṛt*: *anuvataṃti*.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *chīṭhit[u]* (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākṛit present *chīṭṭhadi*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *ad* follows the *a*-conjugation: *adamāna*.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *i* or *yā*: *yaṃti*.

Root *yā*: *ye[ham]*; see below, p. lxxxii.

Root *han*: *up[a]haṃt[i]*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *pajohitaviye* (I, 1) is derived from the present **johati*, in which the *ū* of **jūhati* (see above, p. lxvi) is strengthened by Guṇa.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyā*.

Root *man*: *maṃnat[i]* and *manati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *pāpunāta(ti)*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *shune[y]u*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*. The 3. sing. *kaleti* follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. *ka[la]ṃti* the *a*-conjugation. Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 509.

Root *kṣhaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *chhanati*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dasayitu*, *[d]ipayema*, *ālādhayi(yaṃ)tu*, *a-lokayitu*, *alochayisu*, *[pa]v[a]dha-yisaṃt[i]*. The character *aya* is changed to *iya* in *vadhiyati* (XII, 32) and *vadhiyisati* (IV, 11) and is contracted to *e* in *pujeti*, *pujetav[i]ya*, *lochetu*, *nivateti* and *ni[va*]teti*, *[paṭi*]vedetu*.

¹ See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 473.

² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

- (b) With *āya* : *sukkhāyāmi* (VI, 20).
 (c) With *paya* : *hāpa[γ]i[sat]i*, [*ānapayā*]*mi*, *anap[a]yisaṃti*, *ānapayite*, *lopita*.
 (d) With *āpaya* : *lekhāpesāmi*, *likhāpita* (without Guṇa of the radical vowel), *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*.
 (e) With *pāpaya* : *lopāpita*.

(2) *Moods.*

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist *nikhamithā* and the two participles present *adamāna* and *viññamāna*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *palakamāni*, [*ānapayā*]*mi*.
 3. sing. [*pa**]*lakamati*, *ga[la]hati*, *dakhati*, *hoti*, *athi*, *up[a]hamti[i]*, *maṇnat[i]* and *manati*, *ichhati*, *kaleti*, *chhanati*, *pujati*, *nivateti* and *ni[va*]jeti*, *vaḍhiyati*.
 3. plur. *anuvataṃti*, *vashati* (= Skt. *vasanti*), *yamti*, *ichhamti*, *ka[la]ṃti*. In *pāpunāta(ti)* the termination *-ti* (for *-nti*) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (*pāpunā-*); cf. the 3. sing. *pāpunāti* and the 2. plur. *pāpunātha* in the first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukkhāyāmi* (with indicative termination).
 3. sing. *susushātu* (desiderative, with imperative termination).
 3. plur. *palakamātu* (with *-tu* for *-ntu*).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ye[ham]* (for **yeyam*) from root *yā* (VI, 20). Cf. [*pa*]*ti[pāday]eḥam* (or *paṭipātayeḥam*) and *ālabheḥam* in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Senart has noted similar forms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. 1 of his edition of this work, p. 403): *tishṭheḥam*, *abhisambudhyeḥam*, *gachchheḥam*.
 3. sing. *nivāṭey[ā]*, *paṭipajeyā*, *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *shiyāti*. The two last forms (= Skt. *syāt*) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form *nivāṭey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*, IX, 26) Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 215) compares Pāli *nibbatteyyam* (for *nibbattayeyyam*) in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, p. 143 [l. 2]. Cf. also *choreyya* for *chorayeyya* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 110, *dāve* = Skt. *dāpayēḥ* and *paḍigāhe* = Skt. *prati-grāhayēḥ* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 460.

1. plur. [*a*]*ipayema*.
 3. plur. *a[su]* (cf. above, p. lxvii), *huveyu*,¹ *shune[γ]u*, *shushusheyu* (desiderative). The *γ* of the optative is replaced by *v* in *vas[e]vu* (VII, 21).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, [*a*]*nuva[ta]tu*.
 3. plur. *nikham[am]tu*, *manatu*, *yujamtu*, *ālādhayi(yam)tu*, *lochetu* (= Skt. *rōchayantu*), [*paṭi**]-*vedetu*, *anuv[dh]iya[m]tu* (passive).

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (from root *bhū*).

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle *nikhamithā* (from *nish-kram*, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī the termination is *-ittha* and *-itthā*; see E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 115, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 517.
 3. plur. active *nikhamisu*, *husu* (= *ahimsu* at Girnār). The two forms *manishu* (XIII, 16) and *alochayisu*² are used as subjunctives.

¹ Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes *huveyya* (= Skt. *bhavēt*) from the Paisāchī dialect.
² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āhā, ahā* (V, 13) = Skt. *āha*.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kachhāmi*,¹ *lekhāpeśāmi*.
 3. sing. *kachhati*, *vadhiyisati*, *hāpa[y]i[sat]i*.
 3. plur. *kachham[i]i*, *anuvāṭisa[m]ti*, *anusāsisaṃti*, *anap[a]yisaṃti*, *[pa]v[a]dhayisaṃti[i]*, and the two passives *[a]nuvidhiyisāma* (read °*saṃti*) and *alābhī[y]isa[m]ti*.

V. PASSIVE.

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3. sing. indicative *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvvyatē*) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (*pavasati*, IX, 26, and *paṣavati*, XI, 30) ; cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3.

3. plur. indicative *anuvīdhīyāma* (read °*yānti*, = Skt. *anuvīdhīyāntē*), *alabhi[yam]ti*.
 3. plur. imperative *anuvī[dh]iya[m]tu*.
 3. plur. aorist *alāmbhiyisu*.²
 3. plur. future *[a]nuvidhiyisāma* (read °*saṃti*), *alābhī[y]isa[m]ti* (cf. the Sanskrit aorist passive *alābhī*).

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. subjunctive *susushātu*.
 3. plur. optative *shushusheyu*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *saṃtaṃ*.

Root *kṛi*: *kalaṃtaṃ* (*kala[m]ta*), *kalata*.

Middle.

Root *ji*: *viḥnamana*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Root *ad*: *adamāna*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *maṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kaṭa* (= *kṛita*), *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *viṭhaṭa* (= *vistrīta*), *[u]shaṭa* and *ushuṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisita* (= **niśṛita*), *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita*, *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*, *lopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānapayita*,³ *huta* (= *bhūta*), *atikāṃta* (= *atīkrānta*), *su(sam)khita* (= *saṃkshipta*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavudha* (= *apōdha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *p[a]sh[am]na*, *vipahina* (i. e. °*hīna*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya* (see above, p. lxxxii), *viḥyataviya* (for Skt. *viḥyatavya* under the influence of the substantive *viḥyaya*), *pujetav[i]ya*, *paṭi[vedeta*]viya*.

(b) In *-anīya*: *vedaniya*.

¹ Johansson (*Shāhb.*, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from **kajjati* (= **karyati*), and compares the Ardhamāgadhi passive *kajjaī*.

² The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive *alāmbhi* or of the substantive *ālāmbha* (III, 8, &c.).

³ This barbarous equivalent of Skt. *ājñāpta* and *ājñāpita* retains the causative character *aya* of the present *ānapayati*.

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ālabhitu*, *palitiditu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ya* and dentalization of *j*), *chīṭhit[u]* (from the Prākṛit present *chīṭṭhadī*), *vijin[i]tu* (from the present **vi-jinati*; see above, p. lxxxii), *sutu* (from root *śru*), *dasayitu*, *a-lochayitu* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) In *-ya*: *śaṅkhheye* (read *saṅkhāya*) from *saṅ-khyā*.

F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix *-ka* (or *-kya*) occurs in *hakam* (= Skt. *aham*), *etaka*, *ava[ta]ka* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *tāvataka*, *nātika* or *nātikya* (= Skt. *jñāti*), *panātikya* (= *pranapti*), *suvāmika* (= *svāmin*). The adjective *shayaka* seems to be formed from Skt. *svayam*; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* is formed *mahālaka*, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākṛit *mahālaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), *supadālaya* (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes *-tara* and *-tama* are added to substantives in *kaṁ[ma]talā* (i. e. *karmataram*, VI, 20) and *gajatame*, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS,
WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhī version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson:—*Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhī-Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Aśoka*. (Tiré des Actes du 8^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after a labial in *mut[a]* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8) and *uchavucha*. In *meñati* (= *manyatē*, XIII, 11) the change of *a* into *ē* is perhaps caused by the palatal *ñ*.¹

If the reading *etra* (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here *iyam*, *eshe*, &c.), it would correspond to *eta* (Girnār) and *heta* (Kālsī) = **itra*; see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the vowel *e* corresponds to Skt. *ī* in *ediśa* (= *īdṛiśa*).

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (VI, 14, 15) = *puna* (six times, for Skt. *punah*), and in *garuna* (IX, 19) = *guruna* (XIII, 4, for Skt. *gurūṇām*). Michelson suggests that the form *pana* may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23. 258, n. 1. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

The vowel *ri* is replaced by (1) *a*, (2) *i*, (3) *u*, (4) *ra*, (5) *ri*, (6) *ir*, (7) *ru*, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) *usaṭena*, *dukaṭam*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *vadhi* (= Skt. *vṛiddhi*), *vapaṭa* and *viyapaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *anaṇiyam*, [da]khati; (2) *kiṭa*, s[u]kiṭa[m], *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *pranatika*; (3) bases in *-ri*: *pitushu*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*),

¹ With *meñati* Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (*Altind. Grammatik*, vol. I, p. xx) compare Gothic *ga-mainjan* and German *meinen* (English *to mean*).

and for *ri* after a labial: *agrabhuṭi*, *viyapuṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *mṇṭa*, *vntam* and *vutām* (= *vṛittam*), *nivṛuṭa* (= *nirvṛitta*), *nivṛuṭi* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *grahatha* (= *gṛihastha*); (5) [*kr*][*i*][*ta*] (II, 4), *driḍha*, *vistṛiṭena*; (6) *kiṭra* (i.e. *kirṭa*, = Skt. *kṛita*);¹ (7) for *ri* after a labial: *pa[ri]p[ru]chha*, *mrugo*, *mrugaya* (= *mṛigayā*). In *śruṇeyu* (XII, 7) the *ru* is due to the influence of *śruta*, *śrutu*, &c.

In a few cases the vowel *e*, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johansson, § 23), appears to have become *i*; see *duv[i]* = *du[v]e* at Mānsehrā for Skt. *dvē* (II, 4) and *dvau* (I, 3), *ayi* for **aye* = Skt. *ayam*, *amñi* (VIII, 17) for *amñe* = Skt. *anyaḥ*, *Amṭikini* (nom. sing., XIII, 9), *rajani* (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs *ai* and *an* have become *e* and *o*, respectively; see *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchaiḥ*, VII, 5), [*o*][*sha*][*dha*][*ni*] (II, 5), *papotra* (XIII, 11), *paralokika*, *-opaka* and *-opaya*.

The Kharōṣṭhī alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and we must always keep in mind that every *a*, *i*, *u* of the text may be meant for *a* or *ā*, *i* or *ī*, *u* or *ū*, respectively.

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*) and *kiti* (= **kid + iti*); *e* generally in *va*, while *eva* is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides *va*, the text often uses the two forms *vo* (= Vedic *ēvō*, i.e. *ēva + n*)² and *yo*, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākṛit *yeva* (= Skt. *ēva*).³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural *k* has become *y* in *nirathiya* (= *nilathiya* at Kālsī) and *-opaya* (VIII, 17) = *-opaka* (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānsehrā) have *-opaga*. It seems to be dropped altogether in *diadha* = **dvikārdha*. Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amṭiyoka*, and *γ* by the same in *Amṭikini* and *Maka*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

The palatal *j* has become *y* in *Kamboya*, [*p*][*rayuhotave*, *samaya* (= Skt. *samāja*, I, 1, 2), *raya* (= *rājā*), and is represented by *ch* in *vrachaspi*, *vracha-bhumika* (also at Mānsehrā), and in *vrachamti*, *v[r]acheyam*; cf. Prākṛit *vachchā* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati*.

Skt. *n* is generally preserved, except in *kshamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprahino*, *pranatika*, *Pitinika* (= *P[e]tenika* at Gīrnār). In terminations, however, dental *n* is never lingualized after *ri*, *r*, or *sh*; see *akarena*, *agrena*, *anamṭariyena*, *khudrakena*, *Devanamṭpriyena*, *parakramena*, *putrena*, *vagrena*, *abhiramani*, *rupani*, *sahasani*, *Gaṇḍharanam*, *manuṣanam*, *mahamatranam*, *Rathikanam*, *gurnna*, *garuna*, *pituna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(sn)na*. On the other hand lingual *n* is newly developed after *r* in *prapunati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *saṁtirana* (from *tirayati*), and wrongly in *Devanapriy[e]* (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original *ri* (see above, p. lxxxiv), after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (eight times) or *praṭi* (twice) for *prati* (five times), and after *sha* in [*o*][*sha*][*dha*][*ni*] (II, 5), *prashamḍa* and *prashaḍa* (for **pārshamḍa* and **pārshaḍa* = Skt. *pārshada*). Between vowels *t* is replaced by *d* in *hapesadi* (= *hapesati* at Mānsehrā) and, as at Kālsī, in *hida-sukhaye* (V, 12).⁴ Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic *t* underwent in the Śaurasēnī dialect. For *hida* (five times) = *idha* at Gīrnār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākṛit, the labial *p* becomes *v* between vowels in *avatrapeyn* (XIII, 8). Initial *b* is replaced by *p* in *padham* (VII, 5) for *badham* (XIII, 3). The aspirate *bh* has turned to *h* in *hoti* (only VIII, section E, for the usual *bhoti*), *aho*, and in the termination *-hi* (= Skt. *-bhiḥ*) of *bahuki* and *śatehi*.

As at Kālsī, *y* becomes *j* in *majura* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 3), and *v* in *vishava* (XIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of *ava* (five times) for *yava* (IX, 19) = Skt. *yāvat* and of [*e*] (XIII, 5) for *ye* = Skt. *yat*, and between two vowels in *Priadraṣi* (thrice), *Devanapriasa* (four times) or

¹ The spelling *kiṭra* suggests that (5) [*kr*][*i*][*ta*] is also meant for *kirṭa*. Cf. Johansson, § 27; Michelson, AJP, 31. 57; and below, p. lxxxvii.

² See Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirste.

³ Michelson (JAOS, 30. 86, n. 4) identifies *yo* with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.

⁴ At Mānsehrā (VIII, 35) *t* is softened also before *r* in *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*); and *tenada* (= *tēnātra*) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form **tenadra*. Cf. *adra*, *pudra*, *midra* in the Wardak vase-inscription; EI, II. 208, n. 3.

°piasa (I, 2), *ekatia* (I, 2), *vijetaṅ[i]a* (XIII, 11). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *paritijitu* (= *paliti-ditu* at Kālsī). The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *aṇapayami*, *draṣayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeśamti*, &c.). The same contraction takes place in *amuneti* (XIII, 7). The *e* of the 3. sing. optative *nivāṇeyati* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) corresponds to an original *aye*, and the *o* of the numeral *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) to an original *ayo*.¹

The change of *r* into *l* in *palig[o]dha* (V, 12), *palibodha* (V, 13), *sala* (= Skt. *sāra*, XII, 2, 8), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* and *a-locheti*² is a Māgadhism, while, as at Girnār, *r* corresponds to *l* in **arabhati*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē* (see below, p. xciv), and in *Turamaye* = *Πτολεμαῖος* (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name *Tulamaye* (Kālsī) proves that the Shāhbāzgarhī version is based on a Māgadhā original. In *Keraḍaputro* (II, 4) the *ḍ* corresponds to the lingual *ḷ* of Tamil *Kēraḷa*; the other versions of the rock-edicts have *l* instead of *ḷ*.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* and *ū* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *vuta* (= *upta*, II, 5), and *apavudha* (= *apōdha*). As at Kālsī, the syllable *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*). Contraction of *ava* into *o* takes place in *orodhana*, *bhoti*, *hoti*, *bhotu*, *aho*.

Like the Kālsī version, the Shāhbāzgarhī one distinguishes the three sibilants *ś*, *sh*, *s*, but with one important difference. While at Kālsī these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgarhī text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.³ Thus we find *ś* in *anuśasti*, *aśamana*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *daśa*, *deśa*, *draśana*, *draṣayitu*, *Priyadraśi*, *paśu*, *pradeśi[ka]*, *yaśo*, *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*), *śata*, *śila* (i. e. *śīla*), *[śilana]* (i. e. *śilana*), *śudhi* (i. e. *śuddhi*), *saśayike*, *prativeśiya*, *niśita* (= Skt. **niśrita*), *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, *śruṇeyu*; and *sh* in *eshe*, *esha*, *[o]sha[dha]ni*, *ghosha*, *tosho*, *dosha*, *parisha*, *prashamda*, *vishava* (= *vishaya*), *pitushu*, in the loc. plur. in *-eshu*, in the gen. plur. *tesha[m]* and *yesha*, in the 3. plur. aorist *nikramishu*, *mañishu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, in *vasha* (= *varsha*) and *kashati* (= **karshyati*). Exceptions are not frequent: *s* for *ś* in *anusochana*, *[s]reṭha* (= *śreṣṭha*); *s* for *sh* in *abhisita* (= *abhishikta*), *yesu*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *[arabhi]yis[u]*; *sh* for *s* in *pañchashu* and *shashu*. In *manuśa* (= *manushya*) and in the futures in *-iśati* and *-eśati* the *ś* is a defective spelling for *śś*, in which the original *sh* had been palatalized through the influence of the following *y*. In *suśrusha*, *suśrushatu*, *suśrusheyu* the first *s* (for *ś*) is probably due to dissimilation, and in *an[u]śaśana*, *anuśaśisamti* the second *ś* (for *s*) is due to assimilation.⁴

Cases of Cockneyism are *hamche* (see above, p. lxxii), *hahati* (twice) for *ahati* (thrice) = Skt. *āha*, *hida* (see above, p. lxxii), *hidolokika*. Conversely, *h* is dropped at the beginning of *[a]stina* = Skt. *hastinaḥ*, and between two vowels in *maa* = Prākṛit *maha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), *ia* (= Skt. *iha*) and *ialoka*.

As at Girnār and Kālsī, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the *s* of final *as*; see *jana*, &c. (below, p. xc), *[sa]* (XIII, 10), *ekatia* (I, 2), *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastinaḥ*, IV, 8), *vacha-* (XII, 2). But generally final *as* becomes *o*, and frequently, as in the Māgadhā dialect, *e*; see *bhuy[e]*, *chature*, and the nom. sing. masc. *eshe*, *y[e]* (V, 13), *añe* (XII, 9), *jane*, &c. (below, p. xc). In *amñi* (VIII, 17), *Antikini* (XIII, 9), *rajani* (XIII, 9) = *rajano* (II, 4), *-i* has taken the place of *-e*.

The Anusvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*), *ida* (IX, 20) = *idañ* (XIII, 3), *ima* (IX, 19) = *imañ* (passim), *aya* (twice) = *ayañ* (V, 13), *[i]dani* (= Skt. *idānīm*),⁵ *eva* (twice) = *evañ* (passim), the acc. sing. masc. *aṭh[r]a*, *dosha*, *ba[hu]ka*, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. *dana*, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. *puja*, &c., and *Sabodhi*, &c., the gen. plur. *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*, *tesha*, *yesha*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *abhiratana*, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadhā dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in *-e* instead of *-am*; see *eshe* (X, section E), *ye* (VI, section F; IX, F and I; XIII, 1), *savre* (XII, 5; XIV, 13), *[saha]sre*

¹ Mānsehrā has *treḍaśa*, Dhāuli and Kālsī *tedasa*, for **trayadaśa*.

² But not in *rochetu*; see Text, p. 8, n. 3.

³ I differ here from Johansson, §§ 14, 48, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30. 289.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *śaśa* instead of **śasa*, which is presupposed by German *Hase* (English *hare*).

⁵ Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 29.

(XIII, 1), *dane*, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine.¹ The termination *-e* is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (*sayame*, VII, 2) and in the particle [*e*] (= Skt. *yat*, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have *-e* for *-o* (see above, p. lxxxvi), the *-e* of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by *-o* in *kaṭavo* and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun *idam* has once the form *īyo* (XII, 2) for *īyaṃ* (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. *so* is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative *yo* (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. *yat*. Instead of *anudivasam* at Gīrnār we find *anudivaso* (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine *dhrama* is *dhramo*. Finally it must be noted that *ayi* occurs repeatedly instead of *ayaṃ* and *aya* (= Skt. *ayam* and *iyam*).

III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in [*e*] *vam-eva* and *paratrī[ka]m-eva*, and hiatus is prevented by *m* in *ānam-ānasa* and *bhaṭam-ayeshu*.

As the length of *ā* is not marked in the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet, the result of *a + a* always appears in writing as short *a*; see *kiṭabhikaro*, *grabhagara*, *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*), *nasti*, *praṇarambho*, *mahaṭhavaha*, *-vashabhisita*, *supaṭhay[e]*, *dhramanuṣasti*, &c. The hiatus remains in [*aṭha*] *vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa]* (XIII, 1).

a is elided before *i* in *bramaṇ-ibheshu*; before *u* in *chu* (= *cha + u*) and *paj-upadane*; before *e* in *ch-eva*; before *o* in *manuṣ-opakani* and *tat-opayaṃ* (see above, p. lxxii); and *u* before *o* in *paś-opakani*.

i + a are contracted into *i* in *i[stīdhi]yaksha* (= Skt. *stry-adhyaksha*).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Gīrnār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. 'The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations':²

(1) *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*

(a) in *rbh*: *grabhagara* (= *garbhāgāra*).

(b) in *rm*: *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (i. e. *dharmma*), *krama* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kramma* (i. e. *karmma*).

(c) in *rv*: *pruva* (= Skt. *pūrva*).

(d) in *rś*: *draśana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draśayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadraśi*.

(e) in *rsh*: *prashamda* and *prashada* (from Skt. *pārshada*).

(2) *r* is attached to the next following consonant

(a) in *rg*: *vagra* (i. e. *varga*), *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*).

(b) in *rt*: *kiṭra* (i. e. *kīṭa*, = Skt. *kṛita*), *kiṭri* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

(c) in *rth* and *rṭh*: *athra* and *aṭhra* (= Skt. *artha*).

(d) in *rv*: *savra* (i. e. *sarva*) and *savratra* (i. e. *sarvatra*).

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants; see *atara* and *amtara*, *atikrata* (= Skt. *atīkrānta*), *Atiyoka* and *Amtiyoka*, *anata* and *anamta*, *Alikasudaro* (= Ἀλέξανδρος), *karatam* and *karamtam*, *Kaliga*, *Devanapriya* and *Devanamipriya*, *prashada* and *prashamda*,³ *badhana* and *samba[m]dha*, *magala* and *maṃgala*, *vihisa* (= Skt. *vihiṃsā*), *sataṃ* and *sa[m]tam*, *Sabodhi*, *sayama* and *sa[m]yama*, *s[a]yuta* (= *samyukta*), *saśayika* (= *sāśayika*),

¹ Cf. above, pp. lxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.

² Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 133. Cf. Johansson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30. 289, n. 2.

³ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.

sastuta and *saṁstuta*, and the 3. plur. *karo[ti]* (IX, section C), *prapūṇati* (XIII, 6), *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati* (XIII, 4), *nik[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhetu*, *paṭivedetu*, *rochetu*.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is *a* in *garahati*; *u* before or after a labial in *duv[i]*, *prapūṇati*; and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhbāzgarhī will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhisms and alien to the Shāhbāzgarhī dialect; see his articles in AJP, vols. 30 and 31, and JAOS, vol. 30.

- kt* becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.
- ky* becomes *k* in *śako* (= Skt. *śakyam*).
- kr* remains in *atīkratam*, &c.
- ksh* remains¹ in *akshati*, *[adhī]yaksha*, *[ksham]ti*, *kshaṇati*, *kshamanaye*, *kshamitaviya*, *mo[kshaye]*, *saṁkshitenā*, but becomes *kh* in *khudrakena* and *[da]khati*.²
- kshy* becomes *ksh* in *vrakshaṁti*.
- khy* becomes *kh* in *mukha* (= Skt. *mukhya*, XIII, 8), *saṁkhyay[a]* (= *saṁkhyāya*).
- khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.
- gr* remains in *agra*, *[a]pag[r]atho* (XIII, 5), but the *g* seems to be aspirated in *apaghratho* (XIII, 6).
- chy* becomes *ch* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*).
- jñ* becomes *ñ* in *kiṭṭrañāta* (= Skt. *kṛitajñātā*), *ñati*, *ñatika*, *ñanam*, *raña*, *raño*; *ṇ*, as in literary Prākṛit, in *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeśaṁti*, *aṇapita*.
- jy* becomes *j* in *joti-* (= Skt. *jyōtis*, IV, 8).
- ñj* becomes *mñ* in *vamñānato* (= Skt. *vyañjanataḥ*).
- dy* becomes *d*, as at Gīrnār, in *Paṁḍa* (XIII, 9), but *ḍiy*, as at Kālsī, in *Paṁḍiya* (II, 4).
- ṇy* becomes *ñ* in *puña*, *hiraña*, but *ṇiy* in *anaṇiya* (= Skt. *āṇṛiṇya*).
- tp* becomes *p* in *pajupadane*.³
- tm* becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).
- ty* becomes *ti* in *ekatia*, but *ch* in *achayika*, *apacha*, *chati*.
- tr* remains in *trayo*, *atra*, *putra*, *savatra*, &c., but becomes *t* in *savata* (V, section N) and *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*, V, 11), and *d* in *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*, VIII, 17).⁴
- tv* remains in *tadatvaye*, but becomes *t* in the absolutes in *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvī*).
- ts* becomes *s* in *usatena*, *chikisa*.
- tsth* becomes *th* in *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), but *th* in *uṭhanam* (ibid.).⁵
- dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyati*; *y* in *uyana* (= Skt. *udyāna*).
- dr* remains in *khudrakena*.
- dv* becomes *duv* in *duv[i]*, but *b* in *badaya(śa)* (cf. *dbādasa* at Gīrnār), and *d* in *diadha*.
- As at Kālsī, *dhy* becomes *jh* in *nijha[i]* and *anunija(jha)peti* (= *[a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]* at Mānsehrā), but *dhiy* in *[adhī]yaksha*.
- dhr* remains in *dhruva* and *Aṁdhra*.
- nm* becomes *m* in *yamatra* (= Skt. *yanmātra*).
- ny* becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *añña* and *aña*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *mañishu*, *hamñānt[i]*, *[ha]mñeyasu*.
- pt* becomes *t* in *guti*, *nijha[i]*, *vuta* (= Skt. *uṭta*, II, 5), *asamatam*, *saṁkshitenā*, *nataro* (= *naptārah*), *pranatika*, *Turamaye* (= *Πτολεμαῖος*).
- pn* becomes *pun* in *prapūṇati*.
- pr* remains in *Priyadrasī*, *Devanaṁpriya*, *priti* (i. e. *prīti*), *prakara[n]* (XII, 3), *p[r]aja* and *prajava* (V, 13), *praṇa* (i. e. *prāṇa*), *pradeśi[ka]*, *pranatika*, *prapūṇati*, *prabhava*, *[p]rayuhotave*, *pra[va]dh[e]śaṁti*, *pravase*, *pravrajita*, *prasado*, *prasana*, *prasavati*, *aviprahino*, *pratipa[ti]* (XIII, 5), *pratibhagam*, *pratibh[o]gaye*, *pratiśeṣiyena*, *p[r]atividhane* (VIII, 17), *prāṭivedetavo* (VI, 14), but becomes *p* in *Devanapiasa* (I, 2), *[a]pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *pajupadane* (IX, 18), *paṭotra*, *paṭipajeyati*,

¹ For the sign which I have transcribed by *ksh*, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

³ See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

⁴ Mānsehrā has *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*) in the same section.

⁵ Mānsehrā has *uṭhana* in both cases.

paṭipati (twice), *saṃpaṭipati* (twice), *paṭividhana* (V, 13), *paṭivedaka*, *paṭivedana*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedavo* (VI, 15).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

br remains in *bramaṇa* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*).

bhy becomes *bh* in *-ibheshu*, *arabhiśamti* (future passive), but *bhiy* in *[arabhi]yis[u]* (aorist passive).

bhr remains in *bhratuna*.

my becomes *mm* (also spelt *nimm*) in *samma-* and *saṃmma-*.

mr becomes *m̃b* in *Taṃbapaṇṇi*.

rg remains in *vagra* (i. e. *varga*; see above, p. lxxxvii) and *spagra* (i. e. *sparga* = Skt. *svarga*).

rn becomes *ñn* in *Taṃbapaṇṇi*.

rt becomes *t* in *anuvatatū*, but *r̃t* in *kiṭri* (i. e. *kirtī* = Skt. *kīrti*), and *t̃* in *kaṭava*, *anuvataṃti*, *an[u]vaṭiśamti*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*.

rth remains in *athra* (i. e. *artha*, IV, 10), but becomes *r̃th* in *aṭhra* (i. e. *ar̃tha*, VI, 14; IX, 19), and *th* in *aṭha* (passim), *niraṭhiyaṃ*.

rdh becomes *dh* in *vaḍhiṣati*, *vaḍheti*, *pra[va]dh[e]śamti*, *vaḍhita*, *diadha*.

rbh remains in *grabhagara* (i. e. *garbhāgāra*).

rm remains in *krama* (i. e. *karma*) and *kraṃma* (i. e. *karmma*, III, 6), *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhraṃma* (i. e. *dharmma*).¹

ry becomes *y* in *-ayeshu* (= Skt. *āryēshu*), but *riy* in *anantariyena*, *madhuriyaye*, *sama[cha]-riyaṃ*.

rv remains in *pruva* (i. e. *purva* = Skt. *pūrva*), *savra* (i. e. *sarva*), but becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*, *nivuta*, *nivuti*.

rś remains in *draśana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draśayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadraśi* (= °*darśin*), but becomes *ś* in *daśana* (VIII, 17).

rsh remains in *prasham̃da* (i. e. **pārsham̃da*)² and *prashada*, but becomes *sh* in *vasha*, *pasham̃da* (XII, 3) and *pashada* (XII, 9).

rshy becomes *sh* in *kasham̃*, *kashati*, *kasham̃ti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*: *r* in *garana* (= Skt. *garhaṇā*).³

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapa*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalana* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *vam̃hana*, *vapaṭa* (twice), *apa-vayata*, *vasana*, *divani*, *prasavati*, *kaṭava*, *paṭivedetavo*, *[p]rayukhotave*, *vatavo*, but *vi* in *vijetav[i]a*, and *viy* in *viyapaṭa* and *viyapuṭa* (V, 13), *ksham̃taviya*, *pūjetaviya*.

vr remains in *[tivre]*, *pravrajita*, *vracham̃ti*, *v[r]acheyam̃*, *vraksham̃ti*, *vrachaspi* and *vrachabhumika* (also at Mānsehrā).

śch becomes *ch* in *kachi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*), *pacha* (= *paśchāt*).

śy becomes *śiy* in *prativeśiyena*.

śr remains in *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *suśrus̃ha*, *suśrus̃hatu*, *suśrus̃keyu*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, but becomes *ś* in *śamaṇa* (IX, 19), *niśite*, and *sr* in *[s]reṭha* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭha*).

shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭam̃*, *dukara*.

shkr becomes *kr* in *nikramaṇam̃*, *nik[r]amatu*, *nikrami*, *nikramishu*.

sh̃t becomes *th* in *[aṭha]* = Skt. *ash̃ta* (XIII, 1).

sh̃tr becomes *th* in *Raṭhikanam̃*.

sh̃th becomes *th* in *tiṭhiti*, *[s]reṭham̃*; *th* in *-adhithana*.

shy becomes *ś* (i. e. *śś*) in *manuśa* and in the futures in *-iśati* and *-eśati*.

As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *joti-kam̃dhani*.

st remains in *asti*, *nasti*, *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastinaḥ*), *saṃstava*, *saṃstuta*, *vistritena*, *-anuśasti*. It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word *nipista*.⁴

¹ At Mānsehrā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling *dhama* beside the usual form *dhrama*.

² This form is a variant of Skt. *pārshada* (for *pārishada*) and the origin of Skt. *pāshaṇḍa*; cf. Johansson, §§ 37, 64.

³ See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli *rassa* = Skt. *hrasva* (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is *garaka* (= Skt. *garhā*).⁴ See above, p. xlii.

- str* remains in *i[stri]*, *striyaka*.
sth becomes *th* in *grahatha*, *chira-thitika*.
sn becomes *sin* in *[si][ne*]ho* (XIII, 5).¹
sm becomes *sp* or *s* in the locatives singular in *-aspi* and *-asi*.
sy becomes *siy* in *rabhasiye*, *siya*, *siyati*, *siyasu*, but *s* in *asu* and in the genitives singular in *-asa* and *-isa*.
sr remains in *parisrave*, *sahasra*, but becomes *s* in *sahasani* (I, 2).
sv becomes *sp* in *spa[ka]*, *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*), *spamikena*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasrīṇām*).
hm becomes *m* in *bramaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jano</i> , &c.; neut. <i>danam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putra</i> , &c.; neut. <i>[o]sha[dha]ni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhramam</i> , &c.; neut. <i>maṅgalam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutani</i> , &c.; neut. <i>divani</i> , <i>rupani</i> .
Instr. <i>putrena</i> , <i>danena</i> , &c.	<i>śatehi</i> .
Dat. <i>aṭhaye</i> , &c.	
Abl. <i>karaṇa</i> (= Skt. <i>kāraṇāt</i> , III, 6), <i>pacha</i> .	
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.	<i>praṇanam</i> , &c.
Loc. (a) <i>orodhanaspi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>dhrame</i> , &c.	<i>vasheshu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* is dropped in *jana* (XIV, 13), *ghosha* (IV, 8), *pradeśi[ka]* (III, 6), *vadha* (XIII, 3), *samba[m]dha* (XI, 23), *sayama* (VII, 4), *Maka* (XIII, 9). The Māgadha termination *-e* is frequent; see *jane* (X, 21), *vivade* (VI, 14, 15), *Turamaye* (XIII, 9), *Devanapriye* (X, 21), &c. In *Antikini* (XIII, 9) we have *-i* instead of *-e*.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *dana*, *a[cha]yika* (VI, 14), *anusochana* (XIII, 2), *[du]kara* (VI, 16), *draśana* and *daśana* (VIII, 17), *puṇa* (XI, 24), *maṅgala* (IX, sections D and F), *maha-phala* (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadha forms in *-e* are frequent; see *dane* (VII, 4), *draśane* (VIII, 17), *likhite* (XIV, 13), *vijite* (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have *-o* instead of *-am* or *-e*: *kaṭavo* (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), *praṭivedetavo* (VI, 14) and *paṭivedetavo* (VI, 15), *vatavo* (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 8), *śako* (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine *bhāga* is used as neuter in *sahasra-bhagam* (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In *aṭh[r]a* (VI, section E), *dosha* and *ba[hu]ka* (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms: *dhramo* (XII, 6) and *sayame* (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *[da]na* (XII, 1), *karaṇa* (XIV, 14), *vasana* (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group *sp* of the termination *-spi* is assimilated in *[a]pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), *[ga]ṇanasi* (III, 7), *mahana[sas]i* (I, 2), *yu[ta]si* (V, 13). The termination *-e* occurs also in *anutape*, *abadhe*, *avahe*, *Kalige*, *prakara[ṇ]e*, *pravase*, *vijay[e]* (XIII, 11), *vijite*, *vivahe*, *śile*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter *apatya* is used as masculine in *[y]e me apacha vrakṣamti* (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-a* instead of *-ani* in *[o]sha[dha]ni harapita cha vuta cha* (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are *-kaṁdhani*, *Kaliga[ni]*, *-prashamḍani*, *pravrajita[ni]*, *grahathani*.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *abhiratana* (XIII, 5), *mahamatrana* (VI, 14), *-bramaṇana* (twice), *-śramaṇana* (IV, 9).

¹ Mānsehrā reads *si[ne]he*.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichha</i> , &c.	<i>chik[i]sa</i> , [<i>kr</i>] <i>i[ta]</i> , <i>striyaka</i> . ¹
Acc. <i>puja</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pujaye</i> , <i>vividhaye</i> .	
Loc. <i>sa[m̐]tiraṇaye</i> .	

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. *trayo*.
Gen. plur. *ñatina[m̐]*, *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>dipi</i> , &c.	<i>aṭavi</i> .
Acc. <i>Sabodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. - <i>anusa[sti]ya</i> , <i>bhatiya</i> .	
Dat. - <i>anusaṣṭiye</i> , <i>vaḍhiya</i> .	
Abl. <i>nivūṭiya</i> , <i>Ta[m̐]bapam[ṇi]ya</i> .	
Loc. <i>ayatiya</i> .	

With the nom. plur *aṭavi* cf. Pāli *rattī*, nom. plur. of *ratti* (= Skt. *rātri*).

III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Girnār and Kālsī occur, viz. nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sadhu*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*; nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*; instr. plur. *bahūhi*; gen. plur. *guruna*, *garuna*.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ri.

Nom. plur. *nataro*.
Gen. plur. *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*.²
Loc. plur. *pitushu*.

The instr. sing. follows the *u*-declension: *pituna*, *bhratuna*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

As at Kālsī, we have the two nom. sing. masc. *sa[m̐]taṁ* (*sataṁ*) and *karaṁtaṁ* (*karataṁ*).

(2) Masculine in -vat.

Nom. sing. *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>raja</i> , <i>raya</i> .	<i>rajano</i> , <i>rajani</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nama</i> .	
Instr. <i>raña</i> .	
Gen. <i>raño</i> .	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kramaṁ*, dat. *kraṁmaye*.

¹ The Skt. feminine *strī*, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII, 9 in the form *i[stri]*.

² At Mānsehrā (V, 24) the reading is *spas[u]na*.

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(4) Masculines in *-in*.Nom. sing. *Priyadrasī*.Instr. sing. *Priyadrasīna*.Gen. sing. *Priyadrasīsa*.Acc. plur. [*a*]*stina* (*asti[ne]* at Mānsehrā).The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.(5) Neuters in *-as*.Acc. Sing. *yaśo*, *bhuy[ε]*.The base *vacha-* (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.(6) Neuter in *-is*.The base *joti-* (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. *jyōtis*.(7) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension : loc. sing. *parishaye*. The nom. sing. *parisha* is preserved at Mānsehrā (III, 11).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *aham*.Instr. sing. *mayā*.Gen. sing. *maa*, *me*.

With the gen. *maa* cf. Prākṛit *maha*, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive *mama* under the influence of the dative *mahyam* ; see Michelson, JAOS, 30. 85, n. 2.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>so</i>	} neut. <i>taṁ</i> , <i>so</i> .	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>taṁ</i>		
Instr. <i>tena</i> .		
Dat. <i>taṇe</i> .		
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .		<i>tesha[ṁ]</i> , <i>tesha</i> .
Loc. <i>tasī</i> .		

Nom. sing. fem. *sa*.Acc. plur. fem. *ta* (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have *sa* for *so* (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base *sha*.

The acc. plur. neut. *sha* (VI, 16) corresponds to *she* (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānsehrā ; cf. Text, p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>eshe</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etaṁ</i> , <i>etake</i> , <i>eshe</i>	|	Masc. <i>eta</i> (I, 3).
(X, section E).		
Instr. <i>etakena</i> .		
Dat. <i>etaye</i> , <i>etakaye</i> .		
Gen. <i>etisa</i> (III, 6 ; XII, 9).		

Nom. sing. fem. *esha* (XIII, 4).

The *i* of the gen. sing. *etisa*, which is found also at Mānsehrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa* (from base *kī*) = *kassa* (from base *ka*).

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *ayam*, *ayi*; neut. *idam*, *ida*, *imam*, *ima*, *iyam*, *iyō*.

Acc. neut. *imam*.

Gen. *imisa* (IV, 10).

Nom. fem. *aya*, *ayi*.

Dat. fem. *imisa* (III, 6).

With the gen. masc. *imisa* cf. *etisa* (from *ēta*) and the Girmār and Pāli instrumental *iminā*.

The dat. fem. *imisa* is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā*. Cf. the feminine bases *imī*, *tī*, *ēī*, *jī*, *kī* in Prākṛit (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The indefinite *kichi* (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachi* (XII, 5). The compound *kīti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *yo*, *y[e]*; neut. *yam*, *ye*.
Acc. neut. *yam*, *yo* (X, 21), *[e]* (XIII, 5).
Instr. *ye[na]*.
Gen. *yasa*.
Loc.

Plural.

Masc. *ye*.

yesha (*yesha[n]*) at Mānsehrā.
yesu.

Nom. sing. fem. *ya* (XIII, 12).

Nom. plur. fem. *ya* (XIII, 7).

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *añe*, *aññī*; neut. *añam*.¹
Acc.
Dat. *añaye*.
Gen. *añamañasa*.

Plural.

Masc. *aññe* } neut. *añani*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.

Nom. neut. *sav[r]am*, *savre*.
Acc. masc. and neut. *savam*, *savam*.
Loc.

Plural.

Masc. *save*.

savreshu, *saveshu*.

(10) Base *ubhaya*.

Gen. plur. *u[bha]y[e]sa* (*ubhayesam* at Mānsehrā).

(11) Base *ēkatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekatare*.

(12) Base **ēkatya*.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekatia*.

¹ *añ[e]* at Mānsehrā, IV, 15.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [*e**]*kaii*.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. *duv*[*i*].

Three.

Nom. masc. *trayo*.

Four.

As in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439), the acc. masc. *chature* (= Skt. *chaturah*) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchashu*, *shashu*.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

[*aṭha*], *daśa*, *badaya*(*śa*), *todaśa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *śatani*, instr. *śatehi*, loc. *śateshu*.The ordinal is *śata*; see *śata-bhage*, XIII, 7.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *sahasra* (XIII, 7).

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śa*[*ta-saha*]*sre*.Nom. plur. *śata-sahasani*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parakramati*, *nik*[*r*]*amatu*.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *ji*: [*vi*]*jinamano*, *vijinīti*; see above, p. lxxxix and n. 1.Root *trap*: *avatrapeyu*.Root *driś*: [*da*]*khati*.Root *nī*: *anuneti*.Root *bhū*: *bhoti*, *hoti*.

Root *labh*: the absolutive *ara*[*bhitu*] and the two passive forms [*arabhi*]*ṛis*[*u*] and *arabhi-śanti* presuppose the present **arabhati*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhatē*).

Root *vas*: *vasati*.Root *vr̥t*: *anuvatatatu*, *anuvataṁti*.

Root *vraj*: *vrachamti*. For Prākṛit *vachchā* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati* see Hēma-chandra, IV, 225; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 202 and n. 3.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *tiṭhiti* (IV, 10) presupposes the present **tiṭṭhati* (= Skt. *tishṭhati*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.

Root *han*: *upahamti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*. The gerundive [*p*]*rayuhotave* is formed from the Skt. present *jihōti*.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyati*.

Root *man*: *mañati* and *meñati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *prapūṇati*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śruṇeyu*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*; but the optative *apakareyati* and the two present participles *karāntani* and *ka[ra]min[o]* presuppose the present **karati*, **karate*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *kshaṇati*.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *aś* follows the *a*-conjugation: *aśamana* (part. pres. middle).

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dipayami*, *draṣayitu*, *sukhayami*. The character *aya* is contracted into *ε* in *pujēti*, *pujetaviya*, *a[ra]dheti*, *aradhetu*, *rochetu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, *a-locheti*, *paṭivedetu*, *pativedetavo*, *nivaṭeti*, *vaḍheti*.

(b) With *paya*: *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeśamti*, *aṇapita*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *hapeśadi*.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likha[p]eśami*, *likhapitu(ta)*, *khanapita*, *nipesapita*, *harapita*.

(2) *Moods*.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [*vi*]*jīnamana*, *ka[ra]mina*, *aśamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *parak[r]amami*, *karomi*, *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*.

3. sing. *parakramati*, *garahati*, [*da*]*khati*, *anuneti*, *bhoti* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahamti*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *kshaṇati*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *pujēti*, *a[ra]dheti*, *nivaṭeti*, *vaḍheti*.

3. plur. *anuvaṭamti*, *vrachamti*, *ichhamti*. The Anusvāra is missing in *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati*, *prapūṇati*, *karo[ti]* (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *dipayami* and *sukhayami* (with indicative termination).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *v[r]acheyam* (from **vrachhati* = Skt. *vrajati*).
 3. sing. *siya* and *siyati* (= Skt. *syāt*), *paṭipajeyati*, *apakareyati* (from Skt. *apakarōti*), *nivāṭe-yati*¹ (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*; cf. above, p. lxxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.
 3. plur. *avatrapeyu*, *vaseyu*, *śruṇeyu*, *asu* (= Pāli *assu*) and *siyasu*. With the last form cf. the optative passive [*ha*]*nñeyasu* (below, V).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *bhotu*, *anuvatatū*.
 3. plur. *parakramantū*, *yujantū*. The Anusvāra is missing in *nik[r]amatū*, *mañā[tū]*, *aradhetū*, *rochetū*, *paṭivedetū*.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (= Skt. *abhavat*).

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. *nikrami*.
 3. plur. *nikramishu*. In *abhuvasu* (VIII, 17) the aorist termination *-su* seems to be affixed to *abhūvan*, the Sanskrit aorist of root *bhū*; cf. Johansson, § 30.

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. *mañishu* (from Skt. *manyatē*), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* (*alochayisu* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā).²

III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect *āha*, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed: *ahati* and *hahati*.³

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kashani* ([*ka*]*shami* at Mānsehrā), *likha[p]esami* (while Gīrnār has *likhāpayisam*).
 3. sing. *kashati*, *vaḍhiṣati*, *hapeṣadi*.
 3. plur. *kashanti*, *an[u]vaṭiṣanti*, *vrakshanti* (from root *vraj*), *anuśaṣanti* (from *anu-śās*), *aṇapeṣanti*, *pra[va]ḍh[e]ṣanti* (*pavaḍhayiṣanti* at Mānsehrā).

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *prasavati* (= *prasāvyaṭē*).
 3. plur. indicative [*a*]*nuvidhiyanti* (= *anuvīdhīyantē*), *hanñanti*[*i*] (= *hanyantē*).
 3. plur. optative [*ha*]*nñeyasu* (XIII, 8) with aorist termination; cf. *siyasu* (= Skt. *synh*, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.
 3. sing. imperative *anuvī[dhī]yatu*.
 3. plur. aorist [*arabhi*]*yis[u]* (from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).
 3. plur. future *anuvīdhīyisam*[*ti*] (from Skt. *anuvīdhīyātē*), *arabhiṣanti* (for **ālabhyishyanti* from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).⁴

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. plur. optative *suśrusheyu*.
 3. sing. imperative *suśrushatu*.

¹ Mānsehrā reads *nivāṭeya*.

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

³ Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11.

⁴ Cf. *ārabharc*, *ārabhisu*, and *ārabhisare* at Gīrnār, where *bh* is also a defective spelling for *bbh*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *sa[m̐]taṁ* (*sataṁ*).

Root *kṛi*: *karaṁtaṁ* (*karataṁ*).

Middle.

Root *ji*: *[vi]jinamana*; see above, p. lxxxii and n. 1.

Root *kṛi*: *ka[ra]mina*.

Root *aś*: *aśamana*.

Other participles in *-mina* or *-mīna* are found in the Māgadha edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8), *muṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kiṭa*, *[kr]i[ṭa]*, and *kiṭra* (= *kṛita*), *vapaṭa*, *viyapaṭa*, and *viyapuṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*, V, 13), *vistrīṭa* (= *vistrīta*), *uṣaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *niṣita* (= **niṣṛita*), *nīpīṭa* (= Ancient Persian *nīpīṣṭa*; see above, p. xlii), *nīpesita*, *nīpesapita*, *likhita*, *likhapīṭa* (*ta*), *khanapīṭa*, *harapīṭa*, *aropīṭa*, *aṇapīṭa*, *bhūta* (i. e. *bhūta*), *atīkrata* (= *atīkrānta*), *[la]pīṭa*, *nivūṭa* (= *nirvṛīṭa*), *vūṭa* (= *uṭa*), *samata* (= *samāṭa*), *saṁkshita* (= *saṁkshīṭa*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavudha* (= *apōḍha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *prasana* (i. e. *prasanna*), *viprahina* (i. e. *°hīna*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kshamitaviya*, *pujetaviya*, *vijetav[ī]a*, *kaṭava*, *vatava*, *[p]rayuhotava*, *paṭive-detava*.

(b) In *-anīya*: *v[e]dani[ya]*.

(c) In *-ya*: *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*)

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ara[bhītu]*, *paritijitu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ya*), *śrutu*, *draśayitu*.

(b) In *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvī*):¹ *tiṭhiti* (from the Skt. present *tishṭhātī*), *vijīniti* (from the present *vi-jīnati*; see above, p. lxxxii and n. 1), *a-loketi*.

(c) In *-ya*: *saṁkshay[a]* (from *saṁ-khyā*).

The dialect of the **Mānsehrā** text is nearly identical with the Shāhbāzgarhī one, but contains some more Māgadhisms.² It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at Mānsehrā which differ from the corresponding ones at Shāhbāzgarhī.

The vowel *e* for *a* in the second syllable of *sayeme* (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal *y*, unless it is a clerical error. For the form *m[unī]śa* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel *ri* the Mānsehrā version has (1) *a* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, *[ma]ṭe*; (2) *u* in *[pa]r[ī]puchha*, *vapuṭa* (= Skt. *vyāpṛita*); (3) *e* in *gehatha* (= *grihastha*);³ (4) *ra* in *viyapraṭa* (V, 24);⁴ (5) *ar* in *kaṭra* (i. e. *kaṭa* = Skt. *kṛita*), *vadhri* (i. e. *varddhi* = Skt. *vṛiddhi*); (6) *ri* in *mrig[e]*, *mrigaviya* (= *mṛigavyā*); (7) *ru* in *vruḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*);⁵ (8) *ur* in *vudhra* (i. e. *vurddha* = Skt. *vṛiddha*). For *ruchha* = Skt. *vṛiksha* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural *k* becomes *y* in *[di]ya[dha]* (XIII, 1). Greek *χ* is represented by *g* in *[A]tiyoge*

¹ Cf. Delbrück's *Altind. Verbum*, § 221; Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412.

² Cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 285 f.

³ The Prākṛit form *gēha* is used for *griha* also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root *ēdh* = *ridh*; see Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, 1. 39.

⁴ The spelling (5) *kaṭra* (for *kaṭa*) suggests that (4) *viyapraṭa* is meant for *viyaparta*.

⁵ The spellings (5) *vadhri* and (8) *vudhra* suggest that (7) *vruḍhi* is meant for *vurddhi*.

(II, 6). As at Kālsī, the palatal *ch* has been aspirated in *kechhi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*) and *kichhi* (= **kid*+*chid*). Dentals are lingualized in *duva*[*da*]*śa* (III, 9) = *duva*[*da*]*śa* (IV, 18), *tredaśa* (V, 21), and after *ṛi* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, [*ma*]*te*, *vapuṭa*, *viyapraṭa*, *vrudhi*. Sanskrit *ṇ* is preserved in *paṇatika* (= *praṇaptṛika*), but is represented by dental *n* in *tī*[*nī*] (= *trīṇi*). In *anāṇiyam* (VI, 31) the first *ṇ* is due to assimilation. The *t* for *dh* in *śuti* (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The *bh* of the root *bhū* has become *h* in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, [*hu*]*veyu*, *husu*, *huta-pruve* (twice), but not in *bhuta-pruva* (V, 21) and in the substantive *bhuta* (i. e. *bhūta*). The semivowel *y* is prefixed to *e* in *jeva*, while initial *y* is lost in *e*, *am* (= *yat*), [*a*]*dīse* (twice), *atra* (twice = *yatra*), *atha* (thrice = *yathā*). In *supadarave* (V, 21) we seem to have *r* for *l* and *v* for *y*; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first *ś* of *śa*[*śa*]*yike* (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists *husu*, [*arab*]*isu*, and [*alo*]*chay*[*i*]*su*, dental *s* has taken the place of *sh*. In *aa* (VI, 26) = *aha* (i. e. *āha*) and *aani* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28), *h* is elided between vowels.

Final *as* becomes *o* only in *tato*, *mukhato* (VI, 28), *yaśo*, *Devanapriyo* (VII, 32), *niśito* (V, 25), but generally *e*; see *he*[*tute*], *vi*[*yaṁja*]*nate*, *natare* (= Skt. *naṭtārāḥ*), *rajine* (= *rājñāḥ*), *ra*[*jane*] (= *rājānāḥ*), *Priyadraśine* (gen. sing.), *Devanapriye*, &c. In *vinī*[*k*]*ramaṇi* (XIII, 5) the *-e* is replaced by *-i*.

The hiatus remains in *dhramayuta-apalibodhaye* (V, 23). *a+e* becomes *e* in *usaṭen-eva* (X, 11), and *ā+u* becomes *o* in *praj-opadaye* (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāzgarhī, the letter *r* is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirathriya* (IX, 3) is meant for *nirarthiya*, *vadhrite* and *vadhrayisati* (IV, 15) for *vardhite* and *vardhayisati*. Similarly *kaṭra* (= Skt. *kṛita*, V, 24) stands for *karṭa*,¹ *vadhri* (= *vṛiddhi*) for *varddhi*, *vudhra* (= *vṛiddha*) for *vurddha*. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in *ata* (II, 5), *aparata* (V, 22), *samata* (II, 6), [*A*]*tiyoge*, *Adha*, *a*[*ua*]*taliyena*, *anarabhe*, *anubadha*, *apa-bha*[*ḍata*], [*aba*]*ka*, *asapa*[*f*]*ipati*, *Gadharana*, *-chhade*, *para*[*kra*]*mate* (3. plur.), *satirana* (VI, 30), *hache* (for *hamche*).

ksh becomes *chh* in *chhaṇati* and *ruchhani*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiṭanata* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), but *jñ* in *rajina* (= *rājñā*) and *rajine* (= *rājñāḥ*).

ny becomes *ṇ* in *puna*, *punai*, *apu*[*ne*].

tm becomes *tv* in *atva-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, [*eka*]*tiya*.

tr remains in *tredaśa*, but becomes *t* in *tī*[*nī*] (= Skt. *trīṇi*), and *d* in *tenada* and *yada*.²

dr becomes *d* in *khuda* and *khudakena*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duva*[*da*]*śa* and *duva*[*da*]*śa*.

dhy becomes *jñ* in *istrija*(*jha*)*ksha*.

ny becomes *n*, as at Kālsī, in *ana*[*tra*] (X, 11); *ṇ* in *aṇe*, *aṇatra* (X, 9), *aṇamaṇasa*, *maṇati*, *maṇ*[*ishu*].

pr remains in *prap*[*o*]*tra*, but becomes *p* in *paṇatika*, *pavaḍhayisanti*, *avipahin*[*e*], *paṭibhogaye*, *paṭiveśiyena*.

br becomes *b* in *bamaṇa* (IV, 15) = *bramaṇa* (passim).

bhy remains in *-ibhyeshu*, but becomes *bhiy* in [*ara*]*bh*[*iyanti*], and *bh* in [*arab*]*isu* (aorist passive).

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhata*(*tu*)*na* (V, 24) = *bhratuna* (twice).

my remains in *samya-*.

rg becomes *g* in *ma*[*geshu*].

rt becomes *ṛ* in *anuvāṭatu* and *kiṛi* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

rth remains in *nirathriya* (i. e. *nirarthiya*).

rdh remains in *vadhrite* (i. e. *vardhite*, IV, 15) and *vadhrayisati* (i. e. *vardha*°), but becomes *dh* in *vadhite* (IV, 12).

ly becomes *y* in *kayana* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *vapuṭa*; *viy* in *viyapraṭa*, *vi*[*yaṁja*]*nate*, *mrigaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *pra*[*johi*]*taviye*, *vataviye*, *paṭivedetaviye*.

vr becomes *v* in [*p*]*rava*[*ji*]*tani*.

st becomes *th* in *saṁtha*[*v*]*e*.

¹ In *viyapraṭa* (i. e. *viyaparṭa* = Skt. *vyāpṛita*) the *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.

sth becomes *ṭh* in *chira-ṭhitika*.

sr becomes *s* in *pa[ṣ]isave*.

Masculines in *-a*: abl. sing. *anubadha*; dat. plur. *mahamatrehi*.

Feminines in *-ā*: acc. sing. *puja[m̃]*; loc. sing. *prajopadaye*; nom. plur. *janika*.¹

Masculines in *-i*: loc. plur. [*Na*]bhapa[m̃]tishu.

Masculines in *-ri*: nom. plur. *natare*.

Present participle in *-at*.—The gen. sing. *aśatasa* follows the *a*-declension.

Masculines and neuters in *-an*: instr. sing. *raḥina*; dat. sing. *krama[ṇ]e* (i. e. *karmanē*); gen. sing. *raḥine*; nom. plur. *ra[jane]*.

Masculines in *-in*: gen. sing. *Priyadrasine*.

Pronoun of the first person: nom. sing. *aam̃* (VI, 30) = *aham̃* (VI, 28); instr. sing. *me* (III, 9).

Base *ta*.—The nom. sing. masc. *se* is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut.; dat. plur. *tehi* (XII, 7); gen. plur. *ta[nam̃]* (XIII, 5).

Base *ēta*: nom. sing. masc. [*esha*] (XIII, 6); gen. sing. *e[ta]sa*; nom. plur. neut. [*e*]tani.

Demonstrative *idam*: nom. sing. neut. *iya* (VIII, 35); gen. sing. *imasa*; nom. plur. masc. *ime*; nom. sing. fem. *iyam̃*; dat. sing. fem. *imaye*.

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. *kechhi*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*.

Base *itara*: nom. sing. neut. [*i*]tare.

Numerals: [*e*]k[e] (nom. sing. masc.), *du[v]e*, *tī[ni]*, *duva[da]śa* and *duva[da]śa*, *treḍaśa*.

Present indicative: 3. plur. *yaṁti* (from root *i* or *yā*).—Subjunctive: 1. plur. *dipayama*; 3. plur. middle: *para[kra]mate*.—Optative: 1. sing. *ye[ham̃]* and 3. plur. [*hu*]veyu, as in the Kālsī version, which cf. also for the aorist *husu* (VIII, 34) and the perfect *aha* (i. e. *āha*).

Passive: 3. plur. indicative [*ara*]bh[*iyam̃ti*] (*alabhi[yaṁ]ti* at Kālsī); 3. plur. aorist [*arabh*]isu (*ārabhisu* at Gīrnār).

Present participle: *aśatasa* (gen. sing.) from root *aś*.

Past passive participle: [*aṇapayit*]e (III, 9),² *ropapita* (*ropāpita* at Gīrnār).

Future passive participle: *pra[joh̃]taviye*; see above, p. lxxxi.

Absolute in *-ti*: *draśeti*.

CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is converted to *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= Skt. *madhyama*) and *likhiyis[ām̃i*]*. It becomes *u* after a labial in *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchāvucha*, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in *udupāna* (= *udapāna*).

The *a* in the second syllable of *puṭhavi*, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 115. In *su* = Skt. *svid*, *i* has become *u* through the influence of the preceding *v*. For *e* = *i* and *ī* in *heta* (= **itra*) and *edisa*, *hedisa* (= Skt. *īdriśa*), see above, p. lxx.

Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (= *punaḥ*). In *pulisa* (= *purusha*) the *i* of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. *u*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 124. For the *i* in the second syllable of *munisa* (= Skt. *manushya*), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*), Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

¹ This is a diminutive of *jani*, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālsī.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

Skt. *ṛi* becomes (1) *a* in *ana[n]a* (= *anṛiṇa*), *ānaṁna*, *ānaniya*, and *ānaneya*, *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]tū and *kaṭu* (= *kṛitvā*), *dakhatha*, *dakhāmi*, [*bha*]taka, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *tādisa*, *ādisa* (= *yādṛiṣa*), *dhiti*, *p[i]t[ṛ]su*, *bhāt[ṛ]nam*, *m[ā]t[ṛ]* (= *māṭṛi*, Dhau. IV, 4), *mige*, [*miga*]viy[ā]; (3) *u* in *pitu-* (= *pitrī*, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [*a*]nā[v]uti [= *anāvṛitti*], *p[al]i* [*puchh*]ā, *puṭhavi* (= *prithivī*), *vuḍha* (= *vridha*); (4) *e* in *dekhata*; (5) *ra* in *drakhata* (Jau. I, 2). The syllable *vri* is represented by *lu* in *lukha* (= *vṛiksha*).

The diphthong *ai* becomes *e* in *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchāiḥ*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opaga* and *-[o]paya*, *osadhāni*, *mokhya* and *mokhiya*, *paṭotā*, *pālalokika*.

Short *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened in *atiyāyike* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *abhikā[la]*, *chi[la]-thitkā*, [*v*]i[vāha], *anāvūtiya* (Dhau. Sep.) = [*a*]nā[v]uti[ya] (Jau. Sep.), *tūlanā[ya]* and *at[ū]t[ā]nā* (for which Jau. Sep. reads *t[ul]āya* and *[atulanā]*), *niṭhūliyena*, *y[ū]jeyū* and *yūjevū* (also *yujeyū* and *yujevū*), *bahūhi*, *bahūsu*. Final *a*, *i*, *u* may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā*, *āhā* (passim) = *ā[ha]* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *chā*, *kechā*, *paṭipādayemā ti*, *ma[m]ā ti*, *vā* (twice = Skt. *ēva*), *savenā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3), *hosāmī*, *aphesū ti*, *ālādhayanitū ti*, [*ka*]tū (Jau. Sep.) = *kaṭu* (Dhau. Sep.), *palakama[ni]t[ū]*, *yujamitū*, *s[ā]dh[ū] ti*. Final *a*, *i*, *u*, which stand for original *am*, *is*, *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*aph*]ākā *ti*, *anusathī ti*, *āl[adh]i*, [*n*]ijhatī, *lipi*, *v[a]ḍhī*, *sudhī*, *alochayisū*, *ālādhayey[ū]* and *ālādhayevū*, *chaley[ū] ti* and *chalevū*, *nikhamāvū*, *pāpunevū iti*, *yujeyū ti* and *yujevū ti*, *y[ū]jeyū ti* and *yūjevū ti*, *lahey[ū]*, [*va*]sevū *ti*, *huvevū ti* and *hveyū ti*.

The three derivatives *gamu[k]a*, *nagalaka*, and *vachanik[a]* correspond to Skt. *gāmuka*, *nāgaraka*, and *vāchanika*. The *ā* of *mahā-* is shortened in *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *atha* and *athā* (= Skt. *yathā*), *ada* and *adā* (= *yadā*), *tatha* and *tathā*, *pita* and *pitā*, *lāja* and *lājā*, *va* and *vā*, *ka[m]ana* and *kamana* (= *karmanā*), [*a*]nā[v]uti[ya] and *anāvūtiya*, and the nominatives singular feminine *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit[a]*, *sotaviya*. Long *i* is shortened in *nitiyam* (thrice) = *nīt[i]yam* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. *nati* (Dhau. IV, 5) = *nat[i]* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *apī*), *hakanī* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (passim) = *iti* (thrice) and *kinīti*, *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*). In *hveyū* (Jau. Sep.) = *huveyu* (Kālsī and Mānsehrā), the vowel *u* seems to be elided.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

In the separate edicts at Jaugaḍa the guttural *k* is softened in *palalogam*, *hidalog[am]*, *hidalogika*, while Dhauli reads *palaloka[ni]*, *hidaloika*, *hidalogika*.¹ *k* is represented by *y* in [*ni*]aṭhi[ya]m (Dhau. IX, 2) and *supadālaye* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3); *g* by *y* in *-[o]paya* (Dhau. VIII, 3) = *-opaga* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkaśa*, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first *kh* is perhaps due to the influence of the second *kh*, which is a defective spelling of *kkh*, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group *rk*.² Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amītiyoka*.

The palatal *ch* is aspirated in [*k*]e[*chha*] (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = *kechā* (Jau. Sep. I, 4), *kinichhi* and *kichhi*. It is softened in [*a*]jalā (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = *achala* (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while *j* is hardened in *Kamibocha* and *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*). The palatal nasal *ñ* occurs only in *paṭimñā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugaḍa text reads *paṭimnā*. It is replaced by dental *n* also in *ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[ā]ti*, *nātisū*.

As at Kālsī, lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n*. But *ṇ* is used in four stray instances: [*kha*]nas[ṇ] (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), *niḥap[ṇ]ta[vi]ye* (Jau. Sep. I, 1), *pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]* (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and *savenā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are lingualized after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (also *praṭi* in *praṭivedayanitū*, Jau. VI, 2), and after *ṛi* in *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]tū and *kaṭu*, *puṭhaviyam*, [*bha*]taka, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vuḍha*. *t* becomes *ch* in [*ch*]i[*th*]itu. In the Jaugaḍa separate edicts, *d* is hardened in the following forms of the root *pad*: *paṭipātayeham*, [*pa*]tīpātayem[ā], *vipaṭipātayanitām*, [*sam*]paṭipā[ta]ya[ni]tām, *sam*paṭipātayit[av]e, while Dhauli reads [*pa*]tīpātayeham, &c. For [*idha*] (Dhau. IV, 8) and *hida* (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle *nam* (in *huvamti nam*, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

¹ Both Dhau. and Jau. have *sava-loka-hita* and *pālalokika*.

² For other instances of the aspiration of initial *k* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 206.

is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nanu*; but in Pischel's opinion (*Grammatik*, § 150) it goes back to Skt. *nūnam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *aphal[usa]m* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prākṛit *pharusa* (= Skt. *parusha*); see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 208. *bh* becomes *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *lahey[ū]* and *lahevu, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, huvaṁti, [h]uveyā, huvevu*, and in the participle *hūta*, while *bhūta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*), and *h* in the optatives *ālabheham, yeham, [pa]ti[pāday]eham* and *paṭipādayeham*. It is replaced by *v* before *u* and *ū* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugaḍa; see *-āvutike, asvasevu, ālādhayevū, chalevū, [p]ā[p]unevu* and *pāpunevū, yujevū* and *yūjevū, lahevu, [va]sevū, huvevu* and *huvevū*, instead of which Jaugaḍa reads *-āy[ut]ike, &c.* But both Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *nikhamāvū* (III, 2). *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, but is dropped at the beginning of *e, ena, am* (= Skt. *yat*), *ata* (= *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= *yathā*), *adā* and *ada* (= *yadā*), *asa* (= *yasya*), *ā* (= *yā*), *āni, ādise, āva* (= *yāvat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *apa-viy[a]t[ā], palitijit[u], bhaṭi* (= *bhṛitya*). The syllables *aya* and *ayi* are contracted to *e* in *tedasa* (= **trayadaśa*), *Ujeni* (= *Ujjayinī*), *ṇijhap[e]ta[vi]ye, paṭivedetaviye*.

As at Kālsī, *r* becomes *l* throughout.

v is prefixed to *u* in *v[u]te* (= *uktam*). The syllable *va* becomes *u* in *t[ul]āya* and *[atulanā]*; *vā* becomes *ū* in *[ka]tū* (= *kṛitvā*), and *u* in *kaṭu, anusāsitu*, and other absolutes. The syllables *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *olodhana, viyovadita[viye*], -vīyohālaka, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, and hosati* (= *bhavishyati*).

The two sibilants *ś* and *sh* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *chakiye* and *chaghattha*, from root *chak* (= *śak*).

h is prefixed in *hida, heta, hedisa, hevam*.

As in other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *sainmyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*), *p[a]lisā* (= *parishat*), *anusathī, ālādhayevū, &c.* (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see *[siya]* and *siyā* (= *syāt*), *da[kheya]* and *dakh[e]yā, anubandh[a]* (= *anubandhāt*, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. *anuvigina, &c.* (below, p. civ). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *Ujenite, kute, T[a]kha[s]ilāte, duvālate, mukhate, viyamjanate, hetute*, the genitives singular *atane, lājine, Piyadasine*, the nom. plur. *lājāne, da[v]iye, [bhuy]e, ne, jane, &c.* It becomes *o* only in *seto, [ya]so, and man[o]-*; *a* in *[saṁpa]tipāda* (?), *sa, esa*; ¹ *ā* in *[sā]*. Final *ar* becomes *e* in *ante* = Prākṛit and Pāli *anto* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *pana* (= *punar*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *mamam* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (passim) and *sahasesuni* (Dhau.) = *sahasesu* (Jau.), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *hidaloḥa, bahuka, -vachanik[a], -a[m]tik[a], &c.* (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. *Sambodh[i]* and *hīni, aphāka* (= Skt. *asmākam*) and *t[u]phāk[a]*. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kiṭi, vadhi, sudhi, kaṭaviyatalā, k[am]matalā, duvālā, [aph]ākā ti*; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in *-e*; see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural *bhaginīnam, gulīnam, bhāt[i]nam, [te]sa[m], pānānam, &c.*, the acc. sing. fem. *yātam, susūsam*, and the loc. sing. fem. *[pa]lisāy[am]* (Jau. VI, 4), *Samāpāyam, Tosaliyam, nitiyam, puṭhaviyam*. The Anusvāra is omitted in *palisāyā* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *tes[a]* and *saṁtilanāya* the long *ā* is shortened at the same time.²

III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *[ta]d-[o]payā*, and final *m* in *hedisam-eva*. In *hemeva* (= Skt. *ēvam-eva*) the syllable *va* of *ēvam* is dropped.³ The final *m* is doubled in *hevammeva* and *sukhanimeva*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhaṭi[m-ayesu]*.

Hiatus remains in *svag[a]-ālādhi* (Jau. Sep.), *mahā-apāye* (Dhau. Sep.) = *mahāpāy[e]* (Jau.

¹ The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.

² But *palisāyā* and *saṁtilanāya* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.

³ Cf. *emeva* = Skt. *ēvam-eva*, Hēmachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47. 579.

Sep.), *duāhale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagāni* (Dhau. and Jau.), *man[o]-atileke* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, *a* + *ā* are contracted into *ā*; see *-vasābhisita*, *pānālambhe*, &c. But the *ā* is shortened before a group of consonants; see *atata* (= Skt. *yatra yatra*), *āpalantā* (= **āpa-rāntāḥ*), *[t]e[na]tā* (= *tēnātra*), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *badhana[n]tik[a]* (= *bandhanāntikam*), *sūpaṭhāye*. Final *a* preceding *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is dropped in *bābha[n]-ibhi[yes]u*, *chu* (= *cha + u*), *[pa]j-upadāye*, *ch-eva*, *[ta]tesa*, *munis-opagāni*. In *eve* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel *am* of *evam* is treated in the same manner before *e* (= *yah*). *a* is elided after *e* in *[e]y[am]* for *e + ayam* (= Skt. *yō-yam*).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *khy*, *tr*, *tv*, *ny*, *pr*, *my*, *vy*, *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *sm*, *sy*, *sv*. Moreover the group *rs* is preserved at Jaugaḍa in *drasayitu* (IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darsayitu* and *Piyadarsine*; cf. above, p. lxxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *atane* (= *ātmanah*), *atānani*, *atiyāyike* (= *ātyayikam*), *anusathi* (= *anūsāsti*), *annsathe*, *[ayesu]* (= *āryēshu*), *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa[n]iā*, *[a]svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *āladhi* (= **ārāddhi*), *tadatvāye*, *p[a]lakamāni*, *palakamena*, *maga* (= *mārga*), *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *Lathika*, *sasvatam*, *isāya* (= *īrshyayā*), *kiṭi* (= *kīrtim*), *pulurva* (= *pūrva*).¹ But *ā* remains in *ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti*, *mahāmāta* (passim), *sāsvatam* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *tiṇni* (= *trīṇi*) the *i* is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels *i* and *u* in *asvāsa[n]iā*, *da[v]iye*, and *[bhuy]e* suggest that these three words are meant for *asvāsaniyyā*, *daviyye*, and *bhuyye*; cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *atikanāni*, *apa-bh[am]dātā*, *kilante*, *Devānāpiya*, *Paṇḍiyā*, *banbhana*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bābhana*. In *chhānda* (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = *chhānda* (passim), the *am* is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in *kichhi* (cf. above, p. lx), *badhana* (= Skt. *bandhana*), *vihisā*; after *e* in *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before *y* in *anusayānam*, *sayama*, *sayuta* (= *sainyukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before or after labials in *duve*, *duvāda*, *duvāla*, *pulurva*, *suṇāmika*, *pāpunāti*; *e* in *ānaneyam* (Jau. Sep.) = *ānaniyam* (Dhau.); and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dhr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

hkh becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukha[n]* and *dukhīyati*.

kt becomes *t* in *-āy[ut]ike*, *-āvutike*, &c.

ky becomes *kiy* in *sakiye* and *chakiye*.

kl becomes *kil* in *kilante*, *k[i]lamathena*, *palikilesa*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khana*, *khamitave*, *khamisati*, *[kh]ud[am]*, *khudakena*, *T[a]kha[s]ilāte*, *dakhāmi*, &c.,² *nakhatena*, *mokhāye*, *lukhāni*.

kshn becomes *khin* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakshṇa*).

kshy becomes *gh* in *chaghatha*.

khy remains in *mokhya* (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes *khiy* in *mokhiya* (Jau. Sep.).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *[a]gi*, but *gin* in *anuvigina*.

jñ becomes *jīn* in *lājina*, *lājine*; *nñ* in *paṭinñā* (Dhau. Sep.); *nin* or *n* in *paṭinñā* (Jau. Sep.), *ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti*, *ānāp[ay]i[ta]*, *nātisu*.

jy becomes *j* in the passive forms *yujeyū* and *y[ū]jeyū*.

dy becomes *diy* in *Paṇḍiyā*.

ny becomes *nin* in *hilanina* and *ānanine*, but *niy* in *ānaniyam*, and *ney* in *ānaneyam*.

tp becomes *p* in *[pa]jupadāye*.

¹ *pulurva* presupposes an intermediate form **purva*, in which the *ū* of *pūrva* was shortened before the group *rv*. The same applies to *atiyāyike*. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.

² See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.

- tm* becomes *t* in *atane* and *atānaṁ*.
ty becomes *tiy* in *atīyāyike*, *apatiye*, *ekatiyā*.
tr remains in *s[a]vatra* (Jau. II, 4), but becomes *t* in *s[a]vata* (passim), *tiṇni*, &c.
tv remains in *tadatvāye*.
ts becomes *s* in *usaṭena* and *chikisā*.
tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhāna*, but *th* in *uṭhāy[ā]*; cf. above, p. lxxxviii.
dg becomes *g* in *uga[chha](chhe)*.
dy becomes *y* in *uyānasi*; *j* in *aḷa*, *[pa]ṭipa[ḷa]ti*, *paṭipajeyā*, *saṁpaṭipajati*, *sa[ni]paṭi-pajam[ṭi]n[e]*.
dv becomes *v* in *anuvigina*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *duvāla*.
dhy becomes *jh* in *[n]ijhatī*, *nijhap[e]ta[vr]ye*, *majham*, *majhime[na]*.
ny remains in *[anye]* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes *nn* in *aṇna* (passim) and *maiṇn[ate]*.
pt becomes *t* in *asamati*, *nat[ṭi]* and *nati* (= Skt. *naptārah*), *[n]ijhatī*.
pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāti*, &c.
pr remains in *praṭivedayaṁtu* (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes *p* everywhere else.
bhy becomes *bhiy* in *āla[m]bhiyaṁti*, *ālabhiyisu*, *āla[bh]iḷiyaṁti*, *-ibhi[yes]u*.
my remains (with the nasal doubled) in *saṁmyā-*.
rk becomes *kh* in *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkaśa*).
rg becomes *g* in *magesu*, *vaga*, *svaga*.
rt becomes *t* in *[anu]vatatu* and *anuvatisaṁti*; *ṭ* in *vaṭitaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *kiṭi*.
rth becomes *ṭh* in *atha* (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 12, 14); *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim) and *[niḷaṭhi]yaṁ*.
rdh becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhite*, *vaḍhayis[a]ti*, *pavaḍhayisaṁti*.
rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhāgālasī*.
rm becomes *ṁm* or *m* in *a[nu]chātunṁmāsaṁ*, *kaṁma-* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kamana* (= *kar-manā*), *dhamma*.
ry becomes *y* in *[ayesu]*, but *liy* in *ānariṭaliyaṁ*, *niṭhūliyena*, *mādhuliyāye*.
rv becomes *v* in *pavataṣi* and *sava*, but *luv* in *puluva*.
rś becomes *s* in *dasana* and *Piyadasī-*, but *rs* in *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*, Jau. IV, 3) and *Piyadrasīne* (i. e. *°darsīne*, Jau. I, 3).
rsh becomes *s* in *vasa*.
rshy becomes *s* in *iśāya*.
lp becomes *p* in *apa* and *-kaṇaṁ*.
ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.
vy remains in *saṁchalitavye* (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes *y* in *[ichhi]taye* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and *viy* in *saṁchalitaviy[e]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), *ichhitaviye*, and other gerundives, *divi[y]āni*, *[miga]viy[ā]*, *viyariṇjanate*, *viyāpaṭā*, *-viyohālaka*.
vr becomes *v* in *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*).
śch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*.
śl becomes *s* in *s[a]klina* (= Skt. *ślakṣha*).
śv becomes *sv* in *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa[n]iḷyā*, *[a]svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *sāsvataṁ* and *sasvataṁ*, but *s* in *seto*.
shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭaṁ* and *dukala*.
shkr becomes *kh* in *nikhamāvū*, *[n]ikhami*, *[n]i[kha]m[i]s[u]*, *nikhamisaṁti*, *nikhāmayisāmi*.
shtr becomes *ṭh* in *Laṭhika*.
shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *[ch]i[ṭh]itu*, *niṭhūliyena*, *se[ṭhe]*; *th* in *adhithāna*.
shp becomes *ph* in *niphati*.
shm becomes *ph* in *tuphe*, &c.
sky becomes *s* in *tisa*, *munisa*, *hosati*, *esatha* (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but *h* in *ehatha* (Dhau. Sep.); cf. Māhārāṣṭrī *ehi* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 529, and *ehiti* in Pāli.
As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *[a]gi-kaṁdhāni*.
st becomes *th* in *athi*, *ṇathi*, *anusathi*, *anusathe*, *vithaṭena*, *saṁthuta*, *hathini*; *ṭh* in *aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).
str becomes *th* in *ithi*.
sth becomes *ṭh* in *chila-ṭhitikā*.
sm remains in *akasmā*, but becomes *ph* in *aphe*, &c., and *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy remains in [āla]s[y]e[na] (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes *siy* in *ālasīyena* (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), *siyā* and [siya] (= Skt. *syāt*), and *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*.
sv remains in *svaga*, but becomes *suv* in *suvāmike[na]*.
hm becomes *m̐bh* in *bam̐bhana*. In *bābhana* the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long *ā* of Skt. *brāhmaṇa* is preserved.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES in *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>osadhāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhanman</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>manigalan</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>kaṇḍhāni</i> , y[u]t[ān]i ; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Instr. <i>putena</i> , &c.	<i>jāte[h]i</i> .
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmātehi</i> , <i>samanehi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubandh[a]</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .	
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.	<i>pānānaṁ</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>aṭhasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* seems to be dropped in [saṁpa]ṭipāda (Dhau. Sep. I, 14). The termination is *-o* instead of *-e* in the colophon of Dhauḷi: *seto* (Text, p. 91).

Nom. sing. neut.—The termination is *-am* in *jīvaṁ* (Dhau. and Jau. I, 1) and *duvālaṁ* (Jau. Sep. I, 2); *-a* in *-a[ni]tik[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 5), *duvāl[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 3; Jau. Sep. II, 2), *mata* (four times), *v[a]ṭṭaviya* (Jau. Sep. I, 7); *-ā* in *kaṭaviyatalā* (Jau. IX, 6), *k[am]matalā* (Jau. VI, 5), *duvālā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *hidaloḥka* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *bahuka* (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and *-vachanik[a]* (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in *ānaṁne* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvigina* (Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5), *āya[ta]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2), *nagalaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 10), *ma[hā]māta* (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), *vataviya* (Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), *-viyohālaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *lopāpitā* and *hālāpitā* (Dhau. II, sections B and C; Jau. II, 4). As at Kālsī and Mānsehrā, the two Sanskrit masculines *vṛiksha* and *prāṇa* are used as neuters: *lukhāni* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and *pānāni* (I, 4).

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *pajā*, &c.

Acc. sing. *yātani*, *susūsani*.

Instr. sing. *isāya*, t[ul]āya, *tūlanā[ya]*.

Loc. sing. *Samāpāyaṁ*, *saṁtīlanāya*, *pajāye*, [pa]jupadāye.

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit[a]*, *sotaviya*.

II. BASES IN *-i*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *tiṁni*.

Loc. plur. *nāṭisu*.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Nom. sing. *anusathi*, *ālādhi*, *lipi*, &c.

Acc. sing. *Samibodh[i]*, *hīni*.

Instr. sing. *anusathiyā*, *anāvūtiya*.

Dat. sing. *anus[ath]iy[e]*, *[va]dhiye*.
 Abl. sing. *niphatiy[ā]*.
 Loc. sing. *Tosaliyam, nitiyam, puṭhaviyam, ā[ya]tiye*.
 Nom. plur. *ithī*¹.
 Gen. plur. *bhaginīnam*.

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *anusathī*, *āl[adh]ī*, *[n]ijhatī*, *lipī*, *v[a]dhi* (Dhau. IV, section I), *sudhī* (Dhau. VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is *-ī* in *kiṭṭī*, *vaḍhī* (Dhau. IV, J), *sudhī* (Dhau. and Jau. VII, B).

III. BASES IN -u.

Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sādhū*, *sādh[ū]*.
 Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahūni*.
 Instr. plur. *bahūhi*.
 Gen. plur. *gulinām*.
 Loc. plur. *bahūsu*.

IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom. Sing. *pitā*, *pita* (Jau. Sep. II, 10).
 Gen. plur. *bhāt[ī]nam*.
 Loc. plur. *p[ī]t[ī]su*.

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: *[p]itinā*, *bhātinā*, likewise the nom. plur. *nat[ī]*, *natī*; cf. Prākṛit and Pāli *aggī* (nom. plur. masc.).

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. *saṁtām*, *kalaṁtām*,² *vipaṭipātayaṁtām*, *[saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]tām*.
 The base *mahat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *mahaṁte*.

(2) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā</i> , <i>lāja</i> (Dhau. Sep. II, 4).	<i>lājāne</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>atānaṁ</i> ; neut. <i>nāma</i> .	
Instr. <i>lājīnā</i> , <i>kaṁ[mana]</i> , <i>kaṁana</i> .	
Dat. <i>kaṁmane</i> .	
Gen. <i>atane</i> , <i>lājīne</i> .	

The neuter base *karman* may also follow the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kaṁme*, acc. *kaṁmaṁ*, gen. *kaṁmasa*.

(3) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*.
 Instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.
 Gen. sing. *Piyadasine*.
 Acc. plur. *hathīni* (= *[ha]thini* at Kālsī).

(4) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. *[ya]so*, *da[v]iye*, *[bhuy]e*.

(5) Feminine in -d.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *p[a]lisā*, loc. *[pa]lisāy[āni]* and *palisāyā*.

¹ Cf. *aṭavi*, above, p. xci.

² For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>hakaṇ</i> .	<i>maye</i> .
Acc.	<i>aphe</i> , <i>a[ph]eni</i> .
Instr. <i>mamayā</i> , <i>manāye</i> , <i>mamiyāye</i> , <i>me</i> .	
Abl. <i>mamate</i> .	
Gen. <i>mama</i> , <i>mamā</i> , <i>mamaṇ</i> , <i>me</i> .	<i>aphāka</i> , <i>[aph]ākā</i> , <i>ne</i> .
Loc.	<i>[aphesu]</i> , <i>aphesū</i> .

For the forms *hakaṇ* and *mamayā* see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. *manāye* (Dhau. Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads *mamiyāye*, cf. *mamāi*, Hēmachandra, III, 109. The ablative *mamate* for Skt. *mattaḥ* is, like the instrumental *mamayā*, due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. The nom. plur. *maye* is derived from Skt. *vayam*, but influenced by the instr. sing. *mayā*, and the acc. *aphe* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. *asmān*. The acc. *a[ph]eni* (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. *aphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>phe</i> .
Acc. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>tupheni</i> .
Instr. plur. <i>tuphehi</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>t[u]phāk[a]</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>tuphesu</i> .

The base **tushma*, from which the nom. and acc. plur. *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *tumhe*) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base *yushma* and the singular *tvam* (Prākṛit *tumaṇ*).¹ With the form *phe* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. *bhe*, Hēmachandra, III, 91. The three forms *tupheni* (Jau. Sep.), *tuphehi*, and *tuphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(3) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>se</i> , <i>te</i> (Dhau. Sep. I, 13).	<i>te</i> , <i>se</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>taṇ</i> , <i>se</i> , <i>sa</i> .	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	<i>[te]sa[ni]</i> , <i>tes[a]</i> .
Loc. <i>tasi</i> .	

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. *tāni* takes the place of the masc. *te* (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>e[sā]</i> (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. <i>esa</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> ; neut. <i>etāni</i> .
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>etan</i> .	
Instr. <i>[ē]takēna</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāye</i> , <i>etākāye</i> .	
Gen. <i>etasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>etasi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *etā(ta)kā*.

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f., the nom. plur. masc. *ete* [*jātā*] corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. *et[ā]ni* *jātā[ni]* in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

¹ With *aphe* and *tuphe* cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. *api* and *topi*.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ay[am̐]</i> , <i>iyam̐</i> ; neut. <i>iyam̐</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>imam̐</i> .	
Instr. <i>imena</i> .	<i>imehi</i> .
Dat. [<i>i</i>]m[<i>ā</i>] <i>ye</i> .	
Gen. <i>imasa</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyam̐</i> .	
Dat. sing. fem. <i>imā[y]e</i> .	

As at Kālsī, the nom. sing. masc. *ayam̐* occurs only in [*e*]y[*am̐*] (= Skt. *yo-yam*, Jau. Sep. I, 6).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *kiñi*. The acc. sing. neut. *kam̐* and the acc. plur. neut. *kāni* are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in *akasmā*. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *cha* or *chha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechā*, [*k*][*e*][*chha*]), and with *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (neut. sing. *kiñchhi*, *kichhi*); and *kiñti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>e</i> .	Masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>āni</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>am̐</i> .	
Instr. <i>ena</i> .	
Gen. <i>asa</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā, ā</i> .	

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [<i>anye</i>], <i>an̐ne</i> ; neut. <i>an̐ne</i> .	Masc. <i>an̐ne</i> } neut. <i>an̐nāni</i> .
Acc.	
Dat. <i>an̐nāye</i> .	
Loc.	<i>an̐nesu</i> .

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. <i>sav̐e</i> .	Masc. <i>sav̐e</i> .
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>savam̐</i> .	
Instr. <i>sav̐ena</i> , <i>sav̐enā</i> .	
Gen. <i>sav̐asa</i> .	
Loc.	<i>sav̐esu</i> .

(10) Base **ekatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekatiyā*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*; instr. sing. *ekena*, *ek[a]k[e]na*.

Two, three, five.

Nom. masc. *duve* (cf. above, p. lxxx); nom. and acc. neut. *tiñni*; loc. *pañchasu*.

INTRODUCTION

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

ā[a]sa, dvvādasa, tedasa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Thousand.

Loc. plur. *sahasasu, sahasesuṃ* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4).

Literary Prākṛit also uses the termination *-esuṃ* besides *-esu*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 371.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sak[a]sāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kamp*: *anukaṃpati*.

Root *kram*: *p[a]lakamāmi, nikhamāvū*.

Root *gam*: *gachhema*.

Root *chal*: *chaley[ū]*.

Root *dṛś*: *dakhāmi, drakhati, dekhata*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti, huvanti* (sixth class).

Roots *rabh* and *labh*: *ālabhehami, lahey[ū]*.

Root *vas*: *[va]sevū*.

Root *vṛt*: *[anu]vatatu*.

Root *śvas*: *[a]svaseyu*.

Root *sthā*: *[ch]ā[th]itu* (from **chitṭhati*), *uthāy[ā]* (from **utthāti*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi, aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

Root *i*: *eti*.

The two roots *yā* and *sās* follow the *a*-conjugation: *yeham, anusāsāmi*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*: *pajohitaviye*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *[pa]ṭipā[ja]ti*.

Root *man*: *manin[ate]*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class (*pāpunāti, pāpunātha*) and the *a*-conjugation (*pāpuneyu*).

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujeyū* and *yūjēvū, yujanitū, yujisanti*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi* : *kaleti*, *kalāmi*, *kalānti*, *kalāntam* ; see above, p. lxxxix.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *jñā* : *jānitu* and *jānisamti* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya* : *atikāmayisati*, *nikhāmayisāmi*, *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*), *paṭipādayemā*, *ālādhayanitū*, *likhiyis[āmi*]*, *alochayisū*, *vaḍhayis[a]ti*, *vedayati*, *sukhayāmi*. The character *ayi* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetaviye*.

(b) With *paya* : *hāpayisat[i]*. In *ānapayāmi* and *ñijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*¹ the long vowel of the two roots *jñā* and *dhyā* is shortened.²

(c) With *āpaya* : *khānāpitāni*, *likhāpitā*, *hālāpita*.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *lopāpita*.

(e) With *īya* : *dukkhīyati* (denominative of Skt. *dukkha*).

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *p[a]lakamāmi*, *dakhāmi*, *anusāsāmi*, *ichhāmi*, *kalāmi*, *ānapayāmi*.

3. sing. *anukamṇpati*, [*pa*]lakama[*t*]i, *drakhati*, *hoti*, *aṭhi* and *aṭhi*, *eti*, [*pa*]tipa[*ja*]ti, *sanipati-pajati*, *pāpunāti*, *ichhati*, *kal[e]ti*, *vedayati*, *dukkhīyati*. The only middle form is *mañn[ate]* (Dhau. X, 1).

2. plur. *pāpunātha* (from the strong base of the ninth class).

3. plur. *huvamti*, *ichhamti*, *kalamti* and *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhayāmi* with indicative termination ; cf. above, p. xcv.

3. plur. *nikhamāvū* with optative termination ; cf. Johansson, *Shāhb.*, part 2, p. 89, n. 2.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ālābheham*, *yeham*, [*pa*]ti[*pāday*]eham and *paṭipātayeham* ; see above, p. lxxxii.

3. sing. *uga[chha](chhe)*, *dakh[e]yā* and *da[kheya]*, *uthāy[ā]* (from the indicative **utthāti* = Pāli *utthāti* ; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 483), [*h*]uveyā, *siyā* and [*siya*] (= Skt. *syāt*). *paṭipajeyā*.

1. plur. *gachhema*, *paṭipādayemā* and [*pa*]tipātayem[*a*].

3. plur. *chaley[ū]* and *chalevū*, *hveyū*, *huvēvū* and *huvēvū*, *lahey[ū]* and *lahevū*, [*va*]sevū, [*a*]svaseyu and *asvasevu*, *pāpunevu*, [*p*]ā[*p*]unevu and *pāpunevū*, *yu[j]eyū*, *yujeyū*, and *yūjevū*, *ālādhayey[ū]* and *ālādhayevū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, [*anu*]vatatu.

2. plur. *dakhatha* (with indicative termination), *dekhata*.

3. plur. [*pa*]lakamamtu and *palakama[ni]t[ū]*, *yujamti*, *ālādhayanitū*, *paṭivedayanitū*.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *a[h]o*.

¹ Cf. the substantive *ñijhati* (= **nidhyapti*) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from **nidhya-payati*, as Skt. *ājñapti* and *viññapti* from *jñāpayati* = *jñāpayati*.

² But in *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root *jñā* is preserved.

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. [n]ikhami ; 3. plur. [n]i[kha]m[ɛ]s[u].

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. *alochayisū* ; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. ā[ha] (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and āhā.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *hosami* and *hosāmī* (= Prākṛit *hōssāmi*), *nikhāmayisāmi*, *likhiyis[āmi*]*.

3. sing. *khamisati*, *hosati*, *kachhati*,¹ *atikāmayisati*, ā[na]p[ay]is[ā]ti, *vaḍhayis[ā]ti*.

2. plur. *esatha* and *ehatha*, *chaghatha* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*),² *ālādhayisatha* and *ālā[dha]-yisa[th]ā*.

3. plur. *nikhamisanti*, *anuvatisanti*, [a]nus[ā]sisan[t]i, *yujisanti*, *kachhaniti*, *jānisanti*, *pava-dhayisanti*.

V. PASSIVE.

3. plur. indicative *āla[m]bhiyanti*.³

3. plur. optative *yujeyñ*, *y[ā]jeyñ*, *yujevñ*, *y[ā]jevñ*.

3. plur. aorist *ālābhiyisu*.

3. plur. future *āla[bh]iyisanti* and *āl[aṁ]bhiyisa[m]t[i]*.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. imperative *susūsatu*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as* : *santi*.

Root *kṛi* : *kānti*.

Causative of *pad* : *viṭṭipātayanti* and *[sanipāṭipā]ta[yaṁ]tān* (Jau. Sep.).

Middle.

Root *pad* : *sa[m]pāṭipajam[i]n[e]*, and causative : *[vi]pāṭ[i]pādayamīne* (Dhau. Sep.).

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta* : *mata*, *kaṭa* (= Skt. *kṛita*), *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vithaṭa* (= *vistrīta*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), [n]isita (= **nisṛita*), *likhita*, *likhāpita*, *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*, *ālopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānā-*

¹ For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1.

² Cf. *sagghasi* in the Suttanipāta, verse 834.

³ For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2.

$p[ay]i[ta]$,¹ *hūta*, *atikaṃta*, *kilaṃta*, *āya[ta]* (i. e. *āyatta*), *sayuta* (= *saṃyukta*), *v[u]ta* (= *ukta*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*), *anusatha* (from *anu-śās*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *uvigina* (= *udvigna*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-taviya*: *etaviya*, *sotaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya*, *ichhitaviya* and *[ichhi]taya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *chalitaviya*, *saṃchalitaviya* and *°taviya*, *vaṭitaviya*, *viyovadita[viya*]*. *paṭivedetaviya*, *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ya*.

(b) In *-aniya*: *asvāsa[n]iya*.

(c) In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *chakiya*.

VIII. INFINITIVE.

khamitave, *ālādhayitave*, *saṃpaṭipādayitave* and *saṃpaṭipādayit[av]e*.

IX. ABSOLUTE.

kaṭu and *[ka]ṭū* (= Skt. *kṛitvā*), *anusāsitu*, *ālabhitu*, *saṃchalitu*, *jānitv* (from *jānāti*), *palitijit[u]* (from root *tyaj*), *[ch]i[th]itu* (from **chitṭhati*), *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*), *hāpayitu*. In *veditu*, which corresponds to Skt. *vēdayitvā*, the causative character *ay* is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small **Bombay-Sōpārā** fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Māgadha dialect of Dhauli and Jaugada. But, as at Girnār, the semivowel *r* is not changed to *l*; see *hiraṇṇa* (= Skt. *hiraṇya*, l. 7) and *[ra]ṭī* (l. 9). In the aorist *nikhamiṭha* (l. 5) the lingual is retained, while Kālsī has *nikhamiṭhā* and the pillar-edicts have *huthā* and *vaḍhiṭhā*, with dental *th*.

CHAPTER X

GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* is replaced by *i* in the second syllable of *gihiṭha* (see above, p. lxx), in *majhima* (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in *min[ā]* (Delhi-Mīraṭh) and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk*?). It becomes *u* in the second syllable of *uḍupāna* (see above, p. xcix), and after *m* in *muta* (= *mata*), *munisa* (= *manushya*). The change of *a* into *e* in *seyaka* (i. e. *śeṣyaka*), which is the reading of three versions instead of *sayaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*) at Delhi-Tōprā, is due to the following palatal *y*.

Skt. *i* is represented by *a* in the first syllable of *kapīlikā* (Delhi-Tōprā) = *kipīlikā* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. *pīpīlikā*, and by *u* after original *v* in *dutīya* and *dutiya*, *dupada*, *kinasu* (i. e. *kinassu*) = Skt. *kēnasvit*; see Text, p. 134, n. 1. *e* corresponds to Skt. *ī* in *hedisa* (Sāmāth, ll. 6, 7).

i corresponds to Skt. *u* in the second syllable of *pulisa* (see above, p. xcix) and of *munisa* (see above, p. lxx). In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

ri becomes (1) *a* in *anugahinevu*, *apakaṭha* (= Skt. *apakṛishṭa*), *kaṭa*, *kapana* (= *kṛipana*), *dāna*-*[gah]e*² (Queen's edict, l. 3), *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= **vṛitikā*), *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in

¹ Cf. p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

² Cf. *gahatha* (= Skt. *gṛihastha*) at Kālsī.

gihitha (= *grihastha*), *nisijitu* (from *nīsrijati*), *pit[i]su* (= *pitriśhu*), *simala* (= *śrīmara*), *hedisa* (= *īdriśa*); (3) *e* in *dekhati*, &c.

i corresponds to Skt. *e* in *ika* (Sārnāth, ll. 6, 7, 8), i. e. **ikka* = Prākṛit *ekka* and Skt. *ēka*. Cf. Ardhamāgadhī *ikkārāsa* = Skt. *ēkādaśa*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 443.

ai becomes *c* in *kevaṭa* (= Skt. *kaivarta*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opagāni*, *Kosaṃbiyaṃ*, *putā-papotike*, *mokhya*.

Initial *a* is lengthened in *ānāvāsasi* (Sārnāth) = *anā[vā]sasi* (Kauśāmbī and Sāmchī). Final *a* is lengthened frequently; see *eva*, *yeva*, *va* and *evā*, *yevā*, *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *cha* and *chā*, *na* and *nā* (in *nāsāntani*), *hetā*, *āha* and *āhā* or *ahā*, *vaḍhikā*, *huthā*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, [*sa*] *jinaṃdhāpayiyā*, *nāma* and *nāmā* (in *nāmā ti*), *mama* and *mamā*, *asvasa* and *asvasā*, *gonasa* and *gonasā*, *jānapadasa* and *jānapadasā*, *Devānaṃpiyashā*, *lokasa* and *lokasā*, *usāhena* and *usāhenā*, *bhayena* and *bhayenā*, *ṛ[a]chanenā*. Interconsonantal *i* and *u* are sometimes lengthened; see *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4), *-thitika* and *-thitika* (also *-thitika*), *tilita* (thus Allahabad-Kōsam; *tilita* in the other versions), *devīye* (Queen's edict, l. 2; *devīye*, id., ll. 4, 5), *pavajītānaṃ*, *lājīhi* (instr. plur. of Skt. *rājan*), *anupaṭipajāntani*, *anupaṭipajāntu* (also *anupaṭi°*), *anupaṭipajīsati*, *anupaṭipati* (also *anupaṭi°*), *sanipaṭipati*, *paṭipati*, *paṭibhoga* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭiṣiṭhāni* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*, *niṭhūliye*, *pachūpagamane* (*pachupa°* Allahabad-Kōsam), *bahūsu* (but *gulusu*). Final *i* and *u* may be lengthened before *ti* (= *itī*) or without it; see *anuvīdhīyānti*, *āvahāmī ti*, *kachhatī ti*, *khādiyati*, *tī*, *tī ti* (Delhi-Tōprā, II, l. 16), [*ha*] *intaviyānti*, *anupaṭipajāntū*, *hotū ti*. Final *i* and *u*, which stand for original *is* and *us* or *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*gut*] *i* and *gotī ti*, *lipi* and *lipī*, *bhikkhu* and [*bhikk*] *ū*, *Sakyamunī ti*, *sādhu* and *sādhū*, *ālādhayevu* and *ālādhayevū ti*, *upadahevu* and *upadahevū ti*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *āvahāmī* and *ava*¹ (Delhi-Tōprā) = *āvahāmī* and *āva* or *āvā* (in the other versions). Interconsonantal *ā* is shortened in the Queen's edict in *ālama* (= Skt. *ārāma*) and *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *tathā* and *tatha*, *vā* and *va* (= Skt. *vā*), *apahatū* and *apahaṭa*, *lājā* and *lāja*, *atanā* and *atana*, *lājina*, *Piyadusina*, *anusathiyā* and *anusathiya*, and the nom. sing. fem. *esa* (pillar edict I, section D), *apekhā* and *apekha*, &c. Also final *ī* is sometimes shortened; see *Piyadasī* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and *Piyadasi*, *duḍī* and *duḷi*, *dhāti* (= Skt. *dhātrī*), *aṭhamī-pakha* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *aṭhami-pakha*, *chātunimāsi-pakha*, *devi-kumālānaṃ*, *bhikkhuni*, *Lummini-gāme*. Interconsonantal *ī* is shortened in *dutiya* = *dutiya*² (Queen's edict, l. 5), and *ū* in *anulupāyā*, *thube*, *bhutānaṃ*, *sususa* (also *susūsā*).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *laghaṃti* (for **alaghaṃti* = Skt. *arhanti*), *hakaṃ* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (for *itī*) and *kiṃti*, *posatha* (for *upavasatha*), *va* and *vā* (for *ēva*).

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

As at Kālsī, palatal *ñ* and lingual *ṇ* are replaced by dental *n* throughout.

The guttural *k* is palatalized in *aḍha-[kos]ikyāni* and *vaḍikyā*;³ cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by *y* in *aṭha-bhāgiye* (Rummindei, l. 5), *ata-patiye* (Delhi-Tōprā, IV, ll. 4, 14), *niṃsi-[ḍha]yā* (= Skt. **niśliṣṭakā*), and perhaps in *gevaṭā*; see Text, p. 120, n. 4. *gh* is preserved in *laghaṃti* (for **alaghaṃti* = Skt. *arhanti*), but has become *h* in *lahu*.

The palatal *ch* is softened in *saṃkujā*, which is probably connected with Skt. *sāṃkuchi*, 'a skate-fish.' It is aspirated in *kīchhi* (Queen's edict, l. 4) = *kichhi* at Kālsī, &c.

Lingual *ḍ* may become *!*; see *edake* and *elake*, *edakā* and *elakā*, *duḍī* and *duḷi*.

Dentals are lingualized after *ri* in *kaṭa*, *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= **vr̥itikā*), in which the *ṭ* (for *t*) is softened, and after *ra* in *nigam̐tha* (= Skt. *nirgrantha*) and in the preposition *paṭi*, but not in *pachupagamana* (= *pratyupagamana*), *patyāsanna* and *patiyāsanna* (= *pratyāsanna*). *t* is elided, *a* lengthened,⁴ and *v* developed from *u* in *chāvudasa* (= Skt. *chaturdaśī*), while *au* is contracted to *o* in *chodasa* (= *chaturdaśa*). *d* becomes *ḍ* or *!* in *duvāḍasa* and *duvā[!a]-s[!a]*, *paṃnaḍasa* and *paṃnaḍasā* (= Skt. *pañchadaśī*). The original *dh* of the root **nadh* (= Skt. *nah*)

¹ Cf. *ava*, *avā*, *avaiṃ* at Kālsī. Michelson (IF, 23, 236) compares Avestan *yavat* (= Skt. *yāvat*).

² Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 82) derived Prākṛit *dudā*, &c., from a supposed Skt. form **dvitya*.

³ In *ambā-vaḍikyā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 23) = *ambā-vaḍikā* (Queen's edict, l. 3).

⁴ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 78 and 443.

is preserved in [sa]mnamdhāpayiyā and sanamdhāpayitu.¹ *dh* becomes *h* in *nigoha* (= *nyagrōdha*), *vidahāmi* and *upadahevu* (from *dadhāti*). For *hida* (= *idha* at Gīrnār) see above, p. lxxii.

p is softened in *thuba* (= *stūpa*, Nigālī Sāgar, l. 2) and *libi*² (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 31, 32) = *lipi* (passim). It becomes *k* through dissimilation in *kipilikā* and *kapilikā* = Skt. *pīpīlikā*.³ *bh* becomes *h* in [a]hiye, hoti, hotu, huvāti, hosanti, hohanti, huthā, husu, and in the instr. plur. in -hi (for -bhih). *m* becomes *p*, and the aspiration changes place, in *kaphaṭa* = Skt. *kamaṭha*; cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) at Dhauli and Jaugada, and [ta]phā (= Skt. *tasmāt*) at Kālsī.

y is represented by *h* in *abhyunināmayehani*, and by *v* in *āvuti* (= **āyukti*), *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*), *sochava* for *sochaya* (= **śauchya*), *pāpovā* (= **prāpnō + yāt*), *yāvu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *upadahevu*, *pavatayevū*. It is prefixed to *e* in *yeva* and *yevā* (also *eva* and *evā*), but is dropped at the beginning of *ata* (= Skt. *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *āva* (also *yāva*, = Skt. *yāvat*), *āvate*, *e* (also *ye*), *ena* (also *yena*). At the end of *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) the syllable *ya* seems to be dropped; cf. above, p. lvii. It becomes *i* in *nigoha* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*), *paṭivekhāmi*, *dupaṭivekhe*, and *ayi* becomes *e* in *jhāpetaviye* (also *jhāpayitaviye*).

r has become *l* throughout, except in *chan[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke* (Sāmchī, l. 4).

va becomes *u* in *anuvehkamāne*; *vā* becomes the same in the absolutes in -tu (= Skt. *tvā*); *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *odāta*, *olodhana*, *posatha*, *paliyovadātha*, *paliyovadisanti*, *viyovadisanti*, *viyohāla*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*.

The two sibilants *ś* and *sh* have become *s* throughout. But *sh* is used in *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*, Sārnāth, l. 10), *Devānampiyashā* and *she* (Queen's edict, ll. 1 and 4). In *chaghati*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, p. ci.

h is prefixed in *hida*, *hidata*, *hedisa*, *hevanī*. For *hetā* (Queen's edict, l. 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see *min[ā]* and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk*?), *pāpovā* and *pāpova*, *siyā* and *siya*, *avimanā* and *avimana*, *abhūtā* and *abhūta*, &c. (below, p. cxvi). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see *āva* and *āvā* (= *yāvat*), *lipi* and *lipī*, *sādku* and *sādhū*, &c. (above, p. cxii). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *ite*, *suve* (= *śvas*), *bhuye*, *lājāne*, *viyāpaṭāse*, *jane*, &c. But it becomes *o* in *vayo*; *a* in *chanidama* and *esa* (nom. sing. masc. and neut.); and *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel *u* is nasalized in *chun* (Sārnāth, l. 3) for *chu* (passim). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *bādha* (Delhi-Tōprā, III, l. 21), *heva* (= Skt. *ēvam*,⁴ Rāmpurvā, I, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. *vaḍhi* (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anusvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. *anupaṭipati* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) and in the nom. sing. [dā]nā (Delhi-Mīraṭh, II, l. 2). But the nom. sing. of neuters in -a generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in -e; see below, p. cxvi.

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened; see *kiyam* (= Skt. *kiyān*), *Bhagavam* (= *Bhagavān*), the gen. plur. in -am, the loc. sing. fem. *tisāyam*, *tisyaṃ*, *Kosambiyam*, *puṇnamāsiyam*, and the acc. sing. *maṃ* (= *mām*), *imaṃ* (= *imām*), *taṃ* (= *tām*, pillar-edict VI, B), *ikaṃ* (= *ekām*), *pajam* (= *prajāṃ*), *dukkhiyanam*, *chāvudasanam*, *paṇṇaḍasanam*, *paṭipadanam*, *hedisam* (acc. sing. fem., Sārnāth, l. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. *p[a]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6), and the long *ā* is shortened at the same time in *kiya* (Lauriyā-Nandangarh, II, l. 1).

III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *etad-aṭhā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24), and final *m* in *etam-eva* (id., l. 23; Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9), *kayānam-eva* (Allahabad-Kōsam, III, l. 1), *hedisam-eva* (Sārnāth, l. 7). The final *m* is doubled in *iyanimana* (= Skt. *idam anyat*), *kayānanimēva*, *hevanimeva*. In *hemēva*, *hemēvā*, *heṇimeva*, the syllable *va* of Skt. *ēvam* is dropped.

Hiatus remains in -*vasa-abhisita* at Delhi-Tōprā (six times),⁵ while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31) read -*vasābhisita*. Other instances of *a + ā = ā* are *dhanimānupaṭipati*,

¹ Cf. *pilandhati* &c. in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 34.

² This Prākṛit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.

³ Cf. Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 29, section 1.

⁴ Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 2, and p. lxxxvi, l. 6 from bottom. ⁵ Also at Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 14.

dhammānusathi, dhammāpadāna, dhammāpekkhā, apāsinave. The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *saṅghaṭṭasi* and *-apadānathāye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25 and 28). The nasal vowel *am̐* of *tuphākam̐* and *upāsakānam̐* is treated in the same manner before *antikam̐* in *tuphāk-antikam̐* and *upāsakān-antikam̐* (Sārnāth, ll. 6 and 7). In *ikike* (= Skt. *ēkaikaḥ*), *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ch-cva*, and *chhāy-opagāni*, final *a* and *ā* are elided before the initial *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o* of the next following word.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *khy*, *ty*, *dhy*, *dhr*, *bhy*, *rshy* (which becomes *sy*), *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *shy* (which becomes *sy*). For the group *ky* see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *asvatha* (= *āśvasta*), *anusathi* (= *anusāsti*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), *kinasu* (for **kinā + ssu* = Skt. *svid*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *maga* (= *mārga*), *madava* (= *mārdava*), *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*, Queen's edict, l. 1), *Sakyamunī*, *isyā* (= *īrshyā*), *-sulyika*¹ (for **sūryika*), *dusa* (= *dūshya*), *puṇnamāsiyam̐*. But the length remains in *ānapayati*, *pāpovā* (from *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta* (for **mātra*), *palikkhā* (for *parikkhā*). While long *ī* is preserved before *n* in *-gāminī* and *bhī[khun]īnam̐*, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in *tin̐ni* (= *trīṇī*). Similarly, *anusathini* and *devīnam̐* are perhaps defective spellings for *anusathim̐ni* and *devīm̐nam̐*. Before *y* and *l* the length is preserved in *anuvīdhīyam̐ti*, *sukhīyanā*, *kapīlikā*, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in *anuvīdhīyam̐ti*, *sukhīyanā*, *bhūye*, *kipīlikā*; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *āgācha* (= *āgātya*), *dākhinā* (also *dakhinā*, i. e. *dakkhinā*), *putāpapotike*² (for *putrapra*°), *puṇāvasune* (for *puṇarva*°), *kīchhi* (for **kid + chid*, Queen's edict, l. 4), *nīlakhiyati* (for *nīrā*°), *nīlakhitaviye* (also *nīlā*° at Rāmpurvā, V, l. 9), *vaḍḍhisati* (also *vaḍhisati*, i. e. *vaḍḍhissati*). *saṃpaṭipajīsati* (also **jisati*), *anupaṭipajīsati*, *anūp[a]ṭipajīne* (for *anuprat*°).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in *ambā-* (= Skt. *āmra*), *atikan̐tam̐*, *Kosambīyam̐* (= *Kauśāmbīyam̐*), *Devānāpīya*,³ while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in *bābhana* (= *bāmhana* at Gīrnār). Anusvāra is lost after a short vowel in *thabha* (Rummindē, l. 3) = *thāibha* (Delhi-Tōprā), in *sayame* and *sarībhaḡe* (also *saṃiyame* and *saṃvībhāḡe*), in *vīhisāye* (but not in *avīhīsāye*), and in *satavisati*. The nasal vowel *im̐* is replaced by a length in *visati*, *paṇṇa-vīsati*, and *saḍvīsati*. Similarly, *am̐* seems to be replaced by *ā* in *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*). In *visvaṃsayitave* (Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel *am̐* corresponds to Skt. *ā*.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before *v* in *duvchi*, *duvāḍasa*, *saḍvīsati*, *suve*; *a* in *dusaṃpaṭipādaye*, *lagham̐ti* (for **alagham̐ti*), *sochaye* and *sochave*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *p*, *b*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

hkh becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukhīyanam̐*.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, *yuta*, *vataviya*, *viyata*.

ky remains in *Sakyamunī* (Rummindē, l. 2).

ksh becomes *jh* in *jhāpayitaviye*,⁴ but *kh* everywhere else.

kshy becomes *khiy* in *nīlakhiyati*; *kh* in *dupaṭivekhe* and *bh[ā]khati*; *gh* in *chaghati*.

khy is preserved in *mukhya* and *mokhya*, but is assimilated in *mukhā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27).

¹ This word presupposes an intermediate form with short *u*: **suryika*; cf. above, p. cii, n. 1. In the Māgadha dialect the affix *-ika* does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vṛiddhi of the first syllable; see *putāpapotika* and *hidatika*, but *ānugahika*. In *antitika*, *adha[kos]ikya*, *chāṇdamasulyika* we cannot say whether the *a* preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first *a* of *chāṇḍiya*, which was formed from Skt. *chāṇḍa* with the affix *-ya*. In *nīḥūliya* and *puṇnamāsiyam̐* the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are *naishṭhurya* and *paurṇamāsyām*, with Vṛiddhi of the first vowel.

² The Sārnchī pillar (section C) has *putapapotike*.

³ The Anusvāra is omitted in *Devāna[pi]yena* (Rummindē, l. 1).

⁴ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 326.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

chy becomes *chay* or *chav* in *sochaye* and *sochave*.¹

jñ becomes *jīn* in *lājina*; *nīn* in *chhaindanīnāni* and *vinīnapayitaviye*; *n* in *ānapayati*, *ānapita*, *nātikā*, *nātisū*.

ñch becomes *nīn* in *pañnavīsati*, *pañnaḍasā* and *pañnaḷasā*, but remains in *[pa]ñcha[dasā]* (Allahabad-Kōsam).

ḍy becomes *ḍiy* in *chāṇḍiye*.

ḍv becomes *ḍuv* in *saḍuvīsati*.

ṇm becomes *nīm* in *āsaiṇmāsike*.

tk becomes *k* in *ukasā*.

tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty remains in *patyāsaiṇna*, but becomes *tiy* in *patiyāsaiṇna* (Delhi-Tōprā), and *ch* in *āgācha*, *pachupagamane*, *sache*.

tsr becomes *s* in *usapāpite*.

ts becomes *s* in *usāha*.

tsy becomes *chh* in *machhe*.

db becomes *b* in *ubalike*.

dy becomes *j* in *anupaṭipajaiṇtu*, &c.; *diy* in *khāḍiyati*; *day* in *dusaiṇpaṭipādaye*.

dr becomes *d* in *chāṇḍama-*.

dv becomes *d* in *dupada*, *duṭiya* and *dutiya*, but *duv* in *duvchi*, *duvāḍasa*.

dhy remains in *avadhya*, but becomes *dhiy* in *avadhiya*, and *jh* in *majhimā*, *nijhatiyā*, *nijhapayitave*, *nijhapayitā*, *nijhapayisaiṇti*.

dhr remains in *dh[r]uvāye* (Delhi-Mīraṭh), but becomes *dh* in *dhuvāye* and *vadhi* (pillar-edict V, D).

ny becomes *nīm* or *n* in *aiṇna* (passim) and *ana* (pillar-edict III, H).

pt becomes *t* in *[gul]i*, *gotī* (= Skt. **gōṭī*), *nikhitā*, *nijhatiyā*, *pata* (= *prāpta*), *sata* (= *sapta*, Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31).

pn becomes *p* in *pāpovā*.

bhy remains in *abhiyūṇṇamāyachaiṇ* and *abhiyūṇṇamīsati*, but becomes *hiy* in *l[a]hiye*.

bhr becomes *bh* in *palibhasayisaiṇ*.

m̐b becomes *nīm* in *Lūṇmīni-* (Rummindēī, l. 4).

m̐r becomes *m̐b* (for *m̐br*) in *am̐bā-* (= Skt. *āmra*).

yy becomes *yiy* in *āvāsaiyic* and *[sa]ṇṇaiṇdhāpayiyā*.

rg becomes *g* in *magesu* and *visaga*.

rgr becomes *g* in *nigaiṇthesu*.

rg̐h becomes *lag̐h* in *lag̐haiṇti* (for **alag̐haiṇti*).

r̐n becomes *nīm* in *paṇna* (pillar-edict V, B) and *puṇṇamāsiyaṇ*.

rt becomes *t* in *pacatayevū*, but *t̐* in *kaṭaviya*, *kevaṭa*, *palikaṭave*, *apakaṭā*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, W and OO), but *t̐h* in *aṭha* (passim).

rd becomes *d* in *chakhudāne*, *chodasa*, *chāvudasa*, *madave*.

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhati*, *vaḍheyā*, *vaḍhithā*, *vaḍhisati*, *vaḍhita*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhinī*.

rm becomes *nīm* in *kaṇṇmāni*, *chātūṇṇmāsi*, *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Lauṇiyā-Ararāj, II, l. 3).

ry becomes *liy* in *niṭhūliye*, *palīyovadātha* and *palīyovadisaṇti*, *-suliyike* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31), but *riy* in *-[sū]rī[yi]ke* (Sāṁchī, l. 4).

rl becomes *l* in *nīlakhiyati* and *nīlakhitaviyc*.

rv becomes *v* in *punāvasune* and *sava*.

rś becomes *s* in *Piyadasī*.

rsh becomes *s* in *ukasā* and *vasa*.

rshy becomes *sy* in *isyā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa* (pillar-edict II, C).

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*, *sayaka* and *seyaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*).

¹ Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read *socheye*, which Michelson (IF, 23. 241) identifies with Pāli *socheyya* (= Skt. **śauchēya*).

vy becomes *viy* in *viyamjanena*, *viyata*, *viyāpaṭa*, *viyovadisanti*, *viyohāla*, and in the gerundives in *-taviya*.

vr becomes *v* in *pavajitānaṁ*.

śy becomes *s* in *palibhasayisāṁ* (future of the causative of Skt. *bhraśyati*).

śl becomes *nis* in *ninisi[dha]yā* (= Skt. **niślishtakā*); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

śv becomes *sv* in *asva*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *visvaṁsayitave* (infinitive of *viśvāsayati*); *su* in *suve* (= *śvaḥ*); *s* in *seta*.

shṭ becomes *th* in *vaḍhithā* and *huthā*; *ṭh* in *aṭha-bhāgiye*, *aṭhamī*, *apakaṭhesu*, *tuthāyatan[ā]ni*, *paṭivisiṭham*; *ḍh* in *aḍha-[kos]ikyāni* and *ninisi[dha]yā*.

shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *niṭhūliye*.

shp becomes *p* in *chatnpada*.

shpr becomes *p* in *dupaṭivekhe*.

shy becomes *sy* in *tisyaṁ*; *siy* in *tisiyaṁ*; *s* in *tisāyaṁ* and *tisāye*, *dusāni*, *pusitaviya* (from Skt. *pushyati*), *munisa* (= *manushya*), *hosanti* and other futures; *h* in *hohanti*.

st becomes *th* in *athi*, *anusathi*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *thambhāni*, *thuba* (= *stūpa*), *pavitha-lisanṭi*.

sth becomes *th* in *gihitha* (= Skt. *grihastha*) and *-thitika* or *-thitika*; ¹ *ṭh* in *anaṭhika* and *-ṭhitika* or *-ṭhitika*.²

sn becomes *sin* in *āsinava* (from *ā-snu*).

sm becomes *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*; *h* in *dāhamṭi*.

hn becomes *hin* in *anugahinevu*.

hm becomes *bh* in *bābhana*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>pulisā</i> , &c. } neut. <i>sāvanāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>janam</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>pulisāni</i> }
Instr. <i>dhammena</i> , &c.	<i>ākālehi</i> , <i>pulimehi</i> . ³
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.	<i>pānānaṁ</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>janasi</i> , &c.	<i>aṭhesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. neut.—In *[dā]nā* (Delhi-Mīrath, II, l. 2) the termination is *-ā*.

Instr. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *usāhenā*, *bhayenā*, *v[a]chanenā*.

Gen. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *asvasā*, *gonasā*, *jānapadasā*, *Devānaṁpiyashā*, *lokasā*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *abhīta*, *asvatha*, *āyata*, *kaṭa*, *pūjita*, *mahām[ā]ta* (Kausāmbī edict, l. 1), *lajūka*. The Vedic termination *-āsaḥ* is preserved in *viyāpaṭāse* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25, 27).

Nom. plur. neut.—The final *i* is lengthened in *[ha]ntaviyāni* (Delhi-Mīrath, V, l. 8). The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter: *thambhāni*, *nikāyāni*, *nigohāni*, *niyamāni*, *mokhāni*, *tiṇni divasāni* and *etāni divasāni* (acc.).

¹ With the compound *chilam-thitika* or *chilam-thitika* cf. Skt. *chiranjīvin* and *chirantana*.

² In *chila-thitike* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 32) and *chila-thitika* (Allahabad-Kōsam, II, l. 3).

³ From *pulima* = Pāli *purima*.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichhā</i> , &c.	<i>vaḍikyā</i> , &c.
Acc. <i>pajam</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pūjāyā</i> and <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>vihiṣāye</i> , <i>avihiṁsāye</i> .	
Abl. <i>dakḥināye</i> , <i>dākhināye</i> .	
Gen. <i>dutīyāye</i> , <i>dutiyāye</i> .	
Loc. <i>tisāyaṁ</i> , <i>tisāye</i> , <i>chāvudāsāye</i> , <i>paṁnaḍasāye</i> , <i>paṭipadāy[e]</i> . ¹	<i>disāsu</i> .

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *apekha*, *avadhya*, *isya*, *kapilika*, *kālāpita*, *jatūka*, *daya*, *pālana*, *likhāpita*, *vaḍhita*, *viyata*, *sālīka*, *sukhīyana*.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ā in *p[a]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6).

Instr. sing.—The termination is -āyā in *agāyā*, *anulupāyā*, *-kāmātāyā*, *palīkhāyā*, *vividhāyā*, *sukhāyanāyā*, *susūsāyā*, while the final *ā* is shortened, as at Gīrnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa, in *agāya*, *-kāmātāya*, *palīkhāya*, *vividhāya*, *susūsāya*.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. masc. *vidhi*, *Sakyaṁunī*; acc. plur. neut. *tiṁni*; loc. plur. *nātisu*.

The feminine base *anusathi* forms the nom. and acc. plur. *anusathini* with the termination of the neuter.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>vaḍhi</i> , <i>dhāti</i> , &c.	
Acc. <i>lipiṁ</i> , <i>vaḍhi</i> (pillar-edict VI, B), <i>anupaṭipatī</i> .	
Instr. <i>vaḍhiyā</i> , <i>anupaṭipatiyā</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>anupaṭipatiye</i> , <i>dhātiye</i> , <i>devīye</i> .	
Gen. <i>Kāluvākiye</i> , <i>devīye</i> and <i>devīye</i> .	<i>bhi[khun]īnaṁ</i> , <i>devīnaṁ</i> .
Loc. <i>tisyaṁ</i> , <i>tisiyaṁ</i> , <i>Kosaṁbiyaṁ</i> , <i>puṁnamāsiyaṁ</i> , <i>chātunimāsiye</i> .	<i>chātunimāsīsu</i> , <i>tīsu</i> . ²

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *gabhinī*, *sūkālī*, *duḍī* (also *duḷī*), *lipī* (also *lipī*).

Instr. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anusathiya* (also *anusathiyā*).

III. MASCULINES AND NEUTERS IN -u.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>bhikhu</i> and <i>[bhikkh]ū</i> , <i>sādhū</i> and <i>sādhū</i> , <i>lahu</i> ; neut. <i>bahū</i> .	Neut. <i>bahūni</i> .
Gen.	<i>[bhi*]khūna[m]</i> .
Loc. <i>puṁāvasune</i> , <i>bahune</i> .	<i>gulusu</i> , <i>bahūsū</i> .

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -na.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ṛi.

Nom. sing. *apahaṭā* and *apahaṭa*, *nijhapayitā*.

Gen. sing. *mātu*.

Loc. plur. *pitisu*.

¹ As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine *pratipad* has assumed the form *paṭipadā*. Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 15.

² In Sanskrit the corresponding form is *tisṛishu*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *sañtani*, *anupaṭṭipajani*; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in *-yat* and *-vat*.

Nom. sing. masc. *kiyañ* and *kiya* (Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh), *Bhagavañ*. The base *yāvat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *āvate* (Sārnāth, l. 9).

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā</i> , <i>lāja</i> .	<i>lājāne</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> .	<i>kañmāni</i> .
Instr. <i>atanā</i> , <i>atana</i> , <i>lājina</i> .	<i>lājhi</i> .

The instr. plur. follows the *i*-declension.

(4) Masculines and neuters in *-in*.

Nom. sing. masc. *Piyadasī*; instr. sing. *Piyadasina*; nom. plur. neut. *-gāmīni*.

The final *ī* of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōsam version, while all others read *Piyadasī*.

(5) Masculines and neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. neut. *bhūye*.

The masculine *chāṇḍama-* (= Skt. *chandrmas*) and the neuter *vayo-* occur as first members of compounds. The base *avimanas* follows the *a*-declension: nom. plur. masc. *avimanā* and (with shortening of the final *ā*) *avimana*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakañ*.
 Acc. sing. *mañ*.
 Instr. sing. *mamayā* and *mamiyā*, *mama* and *mamā*, *me*.
 Gen. sing. *mama*, *me*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person

Nom. plur. *tuphe*; gen. plur. *tuphākani*.

(3) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>se</i> . ¹	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>tañ</i> , <i>se</i> .	Neut. <i>tāni</i> .
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Gen.	<i>tesañ</i> , <i>tānañ</i> .
Loc.	<i>tesu</i> .

Acc. sing. fem. *tañ*.
 Dat. sing. fem. *tāye*.

(4) Base *na*.

Nom. plur. neut. *nāni*; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

¹ Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. *she* occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.

(5) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> ; neut. <i>esa, esā</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>etaṃ</i> .	Neut. <i>etāni</i> .
Instr. <i>etena</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāye</i> .	
Loc.	<i>etesu</i> .
Nom. sing. fem. <i>esa</i> .	

(6) Demonstrative *idam*.

Nom. sing. neut. *iyaṃ* ; nom. plur. masc. *ime*, neut. *imāni* ; nom. sing. fem. *iyaṃ*, acc. *imam*.

(7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms the acc. sing. neut. *kiṃ* (in *kiṃti*), *kiṃam* or *kiṃmam* (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental **kinā*¹ (in *kinasu*, i.e. **kinassu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēnasvit*). The base *ka* is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. *kāni* (in *potake cha kāni* ; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. *kāni* (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with *pi* (= Skt. *api*) or *chi* (= Skt. *chid*) : instr. sing. *kenapi* ; nom. plur. neut. [*k*]ānichi.

(8) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>ye, e</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> .
Instr. <i>yena, ena</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā</i> .	

(9) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṃne</i> ; neut. [<i>a</i>]iṃne, <i>ana</i> .	Masc. <i>aṃne</i> ; neut. <i>aṃnāni</i> .
Gen.	<i>aṃnānaṃ</i> .
Loc.	<i>aṃnesu</i> .

The gen. plur. *aṃnānaṃ* follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a* (above, p. cxvi) ; cf. *tānaṃ* for *tesaṃ* (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), *ta[nāni]* at Mānsehrā, and the dat. sing. fem. *tāye* (above, p. cxviii), *i. nāya* and *imā[y]e* at Girnār, Kālsī, and Dhauri, *imaye* at Mānsehrā.

(10) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>sarve</i> .	
Loc. <i>sarvasi</i> .	<i>sarvasu</i> .

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *ikike* (= Skt. *ekaikaḥ*), fem. *ikā* ; acc. sing. fem. *ikaṃ*.

Two.

Instr. masc. *duvehi* (from the base *dva*). The base *dvi* appears as *du* in the ordinal *duṭṭiya* or *duṭṭiya*, and in the compound *dupada*.

¹ Cf. *kinā*, Hēmachandra, III, 69, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 428.

Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. *tiñni*; loc. fem. *tīsu*. The bases *chatur* and *shash* form part of the compounds *chatupada* and *āsañmāsika*.

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen.

duvāḍasa and *duvā[la]s[a]*; *chodasa*. The ordinals *chāvudāsā* and *[pa]ñcha[dasā]* (Allahabad-Kōsam), *pañnaḍasā*, *pañnaḷasā* correspond to Skt. *chaturdaśī* and *pañchadaśī*.

Twenty, &c.

vīsati, *pañnavīsati*, *saḍvīsati*, *satavisati*.

Hundred thousand.

Loc. plur. *sata-sahasasu*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root **argh* (= Skt. *arh*): *laghanti* for **alaghanti*; cf. Skt. *argha* and Pāli *agghati*, and see Luders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root *īksh*: *paṭivekhāmi*, *anuvekhamāne*.

Root *dṛś*: *dekhati*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvāti* (sixth class).

Root *vad*: *palīyovadātha*.

Root *vah*: *āvahāmi*.

Root *vṛdh*: *vaḍhati*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athī*.

Root *i*: *eti*.

Root *yā*: *yāti*.

Root *śās*: *anus[ā]sāmi* (subjunctive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *dhā*: *vidahāmi*, *upadahevu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *anupaṭipajanti*, &c.

Root *push*. The gerundive *pusitaviya* is formed from the Sanskrit present *pushyati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp*: *pāpovā*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*. The aorist *ichhisu* and the gerundive *ichhitaviye* are formed from the Sanskrit present *ichchhati*.

Root *kship*: *nikhīpātha*.

Root *srj*: absolutive *nisijitu* (from the Sanskrit present *nisrijati*).

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *grah* follows the *a*-conjugation : *anugahinevu*.

Root *jñā*. The future *jānisaṃti* and the infinitive *ājānitave* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya* : *abhyuṇṇāmayehaṃ*, *saṃpaṭipādayaṃti*, *pāyamīnā* (from *pāyati* = *pāyati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *pivati*), *palibhasayisaṃ* (future of the causative of Pāli *bhassati* = Skt. *bhrāsyati*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 263), *ālādhayevu*, *āvāsayaṃti*, *vivāsayaṃti*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*, *pavataṃti*, *visvaṃsayitave*.

(b) With *paya* : *jhāpayitaviṃ* and *jhāpetaviṃ* (from root *kshai*). The long vowel of the roots *jñā*, *dā*, *dhyai* is shortened in *ānapayati*, *viṇṇapayitaviṃ*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayisaṃti*, *nijhapayitā*, *nijhapayitave*.

(c) With *āpaya* : *kālāpita*, *[sa]ṇṇaṇḍhāpayiyā* and *saṇṇaṇḍhāpayitu* (from root **nadh* = Skt. *nah*), *likhāpita*, *vā[sā]petaviṃ*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *lopāpita*, *usapāpita*; cf. Ardhamāgadhī *ūsaviya* (= **uchchhrāpita*) in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64, and Skt. *uchchhrāpayaṃti*. Similar forms are *viṇṇāpāpeti* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 122, *ṭhapāpeti* in Geiger's *Pāli*, § 182, and *davāveṃ* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 552.

(e) With *āpāpaya* : *khānāpāpitāni*, *likhāpāpitā*.

(f) Denominatives : *tīlita* and *tīlita* (from Skt. *tīrayati*), *sukhayite*, *sukhāyanā*, *sukhīyanā*, *dukkhīyanā*, *mahīyite*.

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *pativekkhāmi*, *vidahāmi*.
3. sing. *dekkhati*, *hoti*, *vaḍhati*, *atthi*, *eti*, *yāti*, *ānapayati*.
3. plur. *laghaṃti*, *dekkhaṃti*, *saṃpaṭipādayaṃti*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *āvahāmi*, *anus[ā]sāmi*, *sāvāpayāmi*.
3. sing. *huvāti* (Sārnāth, l. 6).
2. plur. *nikhīpātha*, *palīyovadātha*, *vivāsayaṃti*, *vivāsāpayāthā*.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *abhyuṇṇāmayehaṃ*; cf. above, pp. lxxxii, cix.
3. sing. *siyā* and *siya*, *anu[pa]ṭipajeyā*, *pāpovā* and *pāpova* (from the strong base *prāpnō-*), *vaḍheyā*.
3. plur. *yāvu*, *upadahevu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *pavataṃti*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*; 3. plur. *anupaṭipajāntu*.

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle : *huthā*, *vaḍhithā*.
3. plur. active : *husu*, *ichhisu*.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āha*, *āhā*, *ahā*, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *palibhasayisam*. Cf. *likhāpayisam* at Gīrnār.
 3. sing. *abhyūñnamisati*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhīsati*, *anupaṭipajīsati* (from the present **pajjati* = Skt. *padyatē*), *saṃpaṭipajīsati* and **pajīsati*, *chaghati* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*), *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*), *kachhati* (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1).
 3. plur. *paṭichalisanti*, *vaḍhisanti*, *hosanti* and *hohanti*, *palivovadisanti*, *viyovadisanti*, *pavithalisanti* (from root *stṛi*), *dāhanti*, *chaghaniti*, *kachhanti*, *jānisanti* (from the present *jānāti*), *nijhapayisanti*.

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *khādiyati*, *nīlakhiyati*, *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4).
 3. plur. indicative *anuvīdhīyanti* and **dhiyanti*.

VI. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active: *saṃtām*, *anupaṭipajantām*.
 Middle: *anuvekhamāne*, *pāyamānā*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *kaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *tilita* and *tilīta*, *mahīyita*, *sukhayita*,¹ *ānapita*, *kālāpita*, *sāvāpita*, *lopāpita*, *khānāpāpita*, *likhāpita*, *likhāpāpita*, *atikamta*, *āyata* (i. e. *āyatta*), *nikhita* (= *nikshipta*), *viyata* (= *vyakta*), *yuta* (= *yukta*), *badha* (i. e. *baddha*), *niludha* (= *niruddha*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *apakattha* (= *apakṛishṭa*), *asvatha* (= *āsvasta*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *anūp[a]ṭipanna*, *patyāsanna* and *patiyāsanna*, *diṇna* (for **didna*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 386).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *hanitaviya*, *viketaviya*, *vataviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *ichhitaviya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *pusitaviya* (from *pushyati*), *vinnapayitaviya*, *jhāpayitaviya* and *jhāpetaviya* (from the causative of *kshat*), *vā[sā]petaviya*. In *nīlakhitaviya* (= **nīrlakshayitaviya*) the causative character *aya* is neglected.

(b) In *-ya*: *dekhiya* (from the present *dekhati*), *l[a]hiya* (from root *labh*), *avadhya* and *avadhiya*, *dupaṭivekha*, *dusampāṭipādaya*, *āvāsaya* (for **āvāsaya*).²

VII. INFINITIVE.

bhetave (from root *bhid*), *palihatave*, *paṭichalitave*, *ājānitave*, *ālādhayitave*, *visvanisayitave*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayitave*.

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

- (a) In *-tvā*: *sutu* (= Skt. *śrutvā*), *nīsijitu* (from the present *nīsrijati*), *sanamdhāpayitu*.
 (b) In *-ya*: *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), *[sa]mnamdhāpayiyā*.³

¹ In this form the causative character *aya* of the present *sukhayati* is retained, as in *ānapayite* at Kālsī, *[anapayit]e* at Mānsehrā, and *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* at Dhaulī.

² The correct Sanskrit form would be *āvāsya*; cf. the preceding note.

³ Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both *prāpayya* and *prāpya* to be formed from *prāpayati*.

CHAPTER XI

GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

I. THE FIVE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after *m* in *munisā*, and *i* after *y* in the future *vaḍhisiti* (Rūpnāth and Maski) = *vaḍhisati* (Sahasrām and Bairāt); cf. Śaurasēnī *bhavissidi*, &c., in Hēmachandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the *e* of *hetā* (Sahasrām) and for the *i* of *munisā* see above, p. lxx. The abstract *gālava* (= Prākṛit and Pāli *gārava*) presupposes the adjective *galu* (= Skt. *guru*), in which *a* corresponds to Skt. *u*; see above, p. lvi. For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see *ibid.* and n. 2. The diphthong *au* becomes *o* in *moneya*.

ṛi becomes (1) *a* in *kaṭā*, *dakḥitaviye*, *vaḍhi*; (2) *u* in *musā* (= Skt. *mṛishā*), *sun[e]yu*; (3) *i* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*), *diseyā* (optative of *driśyatē*). In *aḍhati[y]a* (= Pāli *aḍḍhatiya* and Skt. *ardhatṛitīya*) the syllable *ṭri* is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhī *aḍḍhāijja*; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 65, 2, and cf. Pāli *aḍḍhuddha* = Skt. *ardhachaturtha*.

Interconsonantal *a* and *i* are lengthened in *-[a]thāta* (?) and *chila-ṭhitike*. Final *a* is lengthened in *evā* and *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *chā*, *hetā*, *āhā*, *[likhāpa]yāthā*, *h[a]mā*, *etenī(nā)*, *apaladhiyenā*, &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final *i* and *u* are lengthened before *iti* in *saṅghasī ti*, *hosatī ti*, *jānamtū ti*, and final *u* which stands for *ur* in *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *ahāle* (Rūpnāth); interconsonantal *ī* and *ū* in *misibhūtā* (Maski), *Jambudīpasi* (= *°dīpasi* at Sahasrām), *pa[ka]mam[i]menā* (cf. *palakamamīnenā* at Sahasrām), *ekunavīsati* (Barābar); final *ā* and *ī* in *lāja* (Barābar) = *lājā* (Calcutta-Bairāt), *sata* (Rūpnāth) = *satā* (Sahasrām), *Pr[i]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt) = *Piyadasī* (Barābar).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *sumi* (for **smi* = Skt. *asmi*), *hakaṁ* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (= *iti*), *kiṁti* and *kiti*, *dāni* (= *idānīm*), *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*).

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic *k* is softened in *adhigichya* (Skt. = *adhikṛitya*) and appears to have become *y* in *diyadhya* (= **dvikārdhya*).¹ *gh* is preserved in *Lāghula* (= *Rāhula*) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero *Raghu*. In *kubhā* (Barābar) = Skt. *guhā*, 'a cave', *k* and *bh* at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. *g* and *h*. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While *guhā* is connected with the root *guh*, 'to hide', *kubhā* may be related to *kumbha*, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek *κύμβη*, 'a (hollow) boat'.²

Lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n* throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāt in *Aliya-vasāṇi* (= Skt. *Ārya-vaṁśāḥ*).

¹ Cf. *diyadhya* and *diadhya*, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.

² The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancien Persian *kaufa*, 'a mountain', Avestan *kaofa*, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. *kakubh*, 'a peak'; cf. *kakud*, 'a peak, a hump'.

Dentals are lingualized in *uḍāla* (= Pāli *uḷāra* and Skt. *udāra*), *duvāḍasa*, and after *ṛi* in *kaṭā*, *vaḍhi*. *t* is palatalized in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*). *dh* seems to be preserved in *ha(hi)dha* (= *idha* at Girnār?), but has become *h* in *[ni]goḥa* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* in *pāv[a]t[a]ve* (Sahasrām), the infinitive of **prāpati* (= Skt. *prāpnōti*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hotu*, *hosatī*, *husu*, *devehi*, *[ā]jīvi* *kehi*.

y is dropped at the beginning of *āvatake* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *aṃ* and *e* (= *yat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *[ni]goḥa* (= *nyagrōdha*). *aya* and *ayi* become *e* in *lekhāpetā*, *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *ārodheve* (read *ārādhetave*) and *[ā]lādheta[v]e*, *abhivāde[tū]naṃ*.

As in the Māgadha dialect, *r* becomes *l*; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in *ārodheve* (read *ārādhetave*), *chira-ṭhitike*, *chha(sa)vachhare*, *sāti[ra]kekāni* (read *sātirekāni*), and at Maski in *pure*, *[sāt]ire[ke]*.

v becomes *p* in *apaladhiyenā* (Rūpnāth) = *aval[a]dhiyenā* (Sahasrām). It is developed out of *u* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām) = *vy[u]tha* (Rūpnāth). *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *-ovāde*, *hotu*, *hosatī*.

ś and *sh* have generally become *s*. But *ś* is preserved at Maski in *Śake* (= Skt. *Śākyah*) and is improperly used at Bairāt in *śvage* (= *svage* at Rūpnāth); *sh* is preserved at Maski in *vashā[ni]*. In *[cha]kye* and *chakiye*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, pp. ci and cxiii.

h is prefixed in *ha(hi)dha* (?), *hetā*, *hevaṃ*.

Final consonants are dropped. *ā* (for *ās*) is shortened in *saṃita* and *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 2 f.). *as* becomes *e*; see *pure*¹ (= Skt. *purā*), *ve* (= *vas*), *bhikhuniye* (nom. plur.), *aṭhe*, &c. It is represented by *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.), and by *a* in *-[a]thāta* (?), *esa* (nom. sing. neut.), *yāvataka* and *vālata* (Rūpnāth).

Final *a* is nasalized in *cham* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 2), while final Anusvāra is omitted in *ima*, *iya*, *tupaka* (for *tuphākam*), *diyadhiya* (Rūpnāth), *prakāsa*, *[bā]dha*, *vaḍhi* (acc.), *vipula*, *sagh[a]* (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see *phale*, &c. The termination *-aṃ* is replaced by *-i* in *bāḍhi* (Rūpnāth, ll. 1, 2); cf. *ayi* for *ayam* at Shāhbāzgarhī.² The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened in the termination (*-aṃ*) of the acc. sing. of feminines in *-ā* (below, p. cxxvi), and *im* becomes *i* in *dāni* (= Skt. *idānim*).

(3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved and doubled in *hevaṃmevā* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 8).

a + ā becomes *ā* in *-vasābhisita*, *sātileke*, *sādhi[ke]*, *ap[ā]bādhatam*, *ja[lagh]o[sāgama]* (?). The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *-[āgama]thāta* (?), *apaladhiyenā* and *aval[a]dhiyenā*, *diyadhiyam*, but the length is preserved in *diyāḍhiyam* (Sahasrām). Final *ā* is elided before *u*, *e*, *o* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ekunavīsati*, *ma[ha]tanzeva*, *Lāghul-ovāde*.

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *ty* (which becomes *chy*), *pr*, *rv*, *vy*, *sv*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*), *pa[la]kamanitu* (= *parākra*^o), *palakamaninenā*, *[palaka]ni[t]e*, *mahata* (= *mahātman*), *Śake* and *[Sa]k[e]* (= *Śākyah*), *abhikhinam* (= *abhikshnam*). But the length remains in *p[a]l[a]kame* (Sahasrām), *p[ā]potave* (from *prāpnōti*), *lāti* (= *rātri*), *sūte* (= *sūtram*). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *v[ā]tave* (infinitive of *vach*).

The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened before consonants in *[palaka]ni[t]e*³ and *Devānampiya* (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in *Devānāmpiya* (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In *bhamite*, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for *bhaddamite*⁴ = Skt. *bhadram tē*, 'happiness to you', the syllable *dda* is elided. The nasal vowel *iṃ* is replaced by a length in *ekunavīsati*. Anusvāra is sometimes omitted after *a*; see the infinitive *adhigatave* (Maski), *atā* (Rūpnāth) = *amitā* (Sahasrām and

¹ The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhi and Pāli. Cf. also *[p]ule* at Kālsī, I, l. 3.

² Also Pāli *saddhiṃ* = Skt. *sārdham*, &c.; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 22.

³ The Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *pakate* (= Skt. *prākṛāntah*).

⁴ See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bhadanto*. According to Hēmachandra, IV, 287, *bhamite* is the Māgadhi voc. sing. of *bhadanta*.

Bairāt), *th[abh]e* (but *tha[m]bhasi* and *tham[bh]ā*), *pakamatu* (3. plur.), [*pala*]kamatu (Bairāt) = *pa[la]kamañtu* (Sahasrām), *vayajanenā* (= Skt. *vyañjanēna*), *Aliya-vasāni* (= *Ārya-vamśāḥ*), *saghe* (= *saṅghaḥ*), *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhale* (= *saṁvatsaraḥ*). The final *a* of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in [*m*]isani-deva and *amimisani-[de]vā* (read *ami*^o).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before labials in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*, *s[u]ag[e]*, *sumi*; *a* in *alahāmi*, *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *vayajanenā*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky remains in [*cha*]kye (Bairāt), but becomes *kiy* in *chakiye*, *sakiye*, and *k* in *sake* (= Skt. *śakyah*), *Śake* and [*Sa*]k[e] (= *Śākyah*).

kr becomes *k* in *pakamasi*, *pa[la]kamañtu*, &c.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*, *bhikhu*, *bhikhuniye*, *dakhitaviye*.¹

kshn becomes *khin* in *abhikhinam*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr becomes *g* in [*nigoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājina*.

ñch becomes *inn* in *sapañnā* = Skt. *śatpāñchāsat*; cf. *pañnaḍasā*, &c., in the pillar-edict V.

tp becomes *p* in *sapañnā*.

tk becomes *k* in *samukase*.

tm becomes *t* in *mahata* (= Skt. *mahātman*).

ty becomes *chy* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*).

tr becomes *t* in *tata*, *lāti*, *sūte*, *hetā*.

tv becomes *t* in *mahatatā* (= Skt. *mahātmatvāt*).

ts becomes *chh* in *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhal*.

tsth becomes *th* in [*uthānam*].²

dr becomes *d* in *khudaka*, *bha[dak]e*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*; *d* in *ḥambudīpasi*, *diyaḍhiyam*.

pn becomes *p* in *p[ā]potave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

pr remains in *prakāsa* (Rūpnāth) and in *abhipretam*, *prasāde*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt), but becomes *p* in *Piyadasī*, &c., and perhaps *ph* in *phāsu* = Vedic *prāśu* (?); see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 62, 1.

rg becomes *g* in *svage*.

rth becomes *th* in *aṭha*, and perhaps *th* in *[-a]thāta* (?).

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *aḍhati[y]āni*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*.

rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *apaladhiyenā* and *aval[a]dhiyenā*; *ḍhiy* in *diyaḍhiyam*.

rm becomes *im* in *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Maski, l. 5).

ry becomes *liy* in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) and *palīyāya*.

rv remains in *sarve* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 3), but becomes *v* in *pavata* and *pavatis[u]*.

rś becomes *s* in *Piyadasī*.

rsh becomes *sh* in *vashā[ni]* (Maski, l. 2); *s* in *vasa* and *samukase*.

rh becomes *lah* in *alahāmi*.

lp becomes *p* in *ap[ā]bādhatañ*.

vy remains in *vy[u]thenā*, but becomes *viy* in *dakhitaviye*, *vataviyā*, *vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*, and *vay* in *lā(li)khāpetavaya* and *vayajanenā*.

śn becomes *sin* in *pasine* (= Skt. *praśnaḥ*).

śy becomes *s* in the optative passive *diseyā*.

śr becomes *s* in *misa* and *sāvane*.

shṭ becomes *th* in *vy[u]tha* (Rūpnāth); *th* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām).

shm becomes *ph* in *tupaka* (read perhaps *tuphākam*, as at Sārṇāth).

shy becomes *s* in *Upatisa*, *munisā*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*, *hosatī*.

st becomes *th* in *athi* and *tham[bh]a* (Sahasrām); *th* in *tha[m]bha* (Rūpnāth).

sth becomes *th* in *chira-ṭhitike* and *chila-ṭhitike*.

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

² Cf. above, p. ciii.

sm becomes *sum* in *sumi* (= Skt. *asmī*); *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.
sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.
sv remains in *svage* (spelt *śvage* at Bairāt), but becomes *su* in *s[u]ag[e]* (Sahasrām).

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṭhe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>devā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>bhayāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>saṃghaṃ</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vipulaṃ</i> , &c.	<i>devehi</i> .
Instr. <i>Budhena</i> , &c.	[<i>ājīvi</i>] <i>kehi</i> .
Dat. <i>kālāya</i> , <i>aṭhāya</i> , <i>aṭh[ā]ye</i> .	
Abl. <i>mahatātā</i> .	
Gen. <i>Asok[a]sa</i> , <i>Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>Budhasi</i> , &c.	<i>parvatesu</i> .

In the nom. sing. masc. *yāvataka* and the nom. sing. neut. *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *vivasetavā(vi)[ya]* at Rūpnāth, *-a* is perhaps only a clerical error for *-e*.

In the acc. sing. masc. *sagh[a]* (for *saṃghaṃ*) and the acc. sing. neut. *vipula* at Rūpnāth, the final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final *a* of the instr. sing. is lengthened in *apaladhiyenā*, *aval[a]dhiyenā*, *-abhisitenā*, *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā*, *palakamamīnenā*, *vayajanenā*, *vy[u]ṭhenā*.

At Barābar we seem to have a loc. sing. in *-e*: *su[p]i[y]e*.

The final *ā* of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines *pariyāya*, *vaṃśa*, *saṃvatsara* form the nom. and acc. plur. *pariyāyāni*, *vaṃśāni*, [*savachhalāni*], with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending *-ā* at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in *lāti-satā vivuthā*; at Rūpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have *sata* instead of *satā*.

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *kubhā*, *dinā*; acc. sing. *ap[ā]bādhatam*, *phāsu-vihālatam*; nom. plur. *upāsikā*, *gāthā*.

(3) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Acc. sing. *vaḍhi*; nom. plur. *bhikhuniye*; loc. plur. *parvatis[u]*.¹

(4) Masculines in *-at*.

Nom. sing. *kalāntam*; instr. sing. *bhagavatā*; nom. plur. *saṃta* (for either *saṃtā* or *saṃte*).

(5) Masculines in *-an*.

Nom. sing. *lājā*, *lāja*; instr. sing. *lājīnā*, *ma[ha]tan[ā]*.

(6) Masculine in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]*; instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*.
 Instr. sing. *mamayā*, *hamiyāye*, [*me*].
 Gen. sing. *h[a]mā*, *me*.

¹ The feminine *parvati* (= *parvata*) occurs in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*; see Böhlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

The genitive *h[ā]mā* is a compromise between the usual form *mama* or *mamā* and the nom. **ham* (for Skt. *aham*). With the instr. *hamiyāye* cf. *mamiyāye* at Jaugaḍa.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Dat. plur. *ve* (= Skt. *vaḥ*), which is used for the nom. at Maski (l. 7); gen. plur. *tupaka* (Rūpnāth), which is probably a clerical error for *tuphākam* (Sārnāth).

(3) Base *ta*.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *se*; acc. sing. neut. *ta[m̃]*, *se*; nom. plur. masc. *te*.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*, *esā*, *e[s]e*; instr. sing. [*etena*], *eteni(nā)*, *etinā*; dat. sing. *etāye*, *etiya*; acc. plur. neut. *etāni*.

With the forms *etinā* and *etiya* at Rūpnāth cf. the gen. sing. *etisa* in the two Kharōshṭhi versions of the rock-edicts, and *etishā* at Kālsī.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>iya[m̃]</i> , <i>iya</i> ; neut. <i>iyam̃</i> .		Neut. <i>imāni</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>ima</i> ; neut. <i>imam̃</i> .		
Dat. [<i>i</i>] <i>māyā</i> .		

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam̃*.

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms part of the conjunction *kiinti* or *kiti*, and the base *ka* of the indefinite *kechi* (nom. sing. neut.).

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *e*; acc. sing. neut. *ya*, *am̃*; nom. plur. masc. *yā*, which follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a*, and [*ye*].

(8) Base *sarva*.

Nom. sing. neut. *sarve*.

D.—NUMERALS

Two : nom. neut. *duve*.

Twelve : *duvāḍasa*.

Nineteen : *ekunavīsati*.

Fifty-six : *sapaṁnā*. For *paṁnā* = Skt. *pañchāṣat*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 445

Hundred : *satā* and *sata* (nom. plur.).

E.—CONJUGATION

(1) PRESENT.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *alahāmi*, *sumi*, *ichhāmi*, *likhā[pa]yāmi*.

3. sing. *athi*.

(b) Subjunctive.

2. plur. [*likhāpa*]*yāthā*.

(c) Optative.

3. sing. *adhigachh[e]yā, siyā, diseyā* (passive).
 3. plur. *sun[e]yu* (= *shune[y]u* at Kālsī), *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*.
 2. plur. *lekhāpeta, [likhāpayatha]*.
 3. plur. *pakamatu* (for °*maintu*), *palakamaintu, jānaintu*.

(2) AORIST: 3. plur. *husu*.(3) PERFECT: 3. sing. *āhā*.

(4) FUTURE.

3. sing. *hosatī, vadhisati* and *vadhisiti*.

(5) PARTICIPLES.

(a) Present Participle.

- Active: *kalanitain, sain̄ta* (nom. plur.).
 Middle: *pa[ka]mam[i]na, palakamamīna*.

(b) Past passive participle.

- In *-ta*: *kaṭa, pakata* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vy[u]tha* and *vivutha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.
 In *-na*: *dina* (i. e. *dīna*); see above, p. cxxii.

(c) Future passive participle.

- In *-tavya*: *dakhitaviya, vataviya, lā(li)khāpetavaya, vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*.
 In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *saka, [cha]kya* and *chakiya*.

(6) INFINITIVE.

- adhigatave, v[ā]tave* (from root *vach*), *p[ā]potave* (from Skt. *prāpuṭi*), *pāv[a]t[a]ve* (from **prāpati*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504), *ārodheve* (read *ārādheta*) and *[ā]lādheta[v]e*.

(7) ABSOLUTE.

- abhivāde[tū]nain*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 585.

II. THE THREE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

For *vadhisiti* and *munisā*, see above, p. cxxiii. Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (= *guru*). For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. *ri* becomes (1) *i* in *pakitī* (= *prakṛitī*), *pitisu* (= *pitṛishu*); (2) *u* in *pitusu*; (3) *ra* in *drahyitavyam* (from *drīhyati*). *au* becomes *o* in *porāṇā*.

Interconsonantal *a* or *i* are lengthened in *aḍhātiya* (= Ardhamāgadhi *aḍḍhāijja*; see above, p. cxxiii), *upayita* (= Skt. *upēta*), *chira-ṭhitike*, *Suvannagiritē*, and final *i*, which stands for *is*, in *pakitī*. Initial *a* and *i* are lost in *pi, hakaṁ, ti*.

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā rock-edicts in retaining the letter *r*, which has become *l* in the Māgadha dialect.

Skt. *ṇ* is preserved in *guṇā*, *paka[m]i* . . . *ṇeṇa* (read *pakamamīṇeṇa*), *porāṇā*, *prāṇesu*, *mahā-mātāṇaṇi*, *li[pi]kareṇa*, *Suvaṇṇagiriṇe*, *sāvane*, but is replaced by dental *n* in *adhātīyāni*, *khudakena*, *vasāni*. It is used instead of *n* in *Devāṇāmpīya* (Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = [Dev]ā[na]mpīya (Śiddāpura) and corresponds to Skt. *jñ* in *āṇapayati*.¹

k appears to have become *y* in *diyaḍhiya* (= **dvikārdhya*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hoti*, *husaṇi*, *devehi*.

y is developed out of *i* in *upayāte* and becomes *v* before *u* in *dī[gh]āvuse*. *ayi* becomes *e* in *ārādhete*. *ava* becomes *o* in *hoti*.

ś and *ṣh* have become *s* throughout; but *ś* is improperly used for *s* in [ā]char[i]yaśa (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) and śa[cha]ṇi (Śiddāpura). *h* is prefixed in *hevaṇi* and *hemeva*.

Final *as* becomes *e* in *Suvaṇṇagiriṇe*, *aṭhe*, &c., but *a* in *esa* (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *iya* and *bāḍha*.

(3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved, and the syllable *va* is dropped, in *hemeva* (= Skt. *ēvam-ēva*). Final *a* is elided before *u* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), and before *e* in *mahātpen-eva*. *i + i* become *ī* in *hīyaṇi* (Brahmagiri, l. 4).

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *tm* (which becomes *tp*), *dr*, *pr*, *vy*, *sv*, *hy*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *ayaputasa*, *āchariya*, *avaradhiyā*, *diyaḍhiyaṇi*, *e[t]āyaṭhāya*, but the length remains in *āṇapayati*, *dī[gh]āvuse*, *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta*, *yathārahaṇi*. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *vyūthēna*.

The long nasal vowel *āṇi* is shortened before consonants in [Dev]ā[na]mpīye, *prakaṇte* and *pakaṇte*. Anusvāra is omitted after *a* in *atā* and *savachharaṇi*.

kt becomes *t* in *vataviya*.

ky remains in *sakye* (Brahmagiri), but becomes *k* in *sake* (Śiddāpura).

kr becomes *k* in *pakama*, *prakaṇte* and *pakaṇte*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gy becomes *giy* in *ārogiyaṇi*.

jñ becomes *ñ* in *ñātika*; *ṇ* in *āṇapayati*.

As in *ātpa* (= Skt. *ātman*) at Gīrnār, *tm* becomes *tp* in *mahātpa* (= *mahātman*).

ty becomes *ch* in *sacham*.

tr becomes *t* in *ayaputasa*, *mahāmāta*.

ts becomes *chh* in *saṇvachhara*.

dr remains in *drahyitavyaṇi*, but becomes *d* in *khudaka*.

dv becomes *d* in *Ṣambudīpasi* and *diyaḍhiyaṇi*.

pn becomes *p* in *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

pr remains in *prakaṇte* (Brahmagiri, l. 2), but becomes *p* in *pakaṇte*, &c.

rg becomes *g* in *svage*.

rgḥ becomes *gh* in *dī[gh]āvuse*.

rñ becomes *ṇṇ* in *Suvaṇṇagiriṇe*.

rt becomes *t* in *pavatitaviya*; *ṭ* in *kaṭaviye*.

rth becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha*.

¹ Cf. Prakṛit *āṇavedi*, and *āṇapemi*, *āṇapita*, &c. at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā.

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *adhāṭiyāni* and *vaḍhisiti*.
rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *avaradhiyā*; *ḍhiy* in *diyaḍhiyaṃ*.
rm becomes *ṃm* in *dhamma*.
ry becomes *riy* in *āchariya*; *y* in *ayaputasa*.
rsh becomes *s* in *vasāni*.
rh becomes *rah* in *yathārahaṃ*.
vy remains in *vyūthēna* and *drahyitavyaṃ*, but becomes *viy* in the remaining gerunds in *-taviya* (= Skt. *-tavya*).
śr becomes *s* in *misa*, *sāvane*, *sāvite*, *sāvāpīte*, *susūs[i]taviye*.
shṭ becomes *th* in *vyūthēna*.
shy becomes *s* in *munisā* and *vaḍhisiti*.
sth becomes *ṭh* in *chira-ṭhitike*.
sm becomes *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.
sy becomes *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.
sv remains in *svage*.
hy remains in *drahyitavyaṃ*.

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṭhe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>ñāṭikā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>ekam</i> , <i>savachcharaṃ</i> ; neut. <i>ārogiyaṃ</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>kālena</i> , &c.	<i>devehi</i> .
Dat. <i>aṭhāya</i> .	
Abl. <i>avaradhiyā</i> .	
Gen. <i>ayaputasa</i> , <i>pakamasa</i> .	<i>mahāmātāṇaṃ</i> .
Loc. <i>Isilasi</i> , <i>ṣaṃbudīpasi</i> .	<i>ñāṭikesu</i> , <i>prāṇesu</i> .

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is *-am* in *[likhita]m* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = *likhite* (Brahmagiri), *vataṭiyaṃ*, *sacham*.

- (2) Feminine in *-ā*: nom. sing. *porāṇā*.
- (3) Feminine in *-ī*: nom. sing. *pakīṭī*.
- (4) Masculine in *-u*: loc. plur. *garu[su]*.
- (5) Masculine in *-ṛi*: loc. plur. *pīṭisu* (Brahmagiri) and *pīṭusu* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara).
- (6) Masculine in *-an*. The Sanskrit base *mahātman* follows the *a*-declension: instr. sing. *mahātṭpen[a]*; nom. plur. *mahātṭpā*.
- (7) Masculine in *-in*: instr. sing. *amteṭvāsīnā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*; instr. *mayā*, *me*; gen. *mai* (read *me*).

(2) Base *ta*.

Acc. sing. neut. *se*; nom. plur. masc. *se*.

(3) Base *ēta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*; dat. sing. *e[i]āya*; nom. sing. fem. *esā*.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>iyañ</i> ; neut. <i>iyañ, iya</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>imañ</i> .	
Instr. <i>iminā</i> .	

(5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. *ya, yañ*.

D.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

- (a) Indicative: 3. sing. *hoti, āṇapayati*.
 (b) Optative: 3. plur. *pakameyu, jāneyu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

(2) Aorist: 1. sing. *husaṇ*.

(3) Perfect: 3. sing. *āha*.

(4) Future: 3. sing. *vaḍhisiti*.

(5) Participles.

- (a) Present middle participle: *paka[m]i . . ṇa* (read *pakamamīṇa*), *samāna* (from root *as*).
 (b) Past passive participle: *upayīta* (from *upa-i*), *prakamīta* and *pakamīta* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vyūtha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.
 (c) Future passive participle: *vataviya, kaṭaviya, drahyitavya* (from the present *dṛihyati*), *apachāyitaviya, pavatitaviya, susṛṣṭi[taviya]* (from the desiderative of *śru*).

(6) Infinitive.

pāpotave (from Skt. *prāpuṇōti*), *ārādhetave*.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
- 2 प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता (B) इध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजूहितव्यं
- 4 (C) न च समाजो कतव्यो (D) बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजमि पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा
- 6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
- 7 प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो (F) पुरा महानसमिह
- 8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं व-
- 9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय
- 10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धम्मलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
- 11 णा आरभरे सूपाथाय डो मोरा एको मगो सो पि
- 12 मगो न ध्रुवो (H) एते पि चि प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे

- 1 (A) iy[am] dhamma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rāñā lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dha na kiṃ-
- 3 chi jīvaṃ ārabhitpā prajūhitavyaṃ
- 4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ
- 5 samājamhi pasati Devānaṃpriyo Priyadasi rājā¹
- 6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā Devānaṃ-
- 7 priyasa Priyadasino rāño (F) purā mahānas[amhi]²
- 8 Devānaṃpriyasa Priy[a]dasino rāño anudivasam ba-

¹ Before *rājā* a superfluous *ra* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

² The first syllable of *mahānasa*^o looks almost like *me*, and *sa* like *se*. Originally *mahānase* may have been written, to which *mhi* was added subsequently without correcting the *se* into *sa*. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2. 449, n. 10), a second *mhi* was added at the very end of the line.

- 9 hūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya
 10 (G) se aja yadā ayaṁ dha[m]ma-lip[ī] likhitā tī eva prā-
 11 ṇā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi
 12 mago na dhruvo¹ (H) ete pi trī prāṇā pachhā na ārabhisare

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality² has been caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here³ no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And no festival meeting⁴ must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.⁵

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.⁶

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry,⁷ (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो
 2 एवमपि प्रचंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंब-
 3 पंणी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकस सामीपं
 4 राजानो सर्वत्र देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो द्वे चिकीछ कता

¹ *dhruvo* Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the *dh*, one of which is *u*, while the upper one is probably *r*. Cf. the *r* of [*A*] *m̐dhra* in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9, and of *aprakaraṇamhi* in edict XII, l. 3.

² The literal meaning of *dhamma-lipi* (or *dhrama-dipi* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Bühler.

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII, Q and R, and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word *samāja*, which Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1324 f.) had translated by 'battue'.

⁵ This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8-10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantidēva, and that by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16-18: 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantidēva, the son of Saṁkṛiti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (*sūpa*)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

⁷ Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians.

- 5 मनुसचिकीछा च पसुचिकीछा च (B) ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
 6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत्र हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत्र नास्ति सर्वत्र हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 8 (D) पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता व्रद्धा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं

- 1 (A) sarvata vijitamhi Devānāmpriyasa Piyadasino¹ rāñño
 2 evamapi prachamtesu yathā Chodā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tām-
 3 paṇṇī Aṁtiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tassa Aṁtiy[a]kas[a]² sāmip[am]³
 4 rājāno sarvatra Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāñño dve chikīchha katā
 5 manusa - chikīchhā cha pasu - chikīchhā cha (B) osuḍhāni cha yāni
 m[a]nusopagān[i] cha
 6 paso[pa]gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā⁴ hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha
 7 (C) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra⁵ nāsti sarvata⁶ hārāpitāni cha
 rop[ā]pitāni cha
 8 (D) paṁthesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpit[ā] paribhogāya pasu-
 manusānam

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa,⁷ the Kētalaputa,⁸ even⁹ Tāmraparṇī,¹⁰ the Yōna king Antiyaka,¹¹ and also the

¹ Priya° Bühler.

² Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, 2. 449; Aṁtiyokasā Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 95.

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 95) would read sāmīnam, which he considered to be a clerical error for sāmāntā, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that sāmāntā was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into sāmīpam (or sāmīpā?).

⁴ sarvatā Senart, sarvatra Bühler.

⁵ yata Bühler.

⁶ sarvatra Bühler.

⁷ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 98 ff.) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātpurā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālsī version reads Satiyaputa, with Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Lüders (ZDMG, 58. 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli putta (= Skt. putra) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe'. He quotes as examples Andhakaveṇhuputta, Videhaputta, Bhojaputta, Milāchaputta, devaputta (cf. the feminine devadhītā), and Skt. rājaputra.

⁸ Kētalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version: Kēralaputra, i.e. the king of Kērala or Malabar, the Κηρόβοθρος of Ptolemy; see Lassen's Ind. Alt., vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

⁹ The syllable ā cannot be the preposition ā, 'as far as', because the latter would require after it the ablative Tāmbapaṇṇiyā, as at Mānsehrā, XIII, Q. Lüders therefore explains it as an Ardhamāgadhī form of the Skt. relative yā; see SPAW, 1914. 831.

¹⁰ Tāmraparṇī (Tāmbapaṇṇī in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the Dīpavaṁsa, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form Ταροβάρνη; see IA, 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmraparṇī is the name of a river in the Tinnevely district, which was known to the author of the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).

¹¹ Kālsī and Mānsehrā read Aṁtiyoga, the remaining versions Aṁtiyoka. Antiochus II Theos

kings who are the neighbours¹ of this **Antiyaka**,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment² were established by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजपितं
2 (C) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूके च प्रादेसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
3 यानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्ठिय यथा अजा-
4 य पि कंमाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूसा मित्रसंस्तुतजातीनं बाम्हाण-
5 समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपव्ययता अपभाडता साधु
6 (E) परिसा पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च

- 1 (A) *Devānāmpiyō*³ *Piyadasi* r[ā]jā evaṃ āha (B) *dbādasa-vāsābhisitena* mayā
idaṃ āñ[a]pitam
2 (C) *sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha pañchasu pañchasu*
vāsesu anusam-
3 *y[ā]na[m] n[ī]yātu etāyeva athāya imāya dhammānusasthiya yathā añā-*
4 *ya pi kaṃmāy[a]* (D) *[s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā mitra-saṃstuta-ñātīnaṃ*⁴
bāmhāṇa-
5 *samaṇānaṃ sādhu d[ā]naṃ prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho apa-vyayatā apa-bhādatā*⁵
sādhu
6 (E) *parisā pi yute āñapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto cha vyamjanato cha*

of Syria (261–246 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255, and Senart, *IA*, 20. 242.

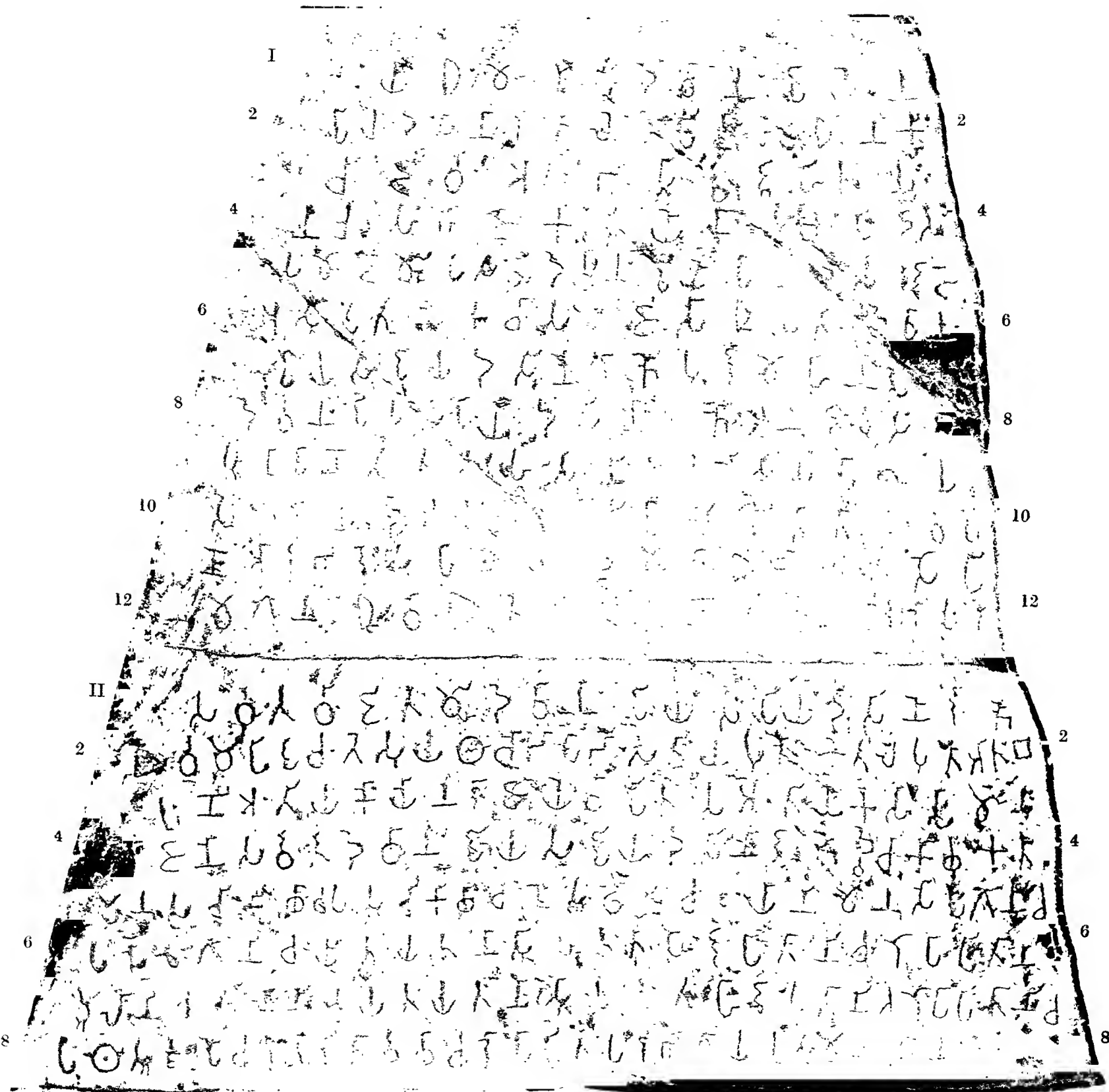
¹ For *sāmaṃtā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sāmīpaṃ*, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, *IA*, 34. 245, and *AJP*, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālsī edict XIII, Q.

² D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospitals' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

³ *°priyo* Bühler.

⁴ *mitra-* looks almost like *mitā-*; see *EI*, 2. 450, n. 47.

⁵ *apabhīṃdatā* Senart, *apabhāṃdatā* Bühler.



TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*,¹ the *Rājūka*,² and the *Prādēśika*³ shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges)⁴ every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.⁵

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'⁶

(E) The council (of *Mahāmātras*)⁷ also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.⁸

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिक्रान्तं अंतरं बहूनि वाससतानि वदितो एव प्राणारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं
जातीसु
- 2 असंप्रतिपती ब्राह्मणसमणानं असंप्रतीपती (B) त अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो
राजो
- 3 धमचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धमघोसो विमानदर्शणा च हस्तिदसणा च

¹ For *yuta* = Sanskrit *yukta*, 'an officer', which occurs in the *Kautilīya*, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff., and cf. the terms *āyuktaka* and *vinīyuktaka* in the Valabhī inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

² Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from *rajju*, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the *Kautilīya*, the two terms *chōra-rajju* (p. 60) and *chōra-rajjuka* (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, *Notes on the Arthasāstram*, p. 10 f., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

³ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with *pradēśhtri* in the *Kautilīya*, which is, however, a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pradiśati*, 'to direct', while *prādēśika* is derived from the substantive *pradēśa*. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated *prādēśika* by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* (IV, 126) *prādēśikēśvara* means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauī, Z-CC; Jaugāḍa, AA-DD) suggests that the *Prādēśika* of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the *Mahāmātras*, and that *Prādēśika-mahāmātra* would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

⁴ Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

⁵ Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, CC.

⁶ This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

⁷ Bühler translated *parisā* by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term *mantri-parishad*, 'the council of ministers', in the *Kautilīya*. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

⁸ I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words *ganānāyaṁ hetuto cha vyañjanato cha*. For *vyañjana* cf. my note on the translation of the Sārnāth pillar-edict, section I.

- 4 अगिखंधानि च अजानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्वा जनं (C) यारिसे बहूहि
वाससतेहि
- 5 न भूतपुवे तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो धंमानुसस्ठिया अनारं-
- 6 भो प्राणानं अविहीसा भूतानं जातीनं संपटिपती ब्रह्मणसमणानं संपटिपती
मातरि पितरि
- 7 सुसुसा थैरसुसुसा (D) एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव
देवानंप्रियो
- 8 प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं (F) पुत्रा च पोत्रा च प्रपोत्रा च देवानंप्रियस
प्रियदसिनो राजो
- 9 प्रवधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटकपा धंमहि सीलमहि तिस्टंती धंमं
अनुसासिसंति
- 10 (G) एस हि सेस्ते कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस
(I) त इममहि अथमहि
- 11 वधी च अहीनी च साधु (J) एताय अथाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अथस वधि
युजंतु हीनि च
- 12 नो लोचेतव्या (K) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा इदं
लेखापितं

- 1 (A) atikātaṃ aṃt[a]raṃ bahūni vāsa-satāni vaḍhito eva prāṇāraṃbho vihiṃsā cha
bhūtānaṃ nātisu
- 2 a[s]aṃpratipatī brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṃ asaṃpratīpatī¹ (B) ta² aja Devānaṃ-
priyasa Priyadasino³ rāṇo
- 3 dhamma-charaṇena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsaṇā⁴ cha hasti-
da[sa]ṇā cha
- 4 agi-kh[a]ṃdhāni cha [a]ṇāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janam (C) yārise bahūhi
v[āsa]-satehi
- 5 na bhūta-puve tārise aja vaḍhite Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo
dhammānusastiyā anāraṃ-
- 6 [bh]o prāṇānaṃ avihisā⁵ bhūtānaṃ nātīnaṃ saṃpaṭipatī brahmaṇa-samaṇānaṃ
saṃpaṭipatī mātari pitari
- 7 [s]usrusā thaira-susrusā (D) esa aṇe cha bahuvidhe [dha]mma-charaṇe va[ḍhi]te
(E) vaḍhayisati cheva Devānaṃpriyo
- 8 [Pri*]ya[da]si⁶ rājā dhamma-[cha]raṇam idaṃ (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā
cha Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo

¹ The syllable *pa* was inserted subsequently.

² This syllable was inserted subsequently.

³ The syllable *da* was inserted subsequently.

⁴ -*dasana* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ The syllable *hi* was inserted subsequently.

⁶ The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (*pri* and *pra*) is invisible on my materials and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2. 1c2.

- 9 [pra*]vadhayisaṃti¹ idaṃ [dha]ṃma-charaṇaṃ āva savaṭṭa-kapā² dhammamhi
 silamhi tistaṃto [dha]ṃmaṃ anusāsisaṃti
 10 (G) [e]sa hi seṣṭe kaṃme ya dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-charaṇe pi na
 [bha]vati asīlasi (I) [ta] imamhi aṭhamhi
 11 [va]dhī cha ahīni cha sādhu (J) e[t]āya athāya³ ida[m] lekhāpitaṃ imasa atha[sa]
 v[a]dhi yujaṃtu hīni⁴ ch[a]
 12 [no]⁵ lochetavyā (K) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena Devān[a]ṃpriyena Priyadasinā
 rāñ[ā] idaṃ lekhāpitaṃ

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality,⁶ showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.⁷

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya**

¹ See note 6 on previous page.

² *savvaṭṭa*- Bühler.

³ Between *thā* and *ya* the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.

⁴ There is a vacant space between *hī* and *ni*.

⁵ Instead of *no* the plate facing EI, 2. 452 shows the syllable *mā*, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read *nālochetavyā*.

⁶ For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911. 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 25), who says: 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness.' Cf. the Girnār edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.

⁷ D. R. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (*hathīni* at Dhauli) he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lōkapālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the *Khadirāṅgāra-jātaka*. But according to Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 18, *aggikkhandha* is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the *Dhammapada* may be added *Mahāvagga*, I, 16-18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (*mahantā aggikkhandhā*). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (*agikkhandhāni*) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 395) would render *agniskandhāḥ* by 'bonfires'; but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7. 266) quoted *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of *aggikkhandha* (*Āṅguttara-nikāya*, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With *divyāni rūpāni* cf. *devā* in the Rūpnāth edict, E. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.

Priyadarsin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin** will promote this practice of morality until the æon of destruction (of the world),¹ (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they² should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them).³

(K) This was caused to be written by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) कलाणं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो
कलाणस सो दुकरं करोति
- 2 (D) त मया बहु कलाणं कतं (E) त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अपचं
आव संवटकपा अनुवतिसरे तथा
- 3 सो सुकतं कासति (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसति सो दुकतं कासति (G) सुकरं
हि पापं (H) अतिकातं अंतरं
- 4 न भूतप्रुवं धंममहामाता नाम (I) त मया चैदसवासाभिसितेन धंममहामाता
क्ता (J) ते सवपासंडेसु व्यापता धामधिष्ठानाय
- 5 धंमयुतस च योणकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्तिकपेतेणिकानं ये वा
पि अंजे आपराता (K) भतमयेसु व

¹ See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911. 485, n. 1. Böhtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol. VII, addenda) quotes *saṃvarta-kalpa* from the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (§ 253, No. 62).

² Hereby the successors of Aśoka appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

³ In the rock-edict XIII, section X, *lochetu* at Kālsī corresponds to *rochetu* (from Skt. *rōchayati*) at Shāhbāzgarhī. Here, however, we find forms of the verb *locheti* in all versions. Probably these are pure Māgadhisms at Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, where forms of *rocheti* would have to be expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [a]*lochetpā* at Gīrnār and *alocheti* at Shāhbāzgarhī correspond to *alochayitu* at Kālsī.

- 6 सुखाय धंमयुतानं अपरिगोधाय व्यापता ते (L) बंधनबधस
पटिविधानाय
- 7 प्रजा कताभीकारेसु वा थैरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलिपुते
च बाहिरसु च
- 8 ये वा पि मे अजे जातिका सर्वत व्यापता ते (N) यो अयं
धंमनिस्सितो ति व
- 9 ते धंममहामाता (O) एताय अथाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता
- 10

- 1 (A) D[e]vānaṃpriyo Piyadasi rājā¹ evaṃ āha (B) kalāṇaṃ dukaraṃ (C) y[o
ādikaro] kalāṇ[a]sa² so dukaraṃ karoti
- 2 (D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā³ cha paraṃ cha
tena y[a] me [a]pachaṃ āva saṃvaṭṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā
- 3 so sukataṃ kāsati⁴ (F) yo tu eta desaṃ pi hāpesati so [du]kataṃ kāsati
(G) sukaraṃ hi pāpa[m] (H) atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ
- 4 na bhūta - pruvāṃ⁵ dhamma - mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-
vāsābhi[s]i[tena] dhamm[a]-mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsaṃḍesu vyāpatā
dhāmadhistānāya⁶
- 5 [dha]mma-yutasa cha Yona-K[a]ṃbo[ja]-Gaṃdhārānaṃ⁷ Ristika-
P[e]tenikānaṃ ye vā pi a[m]ñ[e ā]parātā⁸ (K) bhatamayesu va
- 6 [su]khā[ya dhamma] - yutānaṃ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te
(L) ba[m]dhana-badhasa⁹ paṭividdhānāya
- 7 [p]rajā¹⁰ katābhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te (M) Pāṭalipute
tha bāhiraṃ¹¹ cha
- 8 [y]e vā pi me añe nātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayaṃ dhamma-
nisrito ti va
- 9 [t]e [dha]mma-mahāmātā (O) etāya¹² athāya ayaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā
- 10

¹ There is a vacant space before and after the syllable *rā*.

² *ye a* *kalāṇesa* Senart and Bühler.

³ *potrā* Bühler.

⁴ The Kālsi and Dhauḷi versions read correctly *se sukataṃ kachhamti*. As Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) suggests, the Gīrnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.

⁵ Read *-pruvāṃ*, which is Senart's reading; *-pruvāṃ* Bühler.

⁶ The other versions read *dhammādhī*. ⁷ *Yona*- Bühler.

⁸ *aparātā* Bühler.

⁹ The *na* of *baṃdhana*- was inserted subsequently.

¹⁰ [p]rajā looks exactly like [p]ājā. Cf. the *r* of *traidasa*- in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4.

¹¹ Read *bāhiresu*, which is Senart's and Bühler's reading.

¹² The syllable *ya* was inserted subsequently.

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
 (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 (F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 (G) For sin is easily committed.
 (H) In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*) did not exist before.
 (I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras,¹ the Ristikas and Pētēnikas,² and whatever other western borderers³ (of mine there are).
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters⁴ for the happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).⁵
 (L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners⁶ (with money)⁷ (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i. e. incurably ill?),⁸ or with the aged.

¹ i. e. the Greeks, Kābulis, and north-western Panjābīs; see ASSI, I. 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambōjas, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3. 353 f., and JRAS, 1911. 801 f., 1912. 255 ff., 1915. 171.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 261) identified the Ristikas with the Rishṭikas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Ristika* is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāstika*; see my note on the translation of the Shāhbāzgarhī edict V, J. According to Michelson (IF, 24. 52 ff.), *Petenika* stands for **Paitrayanika*. Dhauḷi reads *Pitenika*, and the two Kharōṣṭhī versions read *Pitinika*. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R; see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

³ In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word *apara*, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20. 240. For *amta* see the Kālsī edict II, l. 1, and XIII, l. 6; Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa. Later on *Aparānta* became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, II. 220.

⁴ The *m* between *bhata* (Sanskrit *bhṛta*) and *aya* (Sanskrit *ārya*) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895. 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 63 f., and Windisch, *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893. 240 f.

⁵ Instead of *aparigodha* other versions read *apalibodha*, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive *paligodha*, 'desire', and the participle *paliguddha* (= *parigriddha*), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915. 99 ff.

⁶ Cf. *bandhana-badhānam munisānam* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, l., which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

⁷ Cf. *hiraṇṇa-patividdhāno* in the Gīrnār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 840.

⁸ With *katābhikāra* Senart compares *abhikṛitvarīḥ*, '(female demons who are) bewitchers', and *abhinishkārin*, 'devising (against others)', in the *Atharvaveda*. Bühler (EI, 2. 468) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48. 55.

III

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IV

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V

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(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in *Pāṭaliputra* and in the outlying and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality whether one is eager for morality¹

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवा सि राजा एवं आह (B) अतिक्रान्तं अंतरं
- 2 न भूतप्रुव सव . . ल अथकमे व पटिवेदना वा (C) त मया एवं कतं
- 3 (D) सवे काले भुंजमानस मे ओरोधनमि गभागारमि वचमि व
- 4 विनोतमि च उयानेसु च सवत्र पटिवेदका स्तिता अथे मे जनस
- 5 पटिवेदेथ इति (E) सर्वत्र च जनस अथे करोमि (F) य च किंचि मुखतो
- 6 आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा स्रावापकं वा य वा पुन महामात्रेसु
- 7 आचायिके अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निरुती व संतो परिसायं
- 8 आनंतरं पटिवेदेतथं मे सर्वत्र सर्वे काले (G) एवं मया आजपितं (H) नास्ति हि मे तोसो
- 9 उस्तानमि अथसंतीरणाय व (I) कतव्यमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं
- 10 (J) तस च पुन एस मूले उस्तानं च अथसंतीरणा च (K) नास्ति हि कमतरं
- 11 सर्वलोकहितया (L) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनणं गछेयं
- 12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परत्रा च स्वगं आराधयंतु त (M) एताय अथाय
- 13 अयं धमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्टेय इति तथा च मे पुत्रा पोता च प्रपोत्रा च
- 14 अनुवतरं सवलोकहिताय (N) दुकरं तु इदं अजच अगेन पराक्रमेन

- 1 (A) [Devā] [s]i rājā evaṁ āha (B) atikrāṭ[a]m āntara[m]
- 2 na bhūta-pru[v].² [s]. [v] . . . [l].³ atha-kaṁme va paṭivedanā vā (C) ta mayā evaṁ kataṁ
- 3 (D) s[a]ve kāle bhuñj[a]mānasa me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vachamhi va
- 4 vinītamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā⁴ sṭitā athe me [ja]nasa
- 5 paṭivedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kiṁchi mukhato
- 6 āñapayāmi svayaṁ dāpakaṁ vā srāvāpakaṁ vā ya vā puna mahāmātresu
- 7 āchāyī[ke]⁵ aropitaṁ⁶ bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī v[a s]aṁto parisāyaṁ

¹ *nisrito* = Pāli *nissito* and Skt. **nisritah* (Senart). For *yo ayaṁ* cf. my note on the translation of section L of the Kālsī version of this edict.

² Read *-purva*; *-puva* Senart, *-purva* Bühler.

³ Restore *save kālē*.

⁴ An apparent *u*-mark is attached to the bottom of *fi*.

⁵ *āchāyika* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *āropitaṁ* Bühler.

- 8 ānaṁtaraṁ paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṁ me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṁ mayā āṇapitaṁ
(H) nāsti¹ hi me to[s]o
- 9 uṣṭānamhi atha-saṁtīraṇāya va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitaṁ
- 10 (J) tasa cha puna esa mūle uṣṭānaṁ cha atha-saṁtīraṇā cha (K) nāsti hi kaṁmataraṁ
- 11 sarva-loka-hitatpā (L) ya cha kiṁchi parākramāmi ahaṁ kiṁti bhūtānaṁ ānaṁṇaṁ
gachheyaṁ
- 12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagaṁ ārādhayaṁtu ta² (M) etāya athāya
- 13 ayaṁ dha[m]ma-lipī lekḥāpitā kiṁti chiraṁ tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha
prapotrā cha
- 14 anuvataṁ³ sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukaraṁ [t]u idaṁ aṇatra⁴ agena parākramena

TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.
- (C) But I have made the following (arrangement).
- (D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment,⁵ even at the cowpen,⁶ in the palanquin,⁷ and in the parks.
- (E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.
- (F) And if in the council (of *Mahāmātra*s)⁸ a dispute arises,⁹ or an amendment is moved,¹⁰ in connexion with any donation or proclamation¹¹ which I myself am ordering

¹ An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from l. 8 to l. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after *nāsti* in l. 8, *-loka-* in l. 9, *kaṁmata*^o in l. 10, and *ānaṁṇaṁ* in l. 11.

² Read *ti*.

³ Senart and Bühler correct *anuvataṁ*. Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) and Bühler read *anuvataṁ*, which the former considered to be an imperative like *duhrām* in the *Atharvaveda*. Cf. Johansson's *Shāhbāzgarhi*, 2. 89 f. The *ra* certainly resembles *rā*; but the same applies to the *ra* of *pakarāṇe* in the Girnār edict IX, l. 8, and of *samachairam* in XIII, l. 7, where the reading *rā* is impossible.

⁴ *aṇata* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Cf. Molesworth's *Marāṭhī Dictionary*, s. v. *gābhār*.

⁶ The locative *vachamhi* (= *vrachaspi* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions) is generally rendered by 'in the latrine'. But Skt. *varchas* does not mean 'a latrine', but 'ordure'. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, *vacha* or *vracha* probably corresponds to Skt. *vraja*, 'a cowpen', it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas and their governments even in the present time.

⁷ With *vinīta* cf. Skt. *vinītaka* and *vainītaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 277.

⁸ See above, p. 5, n. 7.

⁹ *saṁto* is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālsī rock-edict VI, F.

¹⁰ Bühler (ASSI, 1. 123) rendered *nijhatī* by 'fraud'. This translation seems to be due to an oversight; it would suit the former misreading *nikatī*, but not the actual reading *nijhatī*. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be **nidhyapti*, 'inducing to meditate', i. e. in the present case, 'moving a repeated consideration'.

¹¹ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M.

verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*,¹ it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.²

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important³ than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that⁴ I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them⁵ happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा सर्वत इच्छति सवे पासंडा वसेयु (B) सवे ते समयं च
2 भावसुधिं च इच्छति (C) जनो तु उचावचछंदो उचावचरागो (D) ते सर्वे व क्कसंति
एकदेसं व क्कसंति
3 (E) विपुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति समये भावसुधिता व कतंजता व दढभतिता च
निचा बाढं

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsaiṇḍā vaseyu (B) save te sayamaṃ cha
2 bhāva-sudhiṃ cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chhaṇḍo uchāvacha-rāgo (D) te sarvaṃ va kāsanti eka-desam va kasa[m]ti
3 (E) vip[ul]e tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va kataṃñatā va dadhabhati[t]ā cha nichā bāḍham

¹ K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) quotes the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 29, l. 12: चात्थयिके कार्ये मन्त्रिषो मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाह्वय ब्रूयात् 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.

² With *atha-saṃtīraṇā* cf. *tilita-damḍa* in the pillar-edict IV, L.

³ I adopt Bühler's explanation of *kammataṃ* as a comparative of *karman*.

⁴ Franke (GN, 1895. 537) has shown that both in the Aśoka inscriptions and in literary Pāli *kimti* means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, B, and the rock-edict XIV, D, where *kimti* at Gīrnār, Dhauḷi, and Jaugaḍa corresponds to *yena* at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.

⁵ The form *nāni* occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen's edict, l. 4; *nā* in the Kālsī edict XII, C. The pronoun *na* may be derived from Skt. *ēna*, and *sha*, which corresponds to it in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, from *ēsha*.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.¹

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिकृतं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां जयासु (B) एत मगव्या अजानि च एतारिसनि

2 अभिरमकानि अहुंसु (C) सो देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा दसवर्साभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधिं

3 (D) तेनेसा धंमयाता (E) एतयं होति बाम्हणसमणानं दसणे च दाने च थैरानं दसणे च

4 हिरणपटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्यनं धंमानुसस्ती च धमपरिपुछा च

5 तदोपया (F) एसा भुय रति भवति देवानंपियस प्रियदसिनो राजो भागे अंजे

1 (A) atikātaṁ am̐taraṁ rājāno vihāra-yātāṁ ñayāsu (B) eta magavyā añāni cha etārisani²

2 abhīramakāni ahuṁsu (C) so Devānāmpriyo³ Piyadasi rājā dasa-varsābhisito⁴ saṁto ayāya Saṁbodhiṁ

3 (D) tenesā dham̐ma-yātā (E) etayaṁ hoti bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ dasaṇe cha dāne cha thairānaṁ dasaṇe ch[a]

4 hiraṇṇa-paṭivīdhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa⁵ daspanaṁ⁶ dham̐mānu[s]tī cha dhama-paripucchā cha

5 tadopayā (F) esā bhuya rati bhavati Devānāmpiyasa Priyadasino rāño bhā[g]e am̐ñe

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.⁷

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

¹ The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 844. He identifies *nichā* with the Vedic adverb *nichā*. The variant *niche* at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa may correspond to Skt. *nichaiḥ* or *nichak*.

² Read °sāni.

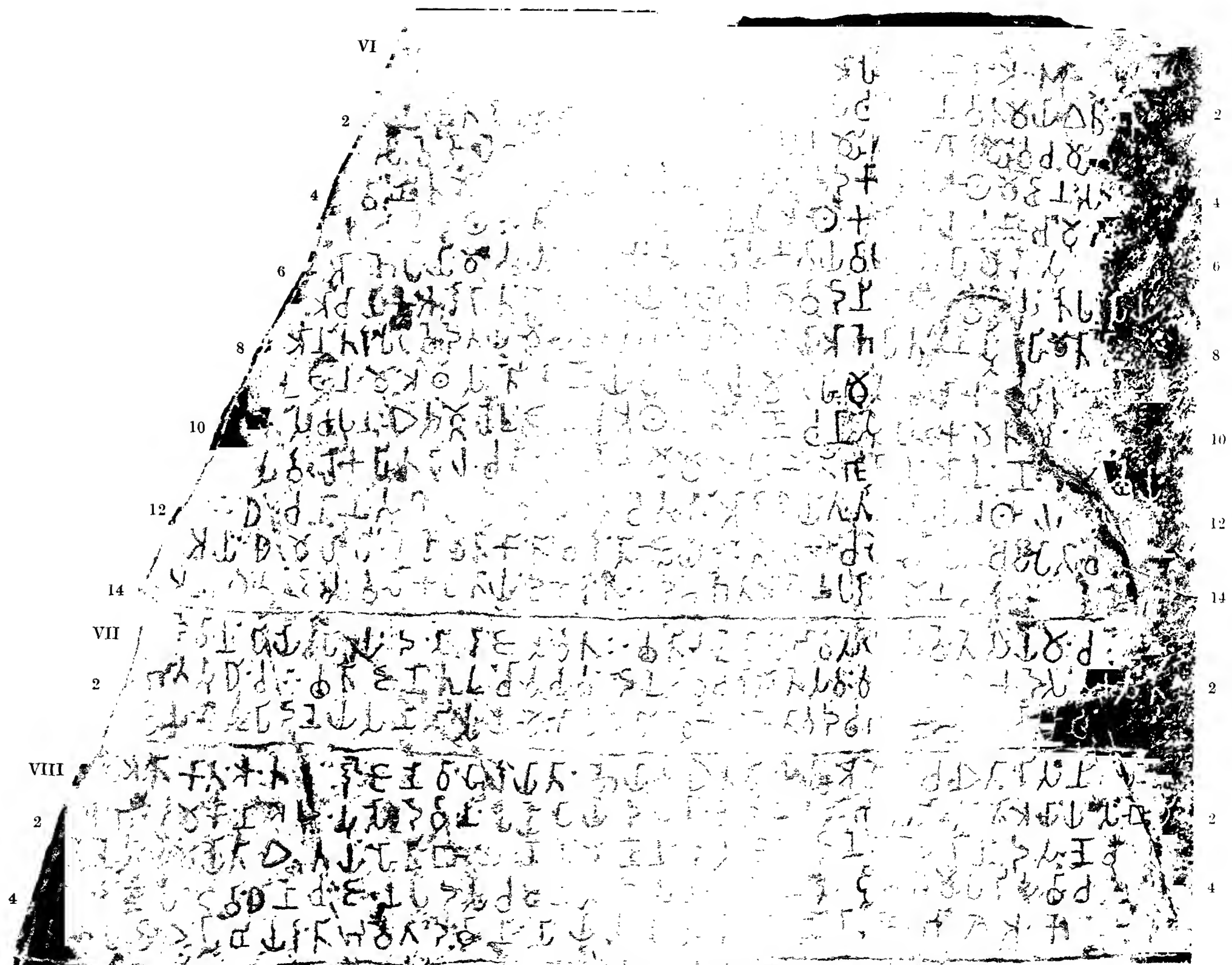
³ °piyo Bühler.

⁴ -vasā° Senart and Bühler.

⁵ jānasa Bühler.

⁶ Read *darsanaṁ*, which is Senart's reading; *dasanaṁ* Bühler.

⁷ Michelson (JAOS, 31. 245) explains *ñayāsu* = **nyayāsuḥ* in the sense of *nirayāsuḥ*. See also Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 488, n. 2.



(C) But when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went to Sambōdhi.¹

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).²

(E) On these (tours) the following³ takes place, (viz.) visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold,⁴ visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).⁵

(F) This second period⁶ (of the reign) of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.⁷

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा एव आह (B) अस्ति जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते
आवाधेसु वा
- 2 आवाहवीवाहेसु वा पुचलाभेसु वा प्रवासंभि वा एतम्ही च अजम्हि च जनो
उचावचं मंगलं करोते
- 3 (C) एत तु महिडायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च छुदं च निरथं च मंगलं करोते (D) त
क्तव्यमेव तु मंगलं (E) अपफलं तु खो
- 4 एतरिसं मंगलं (F) अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धम्ममंगले (G) ततेत दासभतकम्हि
सम्यप्रतिपत्ती गुरूनं अपचिति साधु
- 5 पाणेषु सयमो साधु बम्हणसमणानं साधु दानं एत च अज च एतारिसं धम्ममंगलं
नाम (H) त वतथं पिता व

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gayā, south of Paṭṇā) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśōka's visit to the bōdhi-tree is described in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rummindēī pillar.

² The singular *esā dhammayātā* seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as *vihāra-ṇātām* in section A.

³ Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained *etayam* by *eta iyaṃ*. As *ayaṃ* is used for the neuter *idam* in the Girnār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for *eta ayaṃ*; cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 238.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

⁵ With *tadōpaya* Senart compares the Pāli words *tadūpiya* and *opāyika*. Franke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with *opaga* in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

⁶ Hitherto the two words *bhāge amñe* and *bhāge amne* at Kālsī and Dhauli have been taken as locatives = Pāli *apara-bhāge*. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in *-asi*.

⁷ The word *bhuya* (= *bhuye* in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as *bhuye* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes *bhuya-rati* to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with *esā*, and *bhāge amñe* to be locatives. But *esā* need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Girnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with *bhāge amñe*, as [e]se at Kālsī and *eshe* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions.

- 6 पुतेन वा भात्रा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं कतव्य मंगलं आव तस अथस
निस्तानाय (I) अस्ति च पि वुतं
- 7 साधु दन इति (J) न तु एतारिसं अस्ता दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं धंमदानं व
धमनुगहो व (K) त तु खो मित्रेन व सुहदयेन वा
- 8 जतिकेन व सहायन व ओवादितव्यं तम्हि तम्हि पकरणे इदं कचं इदं साध इति
इमिना सक
- 9 स्वगं आराधेतु इति (L) कि च इमिना कतव्यतरं यथा स्वगारधी

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīyo Priyadasi rājā eva¹ āha (B) asti jano uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ
karote ābādhesu vā
- 2 āvāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsammhi vā etamhī cha añamhi cha jano
uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ karote
- 3 (C) eta tu mahidāyo bahukam cha bahuvidham cha chhudam cha nirath[am] cha
maṅgalaṁ karote (D) ta katavyameva tu magalam² (E) apa-phalam tu kho
- 4 etarisaṁ³ maṅgalaṁ (F) ayam tu mah[ā]-phale maṅgale ya dhamma-maṅgale
(G) ta[te]ta⁴ dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipatī gurūnam apachiti sādhu
- 5 pāṇesu sayamo sādhu bamhaṇa-samaṇānam sādhu dānam et[a] cha añ[a] cha
etārisaṁ dhamma-maṅgalaṁ nāma (H) ta vatavyam pitā va
- 6 putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idam sādhu idam katavya⁵ maṅgalaṁ āva tasa
athasa niṣṭānāya (I) asti cha pi vutam
- 7 sādhu dana⁶ iti (J) na tu etārisaṁ astā⁷ dānam va ana[ga]ho⁸ va yārisaṁ dhamma-
dānam va dhamanugaho⁹ va (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā
- 8 ñatikenā¹⁰ va sahāyana¹¹ va ovāditavyam tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe¹² [i]dam kacham
idam sādha¹³ iti iminā sak[a]¹⁴
- 9 svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataram yathā svagāradhī¹⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,¹⁶ or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey; on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

¹ *evam* Bühler.

² Read *maṅgalaṁ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

³ Read *etārisaṁ*.

⁴ *tata* Senart and Bühler; but the *te* can be clearly distinguished on the back of the estampage, and is supported by the other versions.

⁵ *katavyam* Bühler.

⁶ Read *dānam*; *danam* Bühler.

⁷ Read *asti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁸ Read *anugaho*.

⁹ *dhammānugaho* Bühler.

¹⁰ Read *ñāti*.

¹¹ Read *yena*.

¹² The syllable *ra* looks almost like *rā*.

¹³ Read *sādhu*.

¹⁴ *sakam* Bühler.

¹⁵ *radhi* Bühler.

¹⁶ For *āvāha* and *vivāha* cf. *Jātaka*, Translation, vol. V, p. 145, n. 1.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders,¹ gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.’

(I) And it has been said also: ‘Gifts are meritorious.’

(J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.²

(K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—‘This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.’

(L) And what is more desirable than this,³ viz. the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महाथावहा मज्जे अजत
तदात्पनो दिघाय च मे जनो
- 2 धम्मसुसुंसा सुसुसता धम्मवुतं च अनुविधियतां (B) एतकाय देवानंपियो प्रियदसि
राजा यसो व किति व इच्छति
- 3 (C) यं तु किंचि परिकमते देवानं प्रियदसि राजा त सवं पारचिकाय किंति सकले
अपपरिसवे अस (D) एस तु परिसवे य अपुंजं
- 4 (E) दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अजव अगेन पराक्रमेन सवं
परिचजित्पा (F) एत तु खो उसटेन दुकरं

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo⁴ Priyadasi rājā⁵ yaso va kīti va na mahāthāvah[ā] mañate⁶
añata tadātpano⁷ dighāya cha me [ja]no
- 2 dhamma-susru[m]sā⁸ susrusatā⁹ dhamma-vutaṃ cha anuvidhiyatām (B) etakāya
Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va i[chha]ti

¹ The word *sādhū* after *apachiti*, *sayamo*, and *-samaṇānaṃ* is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Girnār text, because the person who drafted the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, D.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 57 f.) has traced the two terms *dhamma-dāna* and *dhammānuggaha* in the *Itivuttaka*.

³ A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1332.

⁴ °*priyo* Bühler.

⁵ An obliterated *de* is visible between the syllables *si* and *rā*, and an obliterated *vā* between *rā* and *jā*.

⁶ *maññate* Bühler.

⁷ Read, with Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 87), *tadātpane*.

⁸ *-susumsā* Senart, *-susrusā* Bühler.

⁹ °*satām* Senart and Bühler.

- 3 (C) ya[m] tu kich[i]¹ parik[a]mate² **Devānam**³ **Priyadasi rājā** ta savam pāratrikāya
 kintī sakale a[pa]-parisrave⁴ asa (D) esa tu parisave⁶ ya apumñam
 4 (E) dukaram tu kho etam chhudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena
 parāk[r]amena⁶ savam parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usaṭena dukaram

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** does not think that either glory or fame⁷ conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future),⁸ men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.⁹

(B) On this (account) **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).¹⁰

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult¹¹ to accomplish for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देविनंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) नास्ति एतारिसं दानं यारिसं धंमदानं
 धंसंस्तवो वा धंसंविभागो वा धंसंबधो व
 2 (C) तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्यप्रतिपती मातरि पितरा साधु सुसुसा मित-
 सस्तुतजातिकानं बाम्हेणसमणानं साधु दानं
 3 प्राणानं अनारंभो साधु (D) एत वतथं पिता व पुत्रेन व भाता व मितसस्तुत-
 जातिकेन व आव पटीवेसियेहि इद साधु इद कतथं
 4 (E) सो तथा करु इलोकचस आरधो होति परत च अनंतं पुइजं भवति तेन
 धंमदानेन

¹ *kinchi* Bühler.

² Read *parākamate*; *parākāmate* Senart, *parākamate* Bühler.

³ Add °*priyo*.

⁴ *appa-* (probably a misprint) Bühler.

⁵ *parisrave* Bühler.

⁶ *parākamena* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ i. e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death.

⁸ Instead of *tadātpano(ne) dighāya cha* the Jaugaḍa version has the synonymous expression *tadatvāye āyatiye cha*, which occurs also in the *Kaṭṭhīya*, p. 248, l. 9 (*tadātvē cha āyatyān cha*), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prākṛit affix *-tvana* or *-ttana*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 405.

⁹ With this passage cf. the Gīrnār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, P: 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality'.

¹⁰ I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909. 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, 'renouncing everything', is improbable because Aśoka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends 'moderation in possessions' in the rock-edict III, D.

¹¹ The Jaugaḍa version reads *dukalatale* for *dukaram*.

- 1 (A) **Devināṃpriyo**¹ **Piyadasi rājā** ev[a]ṃ āha (B) nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ dhamma-saṃstavo vā dhamma-saṃvibhāgo [vā]² dhamma-saṃbadho³ va
- 2 (C) tata idaṃ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipatī mātari pitarā⁴ sādhu sus[r]usā mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ bāmaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[nam]⁵ sādhu dā[nam]
- 3 prāṇānaṃ anāraṃbho sādhu (D) eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhāt[ā] va mita-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na va āva paṭivesiyehi⁶ ida⁷ sādhu ida⁷ ka[tav]ya[m]
- 4 (E) so t[a]thā karu⁸ ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha aṃnaṃtaṃ⁹ puññaṃ¹⁰ bhavati tena dhamma-dānena

TRANSLATION

✓ (A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.¹¹

(C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.¹²

(D) Concerning this¹³ a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done.'¹⁴

(E) If one is acting thus,¹⁵ the attainment¹⁶ of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

¹ Read *Devānaṃ*^o, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² *va* Bühler.

³ Read *-saṃbadho*.

⁴ Read *pitarī*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *-samaṇānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *paṭi*^o Senart and Bühler.

⁷ *idaṃ* Bühler.

⁸ Read *karuṃ*, as in the Girnār edict XII, F.

⁹ Read *anaṃtaṃ*.

¹⁰ *puññaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ The two expressions *dhamma-dāna* and *dhamma-saṃvibhāga* occur in a passage of the *Itivuttaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 57 f.

¹² The other versions omit the superfluous word *sādhu* after *pitarā*, *-sramaṇānaṃ*, and *anāraṃbho*; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

¹³ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.

¹⁴ Cf. the Girnār edict IX, H and K.

¹⁵ Senart and Bühler take *karuṃ* as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31. 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between *karo-* and *kuru-*.

¹⁶ In the Girnār version *āradho* seems to be used as a substantive, just as *āradhi* in the Girnār edict IX, L, and *āladhi* in the Dhauli separate edict I, S, and the Jaugada separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि राजा सवपासंडानि च पवजितानि च घरस्तानि च पूजयति दानेन च विवाधाय च पूजाय पूजयति ने
- 2 (B) न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानंपियो मंजते यथा किति सारवढी अस सवपासंडानं (C) सारवढी तु बहुविधा
- 3 (D) तस तु इदं मूलं य वचिगुती किंति आत्मपासंडपूजा व परपासंडगरहा व नो भवे अप्रकरणमिह लहुका व अस
- 4 तमिह तमिह प्रकरणे (E) पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन तन प्रकरणेन (F) एवं कंरं आत्मपासंडं च वढयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति
- 5 (G) तदंजथा करोतो आत्मपासंडं च छणति परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति (H) यो हि कोचि आत्मपासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं व गरहति
- 6 सवं आत्मपासंडभतिया किंति आत्मपासंडं दीपयेम इति सो च पुन तथ करातो आत्मपासंडं बाढतरं उपहनाति (I) त समवायो एव साधु
- 7 किंति अजमंजस धंमं सुणारु च सुसुंसेर च (J) एवं हि देवानंपियस इच्छा किंति सवपासंडा बहुसुता च असु कलाणागमा च असु
- 8 (K) ये च तच तत प्रसंना तेहि वतथं (L) देवानंपियो नो तथा दानं व पूजां व मंजते यथा किंति सारवढी अस सर्वपासंडानं (M) बहका च एताय
- 9 अथा व्यापता धंममहामाता च इथीमुखमहामाता च वचभूमीका च अजे च निकाया (N) अयं च एतस फल य आत्मपासंडवढी च होति धंमस च दीपना

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyad[a]si rājā sava-pāsaṃḍāni cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati d[ā]nena cha vivādhāya¹ [cha] pūjāya pūjayati ne
- 2 (B) na tu tathā dānaṃ va pū[jā] va D[e]vānaṃpiyo maṃñate yathā kiti sāra-vaḍhī asa sa[va-pā]saṃḍānaṃ (C) sār[a]-vaḍhī tu bahuvidhā
- 3 (D) tasa² tu idaṃ mūlaṃ ya vachi-gutī kiṃti ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-pūjā va para-pāsaṃḍa-garahā³ va no bhava aprakaraṇamhi⁴ lahukā va asa
- 4 tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe (E) pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsaṃḍā tena tana⁵ prakaraṇena (F) evaṃ karuṃ ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ cha vaḍhayati para-pāsaṃḍasa cha upakaroti
- 5 (G) tad-aṃñathā karoto ātpa-pāsaḍaṃ⁶ cha chhaṇati para-pāsaṃḍasa cha pi apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ pūjayati para-pāsaṃḍaṃ v[a]⁷ garahati

¹ Read *vividhāya*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² The writer had originally written *tasa tasa*, but he scored out the first *sa* and the second *ta*.

³ The syllable *saṃ* of *-pāsaṃḍa-* was inserted subsequently.

⁴ The syllable *pra* looks almost like *ha*; the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *abhipretam* near the end of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

⁵ Read *tena*.

⁶ *-pāsaṃḍaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ *vā* Bühler.

- 6 *savaṃ ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-bhatiyā* ¹ *kiṃti ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ dīpayema iti so cha puna tatha karāto* ² *ātpa-pāsaṃḍa[m]* *bāḍhataraṃ upahanāti* (I) *ta samavāyo eva sādhu*
- 7 *kiṃti [a]ñamañña* ³ *dhammaṃ sruṇāru* ⁴ *cha susumsera* ⁵ *cha* (J) *evaṃ hi D[e]vānāmpiyasa ichhā kiṃti* ⁶ *sava-pāsaṃḍā bahu-srutā cha asu kal[ā]ṇāgamā cha [a]su*
- 8 (K) *ye cha tatra tata* ⁷ *prasaṃnā tehi vatavyaṃ* (L) *Devānāmpiyō no tathā dānaṃ va pūjāṃ* ⁸ *va maññate yathā kiṃti sāra-vaḍhī asa sarva-pāsaḍānaṃ* (M) *bahakā* ⁹ *cha etāya*
- 9 *athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha ithījhakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmīkā cha añe cha nikāyā* (N) *ayaṃ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-vaḍhī cha hoti dhammasa cha dip[a]nā*

TRANSLATION

✓ (A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is honouring all sects: ¹⁰ both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

(B) But *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, ¹¹ (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) ¹² out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of *Dēvānāmpriya*, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

¹ *-pāsaḍa-* Bühler.

² Read *karoto*.

³ *mañña*° Senart, *añña*° Bühler.

⁴ Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1336) proposed to read *sruṇeru*. But the form *sruṇāru* is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.

⁵ *susumserā* Senart, *sususera* Bühler.

⁶ The syllable *ti* was inserted subsequently.

⁷ *tate* Bühler.

⁸ *pūjā* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Read *bahukā*.

¹⁰ The *cha* after *sava-pāsaṃḍāni* is superfluous; see Bühler, EI, I. 19, n. 42. It is missing in the other versions.

¹¹ Instead of *vachi-gutī* the other versions read *vacha-gutī*. With *vachi* cf. the Ardhamāgadhi from *vaī* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

¹² The readings *shave* at Kālsī and *savre* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions show that *savaṃ* at Gīrnār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 422.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to¹ (as follows).

(L) *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers)² are occupied for this purpose,³ (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women,⁴ the inspectors of cowpens,⁵ and other classes (of officials).⁶

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) जो कलिंगा वज वढे सतसहस्रमात्रं तच्च
हतं बहुतावतकं मत (C) तता पद्धा अधुना लधेसु कलिंगेसु तीवो धंमवायो
2 सयो देवानंप्रियस वज वधो व मरणं व
अपवाहो व जनस त बाढं वेदनमत च गुरुमत च देवानंपि .. स
3 बाह्णा व समणा व अजे सा मात्रि पितरि
सुसुंसा गुरुसुंसा मितसंस्ततसहायजातिकेसु दासभ
4 अभिरतानं व विनिखमण (H) येसं वा य
हायजातिका व्यसनं प्राप्नुति तत सो पि तेस उपघातो हाति (I) पटीभागो
चेसा सव
5 स्ति इमे निकाया अजत्र योनेसु म्हि यत्र नास्ति
मानुसानं एकतरम्हि पासंडम्हि न नाम प्रसादो (K) यावतको जनो तदा
6 सभागो व गुरुमतो देवानं न य सक छमितवे
(M) या च पि अटवियो देवानंप्रियस पिजिते पाति
7 चते तेसं देवानंप्रियस सबभूतानां अछतिं च
सयमं च समचैरं च मादव च

¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in *-chi* at Jaugada (*-sama-nehi*, III, l. 3, and *mahāmātehi*, VI, l. 3), and at Kālsī (*mahāmātehi*, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehrā, VI, l. 28, and XII, l. 7, and *ājīvikehi* in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

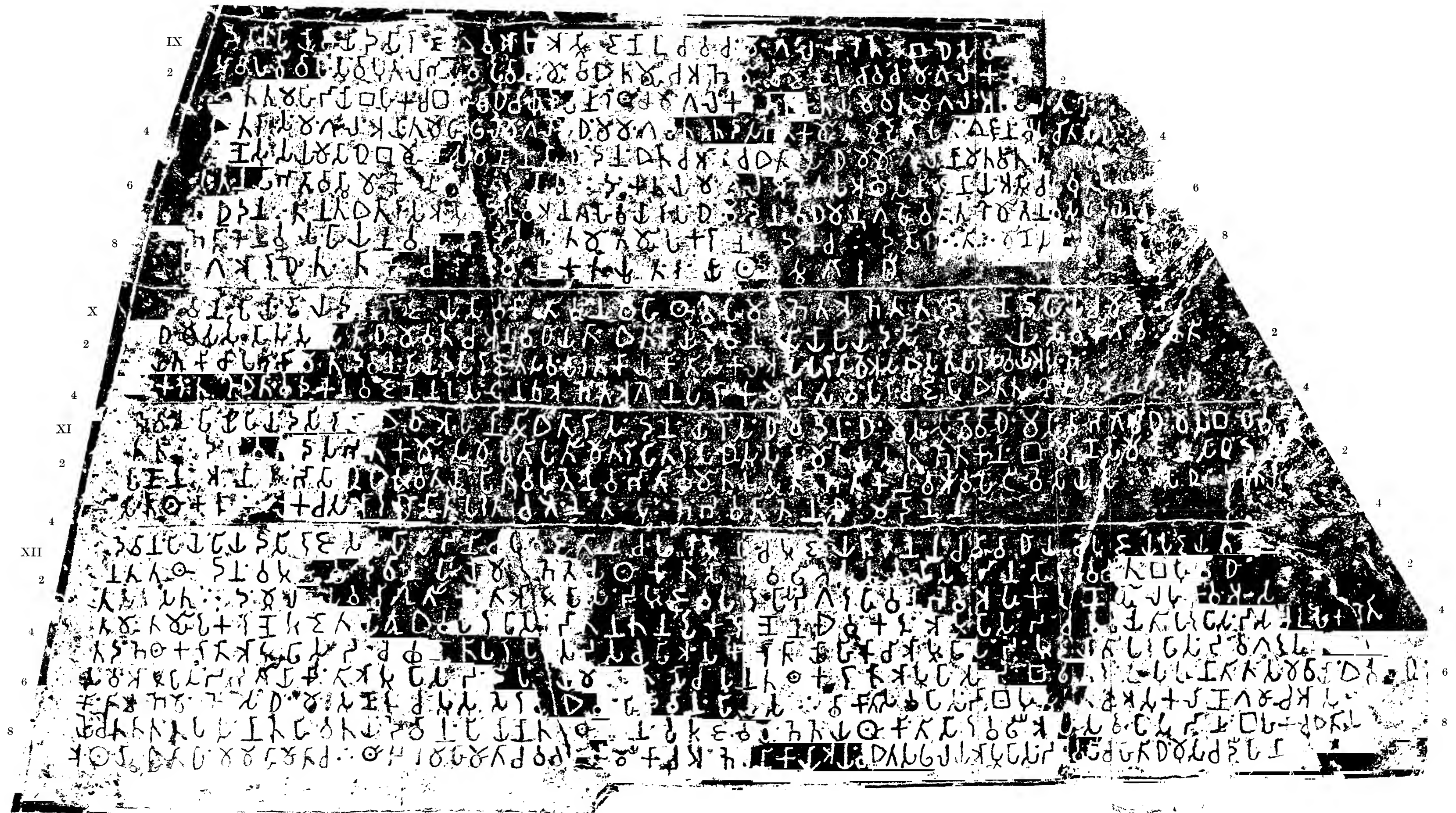
² As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 849), the two words *balukā cha*, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

³ For the dative *athā* (= *athāya*), see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 67.

⁴ With *ithijhakha* cf. *gaṇikādhyaṣṭha*, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the *Kaṭṭhīya*, II, 27.

⁵ Bühler (EI, 2. 470, n. 18) suggested that *vacha* (= *vracha* at Mānsehrā) may be a Prākṛit form of *vraja*, 'a cowpen', and compared *gavādhyaṣṭha*, 'the overseer of cows', in the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 290, l. 1. Cf. also *gōdhyaksha* in the *Kaṭṭhīya*, II, 29. For the hardening of *j* in *vracha* cf. *vrachamti* and *v[r]acheyam* (from Skt. *vrajati*) at Shāhbāzgarhī, XIII, S, and VI, L.

⁶ The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.



- 8 लधो नप्रियस इध सवेसु च योनराज
परं च तेन चत्पारो राजानो तुरमायो च अंतेकिन च मगा च
9 इध राजविसयम्हि योनकंबो भ्रपारिंदेसु सवत
देवानंपियस धंमानुसस्तिं अनुवतरे (S) यत पि दूति
10 नं धमानुसस्तिं च धमं अनुविधियरे विजयो
सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा (U) लधा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयम्हि
11 प्रियो (X) एताय अथाय अयं धंमल वं विजयं
मा विजेतथं मंजा सरसके एव विजये छाति च
12 किको च पारलोकिको इल्लोकिका च
पारलोकिका च

- 1 (A) ño **Kaliṃgā** [v . j .] [v . ḍh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram
tatrā hataṃ bahu-tāvatakaṃ mata¹ (C) tatā pachhā adh[u]nā² ladhesu
Kaliṃgesu ti[v]o dhammavāyo
2 [sa]yo **Devānaṃpriyasa** [v . j .] [va]dho va maraṇaṃ va
apavāho va janasa ta³ bāḍham vedana-mata⁴ cha g[u]r[u]-mata⁴ cha
Devā[naṃpi] .. [sa]
3 bāmhaṇā va samaṇā va aṇe [s]ā mātr[i]⁵ pitari susuṃsā
guru-susuṃsā⁶ mita-saṃstata-sahāya-ñātike[su]⁷ dāsa-[bha]
4 abhiratānaṃ va vinikhamāṇa (H) yesaṃ vā [p .] [h]āya-
ñātikā vyasanaṃ prāpuṇati tata⁸ so pi tesa⁹ [u]paghāto hāti¹⁰ (I) paṭibhā[g]o
chesā s[ava]
5 sti ime nikāyā añatra **Yone[su]**¹¹ [mh]i yatra nāsti
mānusānaṃ¹² ekataramhi pāsāṇḍamhi na nāma prasā[d]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o
j[ano ta]d[ā]
6 sra-bhāgo va garu-mat[o] **Devānaṃ** na ya saka¹³
chhamitave (M) yā cha pi aṭaviyo **D[e]vānaṃpiya[s]**¹⁴ pijite¹⁵ pāti¹⁶

¹ *matam* Bühler.² *adhaṇā* Bühler.³ *taṃ* Senart and Bühler.⁴ *-matam* Bühler.⁵ *mātā*- Senart and Bühler; the horizontal stroke on the right of *t* seems to be intended for *r*.⁶ *-susuṃsā* Bühler.⁷ Read *-saṃstuta-*, which is Bühler's reading.⁸ *tatā* Senart, *tatra* Bühler.⁹ *tesaṃ* Senart and Bühler.¹⁰ Read *hoti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.¹¹ *yo nesa* Senart; Mānsehrā reads *Yoneshu* quite distinctly.¹² *manu*^o Bühler.¹³ *sakaṃ* Bühler.¹⁴ Two old fissures of the rock, the first after *pi* and the second after *sa*, run on to the next line, where they divide the word *samachairam* into three parts; ^o*priyasa* Bühler.¹⁵ Read *vijite*.¹⁶ Read *hoti*.

- 7 chate te[sam] Devānāmpiyasa sava-bhūtānām¹
 achhatim² cha sayamañ cha samachairam³ ch[a] mādava⁴ cha
 8 [la]dh[o] nāmpriyasa idha [sa]vesu [ch .]
 [Yo]na-rāja⁵ param cha tena chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha [A]nt[ek]ina⁶
 cha Magā cha
 9 idha rāja-vi[sam]yamhi [Y]o[na]-Kambo m̐dhra-
 Pārindesu⁷ savata Devānāmpiyasa dhammānus[a]stīm anuv[a]tare (S) yata
 pi dūti⁸
 10 [na]m dhamānusastīm cha dhamañ anuviddhiyare⁹
 [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo pīti-raso sā¹⁰ (U) ladhā sā pīti hoti dhamma-
 vijayamhi
 11 m̐[p]riyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayañ dhamma-[l]
 [va]m vijayañ mā vijetavyañ maññā¹¹ sarasake eva vijaye chhāti¹² cha
 12 kik[o] ch[a pā]r[alo]ki[ko] ilokikā cha pāralokikā¹³ cha

TRANSLATION

(A) the **Kaliṅgas**

(B) one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, (and) many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, a zealous study of morality¹⁴

(D) [the repentance] of **Dēvānāmpriya**

(E) slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(G) Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, [or] other obedience to mother (and) to father, obedience to elders to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, [to] slaves or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) [companions] and relatives are then incurring misfortune, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons).

(I) This is shared [by] all

¹ -bhūtānām Bühler.

² An old fissure of the rock, between *chha* and *tim*, runs on to the two next lines of the edict.

³ *samacherañ* Senart, *samacherāñ* Bühler.

⁴ *mādavañ* Bühler. ⁵ -rājā Bühler.

⁶ *Antakāna* Senart, *Antekinā* Bühler.

⁷ The apparent *e*-stroke attached to *dha*-is probably meant for *r*; *m̐dha-P[i]rindesu* Bühler.

⁸ Read *dūtā*. ⁹ *dhama* Senart; *anuv[i]dh[i]yare* Bühler.

¹⁰ *so* Bühler. ¹¹ *maññā* Bühler.

¹² *chhāti[m]* Bühler.

¹³ Between *pāra* and *lo* a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer.

¹⁴ Instead of *dhammavāyo* Shāhbāzgarhī seems to read *dhrama-śilana*, 'the practice, or study, of morality'. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining *dhammavāyo* by *dharmavāyo*.

(J) these classes except among the **Yōnas**¹ where men are not indeed attached to some sect.²

(K) As many people as at that time part is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāṃpriya**.

(L) what can be forgiven.

(M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of **Dēvānāṃpriya**

(N) They are [told] of **Dēvānāṃpriya**

(O) towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

(Q) has been won by [**Dēvā**]nāṃpriya here and among all the **Yōna king**,³ and beyond him **four kings**, (viz.) **Turamāya**, **Antekina**, **Magā**

(R) here in the king's territory, [among] the **Yōnas** and **Kambō[jas]** among the [**A**]ndhras and **Pārindas**,—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāṃpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even where the envoys and the instruction in morality, are conforming to morality

(T) this conquest,—a conquest (won) in every respect (and) repeatedly,⁴—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(W) [**Dēvānā**]ṃpriya.

(X) For the following purpose this [rescript] on morality should not think that a [fresh] conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,⁵ mercy

(Y) in the other world.

(AA) both in this world and in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अयं धर्मलिपी देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता अस्ति एव
- 2 संखितेन अस्ति मग्मेन अस्ति विस्तृतं (B) न च सर्वे सर्वत घटितं
- 3 (C) महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव (D) अस्ति च एत कं
- 4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अथस माधूरताय किंति जनो तथा पटिपजेथ
- 5 (E) तत्र एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सहाय कारणं व
- 6 अलोचेत्पा लिपिकरापरधेन व

¹ i.e. the Greeks.

² As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (*na*) is redundant.

³ For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kālsī version.

⁴ Cf. the Kālsī version, Q.

⁵ Bühler divided *sarasake* into *sara-sake*, which he translated by 'possible by arrows'. The various readings of Kālsī (*shayakashi*) and Shāhbāzgarhī (*spa[kaspi]*) induce me to consider it as a Bahuvrīhi of *sva + rasa*.

- 1 (A) ayaṃ dhamma-lipī Devānāmpriyena Priyadasinā r[ā]ññā l[e]khāpitā asti eva
 2 saṃkhit[e]na asti majhamena asti vistatana¹ (B) na cha sarvaṃ [sa]rvata ghaṭitaṃ
 3 (C) mahālake hi vijitaṃ bahu cha likhitaṃ likhāpayisaṃ cheva (D) asti cha eta kaṃ
 4 puna puna vutaṃ tasa tasa athasa² mādūratāya kiṃti jano tathā paṭipajetha
 5 (E) tatra ekadā asamāt[a]ṃ likhita[m] asa desaṃ va sachhāya [kā]raṇaṃ va
 6 [a]lochetpā lipikarāparadhena va

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king **Dēvānāṃ-priya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) And³ the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And some of this⁴ has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and)⁵ in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,⁶ or because (my) motive was not liked,⁷ or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

- 1 तेष
 2 पिपा
 1 , t[esha]⁸
 2 [p]i[p]ā⁹

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

. र्वस्वेतो हस्ति सर्वलोकसुखाहरो नाम
 rva-sveto¹⁰ hasti sarva-loka-sukhāharo nāma

¹ Read *vistatena*.

² The syllable *sa* was inserted subsequently.

³ The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Girnār reading would suit Senart's translation of *ghaṭitaṃ* by 'put together'.

⁴ The other versions suggest that *eta kaṃ* must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to *atra kiṃchit*. Cf. also *ata k[i]chhi* in the Kālsī version, E.

⁵ The particle *cha* is inserted at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

⁶ Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered *sachhāya* = *saṃkhyāyam*, and connected it with *kāraṇaṃ*; see ZDMG, 40. 142, and 48. 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = *saṃkṣāya* or *saṃkhyāya*.

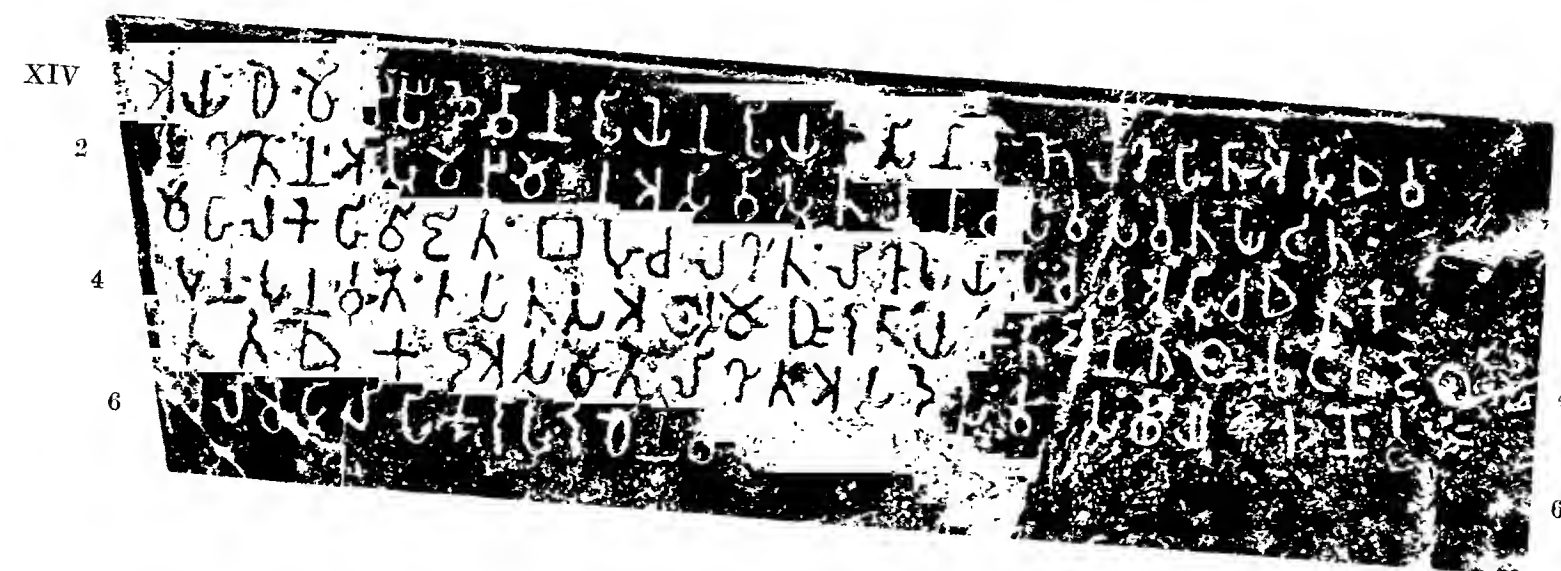
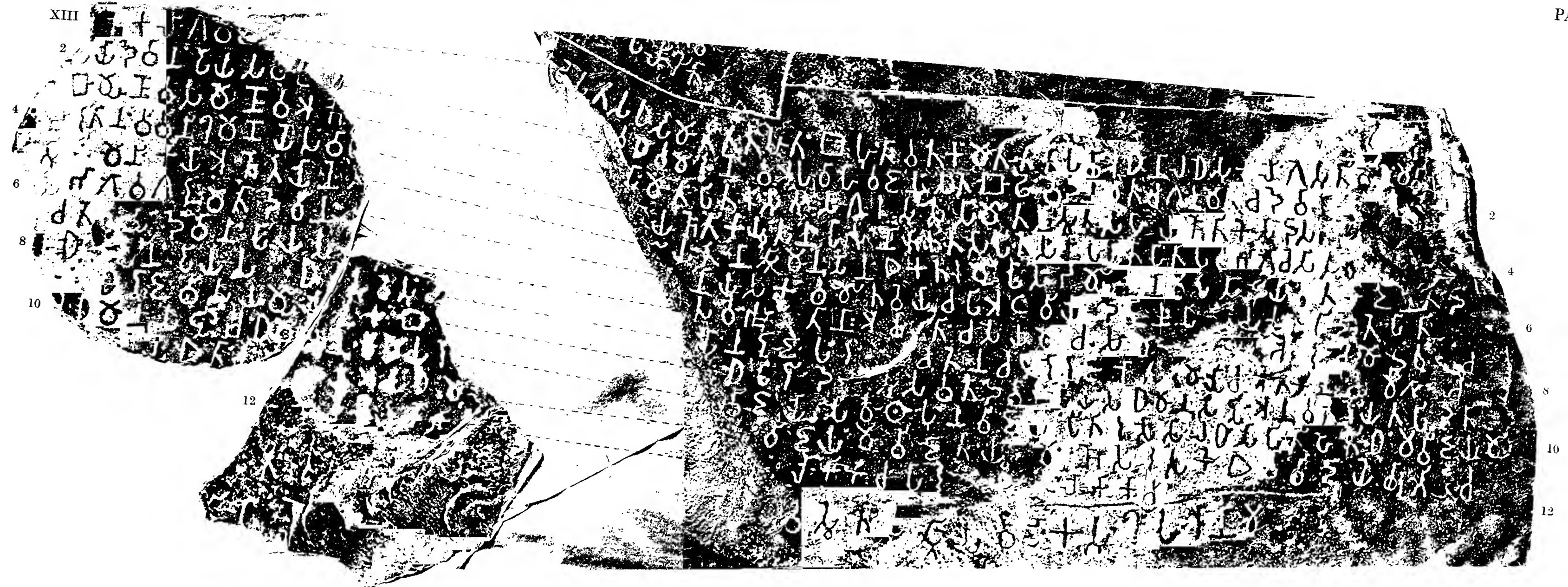
⁷ Senart translates: 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take *locheti* = Skt. *rōchayati*; see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁸ This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula *hētuṃ tēshāṃ Tathāgatō hy-avadat | tēshāṃ cha &c.*

⁹ Bühler (VOJ, 8. 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture *lipi[kareṇa*]*, which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.

¹⁰ Restore *sarva-*.

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: GIRNAR



TRANSLATION

..... the entirely white¹ elephant² bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

II. THE KALSI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

A.—East Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लेखिता (B) हिदा नो किच्छि जिवे आलभितु पजोहितविये
- 2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटविये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा दखति (E) अथि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने
- 3 (F) पुले महानससि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पातसहसानि अलंभियिसु सुपठाये (G) से इदानि यदा इयं धम्मलिपि लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि अलभियंति
- 4 दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नो ध्रुवे (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि नो अलाभियसंति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipi Devānaṃpiyenā Piyadas[i]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no³ kichhi jive ālabhitu pajohitaviye
- 2 (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahuk[ā] hi dosā samājasā Devān[am]piye Pi[ya]dasī lājā dakhati (E) athi pi ch[ā e]katiyā samājā⁴ sād[h]u-matā⁵ Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasis[ā] lājine
- 3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasisā lājin[ō]⁶ anudivasam bahuni pāta-sahasāni⁷ alambhiyisu⁸ supathāy[e] (G) se i[d]āni ya[dā] iyaṃ dhamma-lipi lekhitā tadā timni yevā pānāni alabhi[yaṃ]ti⁹
- 4 duve majūl[ā]¹⁰ eke mige se pi [chū]¹¹ mige no dhruve¹² (H) e[t]āni pi ch[u]¹³ tini pānā[n]i no alābhi[y]isa[m]ti¹⁴

¹ Cf. *sabbaseto* in Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *sabbo*.

² As stated by Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 44), Senart (*Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), the Gīrnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhāuli rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarh to Gīrnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

³ *nā* Bühler.

⁴ *sa[m]āja* Bühler.

⁵ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁶ *lājine* Bühler.

⁷ *sata-* Senart, *pāna-* Bühler; read *pāna-sata-*.

⁸ *ālabhi* Bühler.

⁹ *alābhi* Senart, *ālabhi* Bühler.

¹⁰ *majali* Senart, *majulā* Bühler.

¹¹ *ye* Senart, *cha* Bühler.

¹² *dhave* Senart, *dhuve* Bühler.

¹³ *cha* Bühler.

¹⁴ *ālābhi* Senart, *ālabhi* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सवता विजितसि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंबपनि

5 अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सवता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पसुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसधीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा अतता नथि

6 सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नथि सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेषु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं

4 (A) sav[a]tā vijitasi Devānāmpiyas[ā] Piyadasis[ā] lājine ye cha aṁtā [a]thā Chodā Paṁ[di]yā Sātiyaputo Ke[lala]puto Taṁba[pa]ṁni

5 Aṁtiyoge [n]āma Yona-lājā ye chā aṁne tas[ā] A]ṁtiyogasā sā[ma]ṁtā lā[j]āno [sa]vatā Devānāmpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā kaṭā manusa-chikisā chā pasu-chikisā chā (B) osadhīn[i]¹ manusopagāni chā pasopagāni chā² a[ta]tā n[a]th[i]

6 [sa]vatā [h]ālāpitā chā lo[p]āpit[ā] chā (C) [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā a[ta]t[ā] nathi savatā hālāp[i]tā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni³ lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munis[ā]naṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Sātiyaputa**, the

¹ *osadhāni* Senart and Bühler.

² There is a fissure in the rock here.

³ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

Kēlalaputa,¹ **Tāmraparṇī**, the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoga**, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoga**,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 6 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
 7 (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनपयिते (C) सवता विजितसि मम युता लजूके पादेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु एताये वा अठाये इमाय धंमनुसथिया यथा अंनाये पि कंमाये (D) साधु
 8 मातपितिसु सुसुसा मितसंयुतनातिक्यानं चा बंभनसमनानं चा साधु दाने पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च युतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता चा वियंजनते चा

- 6 (A) De[vā]naṃpiye Piyadasi lājā h[e]vaṃ āhā
 7 (B) du[v]āḍasa-v[a]sābhisitena me iyaṃ ānapayite (C) savatā vijitasi [mama] yutā laj[ū]k[e]² pādesike pa[m̐]cha[s]u paṃchasu vasesu [a]nusa[m̐]yānaṃ³ nikham[aṃ]tu etāye vā a[ṭh]āye imāya⁴ dhammanusathiyā yathā aṃ[nāye] pi kaṃmāye (D) sādhu
 8 mātā-pitisu sususā mita-saṃthuta-nātikyān[aṃ] chā baṃbhana-sama[nā]naṃ [chā] sādhu d[ā]ne pānānaṃ anālambh[e] sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā⁵ [a]pa-[bha]m[da]t[ā] sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutāni [ga]ṇanasi anap[a]yisaṃti hetuvatā chā viyaṃjanat[e] chā⁶

TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.
 (C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajūka*, (and) the *Prādēsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

¹ As the Kālsī dialect replaces *r* by *l*, this form is the correct equivalent of *Kēralaputra* at Mānsehrā.

² *lajaki* Senart, *lajuke* Bühler.

³ *anusiyānaṃ* Senart, *anus[a]yānaṃ* Bühler.

⁴ *athāye imāy[e]* Bühler.

⁵ The other versions read **yatā* or **yata*. There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁶ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas*¹ to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons² and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 9 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वधिते वा पानालंभे विहिंसा चा भुतानं
नातिना असंपटिपति समनबंभनानं असंपटिपति (B) से अजा देवानंपियसा
पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेना भेलिघोसे अहो धंमघोसे विमनदसना
- 10 हथिनि अगिकंधानि अनानि चा दिव्यानि लुपानि दसयितु जनस (C) आदिसा
बहुहि वससतेहि ना हुतपुलुवे तादिसे अजा वढिते देवानंपियसा पियदसिने
लाजिने धंमनुसथिये अनालंभे पानानं अविहिंसा भुतानं नातिनं
- 11 संपटिपति बंभनसमनानं संपटिपति मातापितिसु सुसुसा (D) एसे चा अने चा
बहुविधे धंमचलने वधिते (E) वधियिसति चेवा देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
इमं धंमचलनं (F) पुता च कं नताले चा पनातिक्या चा देवानंपियसा
पियदसिने लाजिने
- 12 पवढयिसंति चेव धंमचलनं इमं आवकपं धंसि सीलसि चा चिठितु धंमं
अनुसासिसंति (G) एसे हि सेठे कंमं अं धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचलने पि चा
नो होति असिलसा (I) से इमसा अथसा वधि अहिनि चा साधु (J) एताये
अथाये इयं लिखिते
- 13 इमसा अथसा वधि युजंतु हिनि च मा अलोचयिसु (K) दुवाडसवशाभिसितेना
देवानंपियेना पियदशिना लाजिना लेखिता

- 9 (A) atika[m]taṁ a[m]ta[la]ṁ bahunī vasa-satāni v[adh]it[e] vā pā[nā]lambhe
vi[h]isā chā bhutānaṁ nātinaṁ³ asaṁ[pa]ṭip[a]ti samana-b[am]bhanānaṁ
asam[pa]ṭipati (B) s[e] ajā Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine lājine dhamm[a]-
chal[an]enā bheli-ghose aho dhamma-ghose vimana-dasaṁ[ā]
- 10 [ha]thini agi-kandh[ā]ni amnāni chā⁴ divyāni lupāni dasayitu jana[sa] (C) [ā]disā⁵
ba[h]u[hī] v[asa]-[sa]tehi nā huta-puluve tādise ajā vadhite Devānaṁpiyasā
Piyadasine [l]ājine dhammanusathiye a[n]ālambhe pānānaṁ avihisā bhutānaṁ
nāti[nam]⁶

¹ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 993 ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in -āni. Cf. *yutāni* in E with *yutā* in C, and *Kaligyāni* in XIII, D, with *Kaligyā* in A; also XII, A, and *pulisāni* in the pillar-edict IV, G.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 108) explained *hetuvatā* by *hētumatā vākyēna*, i.e. 'by a syllogism'. The other versions read *hetuto* or *hetute*.

³ *nātinam* Bühler.

⁴ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁵ *ādisaṁ* Senart, *ādis[e]* Bühler.

⁶ *nātisaṁ* Senart, *nāti[su]* Bühler.

- 11 saṃpaṭipati baṃbha[na-sa]manānaṃ saṃpaṭipati mātā-pitisu sususā (D) ese¹ chā
amne chā ba[h]uvidhe dhamma-chalane vadh[i]te (E) vadhiyisati chevā
Devānāmpiy[e] Piyadasi lāja² ima[m] dha[m]ma-chalanaṃ (F) putā cha kaṃ
natāle chā panātikyā ch[ā] **Devānāmpiyasā Piyadasine lājine**
- 12 [pa]v[a]dhayisaṃt[i ch]ev[a] dhamma-chalanaṃ i[maṃ]³ āva-kapā[m] dhammasi
s[i]lasi⁴ chā chiṭhit[u] dhammaṃ anusāsisaṃti (G) ese hi seṭhe kaṃm[am] aṃ
dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-chalane pi chā no hoti āsilasā (I) se im[a]s[ā]
a]thasā v[a]dhi ahini chā sādhu (J) etāye [a]thāye iyaṃ likhite
- 13 imas[ā] a[tha]s[ā] vadhi yujaṃtu hini ch[a] mā alochayisu (K) **duv[ā]das[a]-**
vas[ā]bhisitenā Dev[ā]nāmp[i]yen[ā] Piyadaśinā lājinaṃ lekhitā⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

(D) Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons,⁶ grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve⁷ the neglect (of it).

(K) (This rescript) was caused to be written by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

¹ *esha* Bühler.

² *lāja* Bühler.

³ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁴ *sīlasi* Senart, *sīlasi* Bühler.

⁵ *lekhitam* Bühler.

⁶ The two syllables *cha kaṃ* seem to have the same meaning as the simple *cha*. They occur twice again at Kālsī (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Shāhbāzgarhī (IV, F), three times at Mānsehrā, and once at Brahmagiri (l. 11). Cf. *kaṃ* after *nū*, *sū*, *hī* in the *Rigveda*.

⁷ See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment *a-* is retained after the particle *mā*, while Shāhbāzgarhī has *lo[ch]e[sh]u* in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 13 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा अहा (B) कयाने दुकले। (C) ए आदिकले कयानसा
से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा
नताले चा
- 14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवटिसंति से सुकटं कळति
(F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पापे हि नामा सुपदालये
(H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामता नामा (I) तेदस-
वसाभिसितेना ममया धंममहामता कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु वियापटा
- 15 धंमाधिथानाये चा धंमवढिया हिदसुखाये वा धंमयुतसा योनकंबोजगंधालानं ए
वा पि अंने अपलंता (K) भटमयेसु बंभनिभेसु अनथेसु वुधेसु हिदसुखाये
धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा ते (L) बंधनबधसा पटिविधानाये
अपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एयं अनुबधा पजाव ति वा
- 16 कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते (M) हिदा बाहिलेसु चा
नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि अंने नातिके
सवता वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा दानसुयुते ति वा सवता
विजितसि ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धंममहामता (O) एताये अठाये
- 17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चिलथितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु
- 13 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā ahā (B) kayāne dukale,¹ (C) e ādikale
kay[ā]nasā se dukalaṃ kaleti (D) se mamayā bahu kayāne kaṭ[e] (E) t[ā]
ma]m[ā² putā] ch[ā] nat[āle chā]
- 14 palaṃ [chā] tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvaṭisa[m]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭaṃ
kachhaṃ[t]i (F) e chu het[ā] desaṃ pi hāpa[y]i[ṣat]i³ s[e] dukaṭaṃ kachhati
(G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā⁴ supadālaye (H) se atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no huta-puluva⁵
dhaṃ[ma]-mahāmātā⁶ nāmā⁷ (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā mamayā dhaṃma-
mahāmāt[ā] kaṭ[tā] (J) [te] sav[a]-pāsaṃ[de]su viyā[pa]tā
- 15 dhaṃ[m]ādhithā[nāye ch]ā dhaṃma-vaḍhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā⁸ dhaṃm[a]-yuta[sā]
Yona-Kaṃb[o]ja-Gaṃdhālānaṃ e vā [pi] aṃne apalaṃtā (K) bhaṭamayesu
baṃbhanibhesu anathesu [v]udhesu hida-sukhāye dhaṃma-yutāye apalibodhāye
viyapaṭā⁹ te (L) baṃdha[na-badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye
chā eyaṃ anubadh[ā]¹⁰ pajāva ti v[ā]
- 16 [kaṭābhikā]le ti vā m[ah]ā[la]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā te (M) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā
naga[l]esu s[a]ves[u] olodha[n]esu bhā[tina]ṃ cha ne bh[agi]nī[nā] e vā [pi]
aṃn[e] nātikye savatā viyā[pa]tā (N) e iyaṃ dhaṃma-nisite ti vā dāna-suyute¹¹

¹ Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.

² mama Bühler.

³ samti Bühler.

⁴ nāma Senart and Bühler.

⁵ -puluva Senart and Bühler.

⁶ -mahāmātā Senart and Bühler.

⁷ nāma Bühler.

⁸ vi Senart, chā Bühler.

⁹ viyāpaṭā Bühler.

¹⁰ anubandha Senart, anubadha[Bühler].

¹¹ -sayute Senart, -samute Bühler.

ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]jitas[i] mamā [dha]mma-yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhamma-
m[a]hām[a]tā¹ (O) etāye aṭhāye

17 [i]yaṁ dhamma-lipi lekhitā chi[la]-thitikyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu²

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks (thus).

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin indeed steps fast.³

(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness⁴ of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhālas**,⁵ and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,⁶ with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,⁷ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).⁸

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.⁹

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here¹⁰ and in all the outlying towns, in the harems¹¹ of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

¹ °mātā Senart and Bühler.

² anuvatanitu Senart and Bühler.

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained *supadālaye* (for which Mānsehrā reads *supadarave*) by *supradāryam*. Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī read instead of it *sukaram*, 'easily committed'. Perhaps *padālaya* is formed from *pada*, 'a step', as *mahālaka* (l. 16) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* from *mahat*.

⁴ Here and in K the Dhauḷi version reads *kita-* instead of *hida-*.

⁵ Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.

⁶ i. e. Vaiśyas; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauḷi and Mānsehrā versions, *ibhiya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī is meant for *ibbha*. The same follows from the *Jātaka*, No. 544, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12. 76), the compound *brāhmaṇ-ibbhā* occurs several times.

⁷ The reading *dhamma-yutāye* seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Gīrnār version, *dhamma-yutānam*.

⁸ According to Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, *palibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Gīrnār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.

⁹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took *eyam anubadhā* = Skt. *etam anubandham* in the sense of *etad-artham*. But *eyam* may stand for *e ayam* (cf. *e iyam* in section N = *yo ayam* at Gīrnār), and *anubadhā* for the ablative *anubandhāt*, 'in succession, respectively'.

¹⁰ Instead of 'here' the Gīrnār version reads 'both in Pāṭaliputra'.

¹¹ The Dhauḷi version inserts 'of myself'.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions¹ with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality² or properly devoted to charity.³

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants⁴ may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे
सवं कलं अठकंमे वा पटिवेदना वा (C) से ममया हेवं कटे (D) सवं कालं
अदमानसा मे
- 18 ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अठं
जनसा वेदेतु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अठं कछामि हकं (F) यं पि
चा किछि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना
महामतेहि
- 19 अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निरुति वा संतं पलिसाये
अनंतलियेना पटि विये मे सवता सवं कालं (G) हेवं आनपयिते
ममया (H) नथि हि मे दोसे उठानसा अठसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते
हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उठाने
- 20 अठसंतिलना चा (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेना (L) यं च किछि
पलकमामि हकं किति भुतानं अननियं येहं हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत
चा स्वगं आलाधयितु (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलिपि लेखिता चिल-
ठितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमातु सवलोकहिताये
- 21 (N) दुकले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना
- 17 (A) Dev[ā]nāmpi[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no
huta-puluv[e] sav[a]ṃ kalam⁵ aṭha-k[am]me [v]ā [paṭ]i[veda]nā vā (C) s[e]
ma[may]ā hevaṃ kaṭe (D) s[a]vaṃ kalam adamānas[ā]⁶ me
- 18 olodhanasi gabhāgālas[i] va[chas]i vin[itasi u]y[ānasi sava]t[ā paṭive]dakā aṭha[m]
janasā vedetu⁷ [m]e (E) sa[va]tā [ch]ā⁸ ja[nas]ā aṭhaṃ kachhāmi hakaṃ
(F) yaṃ pi ch[ā] k[i]chhi m[u]kha[t]e ānapayā[mi] [ha]kaṃ dā[pakaṃ] v[ā]
sāvakaṃ] vā ye vā punā mahāmat[e]hi⁹

¹ The Dhauī version reads 'on the whole earth'.

² Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

³ In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of *dāna-suyute* the Mānsehrā version reads *dāna-saṃyute*, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras*; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD.

⁴ See Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 841 f.

⁵ *kalam* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *adam[a]nasā* Bühler.

⁷ Restore *paṭivedantu*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁸ Senart and Bühler omit *chā*.

⁹ *mātehi* Bühler.

- 19 a[tiyāyike ālopite¹ h]o[t]i tā[yeth]ā[ye] vivāde n[i]jhati v[ā] saṁtaṁ palis[ā]ye
 anam[ta]l[i]yenā paṭ[i] viye² me sav[a]t[ā] savaṁ kalam (G) hevaṁ
 ānapayite m[a]mayā (H) nathi hi me dose³ uṭhān[a]sā aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye chā
 (I) kaṭ[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[asā] ch[ā]⁴ [p]u[n]ā es[e] mule
 uṭh[āne]
- 20 [a]ṭha-saṁtilanā chā (K) [na]thi hi kaṁ[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha
 kichhi⁵ palakamāmi hakaṁ kiti bhutānaṁ [a]naniyaṁ ye[haṁ hi]da cha [kā]ni
 sukhāyāmi palata chā svagaṁ ālādhayitu⁶ (M) s[e] etā[y]eṭhāye iyaṁ dhama-lipi
 lekhitā chila-ṭhitiyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[ye]
- 21 (N) dukale ch[u]⁷ iyaṁ anat[ā]⁸ agenā palakam[e]nā

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānaṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.
 (C) But I have made the following (arrangement).
 (D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.
 (E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.
 (F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises,⁹ or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.
 (G) Thus I have ordered.
 (H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.
 (I) For I consider it my duty¹⁰ (to promote) the welfare of all men.
 (J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.
 (K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.¹¹
 (L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them¹² happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

¹ °pitam Bühler.² Restore *paṭivedetaviye*.³ Jaugaḍa reads *tose*; Bühler adds *va*.⁴ Bühler omits *chā*.⁵ *kichi* Bühler.⁶ Read *ālādhayaṁtu*.⁷ *cha* Senart and Bühler.⁸ *anmata* Senart, *anata* Bühler.⁹ The form *saṁtaṁ* corresponds to *saṁto* at Gīrnār, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālsī edict VIII, C, and as *kalamtaṁ* in XII, H; see also *kala[mta]*, XI, E, and *kalata*, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḷī separate edict I, X.¹⁰ *muta* for *mata* occurs also in the Kālsī edict XIII, E (*vedaniya-mute gulu-mute chā*). The change of *a* to *u* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uchāvucha* (Kālsī, VII, C, and IX, B) for *uchāvacha* (Gīrnār).¹¹ For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3.¹² As *kāni* corresponds to *nāni* at Gīrnār, and to *sha* or *she* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, H and M; V, C; VI, C; and VII, H. The singular *kaṁ* occurs in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I C, and II, C.

(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives¹ may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

21 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इच्छति सवपासंड वसेवु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इच्छति (C) जने चु उचावुचाछंदे उचावुचलागे (D) ते सवं एकदेसं पि कच्छति (E) विपुले पि चु दाने असा नथि

22 सयमे भावसुधि किटनाता दिढभतिता चा निचे बाढं

21 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā [savat]ā [i]chhati sava-[pāsa]ṃḍa vas[e]vu (B) [sa]ve hi te sayama[m] bhāva-sudhi chā ichhamti (C) jane [ch]u uchāvuchā-chh[a]ṃde uchāvucha-lā[g]e (D) te savaṃ eka-des[a]ṃ pi k[a]chham[t]i (E) vipule pi chu dān[e]² asā nathi

22 sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kiṭanāt[ā]³ d[ī]ḍha-bhatitā chā ni[che] bāḍham

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
 (B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
 (C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.
 (D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).
 (E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

22 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अन्नानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिथा संबोधि

23 (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने चा दाने च बुधानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमनुसथि चा धम-पलिपुछा चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुये लाति होति देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने भागे अंने

22 (A) atikaṃtaṃ a[m]talaṃ Devānaṃpiyā [vihāla-yātaṃ nāma] nikhamisu (B) hidā migaviyā amnāni chā heḍisānā⁴ abhilāmān[i] husu (C) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā das[a]-vasābhisite saṃtaṃ nikhamithā⁵ Saṃbodhi

23 (D) tenatā dhamma-yātā (E) [h]etā iyaṃ hoti samana-baṃbhanānaṃ dasane chā

¹ The other versions render it probable that -dāle is a clerical mistake for -natāle, 'grandsons'.

² dān[am] Bühler.

³ Read *natā.

⁴ Read *sāni, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *mithā Senart and Bühler.

dāne cha vudh[ā]nam dasa[n]e ch[a] hilaṃna-paṭi[v]idhāne chā [jā]napadasā
[ja]n[a]sā das[a]ne dhammanusathi chā dhama-palipuchhā chā¹ tatopa[yā]
(F) [e]se bh[u]ye lāti² hoti Devānāmpiyasā Piyadas[i]sā lājine bh[ā]g[e] amne

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devānāmpriyas*³ used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
(C) When king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years,⁴ he went out to *Sambōdhi*.
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.⁵
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 24 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा आहा (B) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आबाधसि
अवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाने पवाससि एताये अंताये चा एदिसाये जने
बहु मंगलं कलेति (C) हेतु च अवकजनियो बहु चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा
निलयिया चा मंगलं कलंति.
25 (D) से कटवि चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले च खो एसे (F) इयं च खो महाफले
ये धम्ममंगले (G) हेता इयं दासभटकसि सम्यापटिपति गुलुना अपचिति
पानानं संयमे समनबंभनानं दाने एसे अंने चा हेडिसे । धम्ममंगले नामा
(H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित-
संयुतेना अव पटिवेसियेना पि
26 इयं साधु इयं कटविये मंगले आव तसा अथसा निवुतिया इमं कळामि ति
(I) ए हि इतले मंगले संसयिके से (J) सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना
नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुना धम्ममंगले अकालिके (M) हंचे
पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पलत अनंतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुन तं
अठं निवतेति हिदा ततो उभयेसं
27 लधे होति हिद चा से अठे पलत चा अनंतं पुना पवसति तेना धम्ममंगलेना

¹ cha Bühler.² Read lāti.³ Instead of this title of Aśoka's predecessors the Gīrnār and Dhāuli versions have the word 'kings'.⁴ For the form *saṃtām* see above, p. 35, n. 9.⁵ viz. 'in my territory'; cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The Gīrnār version reads *tenesā*, but Shāh-bāzgarhī and Mānsehrā read *tenada*, which seems to stand for *tenatā*. Therefore Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining *tenatā* at Kālsī and Dhāuli by *tena atā*.

- 24 (A) **Devānāmpīye** Piy[a]da[s]i lā[jā] āhā (B) jan[e] uch[āv]ucham maṅgalaṁ ka[l]eti ābādhasi av[āha]si vivāhasi pajopadāne¹ pavāsasi e[tā]ye aṁnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magala[m] k[a]leti (C) heta [ch]u abaka-jani[yo] bahu chā bahuvidham chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā² chā magalaṁ ka[la]m̐ti
- 25 (D) se kaṭavi³ cheva kho maṅgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u⁴ kho [e]s[e] (F) [i]yaṁ chu kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le ye dhamma-magale (G) he[tā] iyaṁ dāsa-bhaṭakasi s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti⁵ gulunā apachiti [p]hā[n]ān[am] saṁyame⁶ s[a]man[a]-bambhanānaṁ dāne ese aṁne chā heḍise⁷ dhamma-magale nāmā (H) se vata[v]iye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ā]tinā pi suvāmiken[a]⁸ pi mita-saṁthuten[ā]⁹ ava⁹ paṭivesiyenā [p]i
- 26 iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [ma]g[a]le āva [ta]sā athasā ni[v]utiyaṁ imaṁ kachhāmi ti¹⁰ (I) e hi i[ta]le¹¹ magale sa[m]sayikyē se¹² (J) siyā va taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se¹³ (L) iyaṁ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e] (M) haṁche pi taṁ aṭhaṁ¹⁴ no niṭeti¹⁵ hida aṭhaṁ¹⁶ palata anantaṁ punā pavasati¹⁷ (N) haṁche puna¹⁸ taṁ aṭhaṁ nivateti hidā¹⁹ tato ubhaye[sa]m̐
- 27 ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata²⁰ chā anantaṁ punā²¹ pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,²² (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives²³ are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This

¹ This word cannot be correct, because in the Kālsī dialect the locative of *upadāna* would end in *-asi*. Read therefore (with Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa) *°dāye*, which is the actual reading of Senart and Bühler.

² *nilathiyam* Senart, *nilathiyām* Bühler.

³ Read *kaṭaviye*.

⁴ *vu* Bühler.

⁵ *-paṭipāti* Bühler.

⁶ *sāyamme* Senart, *sayame* Bühler.

⁷ Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühler read *taṁ*.

⁸ *°ken[ā]* Bühler.

⁹ *āva* Bühler.

¹⁰ *ka[tha]m̐ti* Bühler.

¹¹ *ivale* Bühler.

¹² Bühler adds [*hoti*].

¹³ *cha vase* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁴ *athaṁ* Bühler.

¹⁵ Read, as at Mānsehrā, *nivaṭeti*.

¹⁶ Read (with Shāhbāzgarhī) *atha*.

¹⁷ Read *puṁnam̐ pasavati*.

¹⁸ *sukā* Senart, *punā* Bühler.

¹⁹ *hida* Senart and Bühler.

²⁰ *°tā* Senart and Bühler.

²¹ Read *puṁnam̐*, which is Bühler's reading.

²² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 431 f.) derived the locative *upadāye* from a supposed Skt. feminine **utpad*. Shāhbāzgarhī reads *upadane*, which either corresponds to Skt. *utpādanē*, or is a mistake for the Mānsehrā reading, *upadaye*.

²³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating ‘nurses and mothers’. Cf. *ambika-mādukehiṁ* in the *Mṛichchhakatika*, act VIII, verse 19.

practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking):¹ I shall observe this '.

(I) For other² ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).³

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain⁴ of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 27 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषा लजा यषो वा किति वा नो महथावा मनति अनता
यं पि यसो वा किति वा इच्छति तदत्वाये अयतिये चा जने धंमसुसुषा सुसुषातु
मे ति धंमवतं वा अनुविधियंतु ति (B) धतकाये देवानंपिये पियदसि
- 28 लाजा यषो वा किति वा इच्छ (C) अं चा किछि लकमति देवनंपिये पियदषि
लजा त षव पालंतिकाये वा किति सकले अपपलाषवे षियाति ति
(D) एषे चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (E) दुकले चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेना उषुटेन
वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना षवं पलितिदितु (F) हेत चु खो

29 उषटेन वा दुकले

- 27 (A) Devā[nam]piye Piy[a]dashā⁵ lajā⁶ y[a]sho vā kiti vā no [ma]hathāvā⁷
manati an[a]tā [ya]m pi yaso vā ki[t]i vā ichh[at]i tadatvāye ayatiye chā jane
dhamma-susushā susushātu me ti dhamma-vataṁ vā anuvi[dh]iya[m]tu⁸ ti
(B) dhata[k]āye⁹ Devāna[m]piye Piyadasi
- 28 lājā yasho vā kiti vā ichha¹⁰ (C) am ch[ā] kichhi lakamati¹¹ Devanampiye¹²
Piyadashi lajā ta [sha]va¹³ pālaṁtikyāye¹⁴ vā kiti sakale apa-p[a]lāshave¹⁵
shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune¹⁶ (E) dukale chu kho eshe
khudakena vā vagenā¹⁷ ushūṭena vā ana[ta] agen[ā pa]lakamenā shava[m]
palitiditu (F) [h]e[ta chu] kho
- 29 [u]shaṭe[na] vā dukale

¹ From this word to the end of the edict the Kālsī version differs completely from the Gīrnār one. Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa agree with Gīrnār, but the two Kharōshthī versions with Kālsī.

² i[ta]le is the regular equivalent of [i]tare at Mānsehrā. Shāhbāzgarhī reads however etake.

³ The words palata anamtaṁ puṁnam pasavati occur again in N, and in the Kālsī edict XI, E. In these two cases pasavati is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to bhavati in the Gīrnār version. Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 580) was therefore right in explaining it by pasavati = Sanskrit prasāvyatē.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 19, n. 16.

⁵ Read Piyadashi.

⁶ lāja Senart, lājā Bühler.

⁷ The Gīrnār version reads mahāthāvah[ā].

⁸ yāta Senart, yatu Bühler.

⁹ Read etakāye, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

¹⁰ Read ichhati.

¹¹ Read palakamati.

¹² Devānam Senart and Bühler.

¹³ savam Senart, shavam Bühler.

¹⁴ pāliti Senart, pāliti Bühler.

¹⁵ Read -palishave.

¹⁶ The syllable ne was entered subsequently; apunne Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ vagenā Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is desiring glory and fame.

(C) And whatever effort king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.¹

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person² or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 29 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषि लाजा हेवं हा (B) नथि हेडिषे दाने अदिष धंमदाने । धमषविभगे । धंमषंबधे । (C) तत एषे दाषभटकषि । षम्यापटिपति माता-पितिषु । षुषुषा । मितषंथुतनातिक्यानं समनाबंभनाना दाने
30 पानानं अनालंभे (D) एषे वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि षवामिक्येन पि मितशंथुताना अवा पटिवेषियेना इयं षाधु इयं कटविये (E) शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिक्ये च कं आलधे होति पलत चा अनत पुना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना

- 29 (A) *Devānaṃp[i]ye Piyadashi* [I]ājā hevaṃ hā³ (B) *nathi h[e]ḍiṣhe dāne adisha*⁴ dha[m]ma-dāne | dhama-shav[i]bhage⁵ | dhamma-shambadh[e] | (C) *ta[ta] eshe dāsha-bhaṭakashi | shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu | shushushā | mita-shaṃthuta-nātikyānaṃ samanā-[ba]mbhanānā*⁶ [dā]ne
30 *pānānaṃ anāl[aṃ]bhe* (D) *eshe vatav[i]ye pi[t]inā pi pute[na]*⁷ *pi bhā[t]inā pi sh[a]vām[i]kyena*⁸ *pi mita-śaṃthutānā*⁹ *avā p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā]*¹⁰ *iy[a]ṃ shādhu*¹¹ *iyam kaṭaviye* (E) [ś]e tathā kala[m]ta hidalakikye cha kaṃ āladhe hoti palata ch[ā]¹² anata¹³ punā¹⁴ paśavati tenā dhamma-dānenā

¹ The form *shiyāti* occurs again in the Kālsī edict XII, B, where it is spelt *śiyāti*. Cf. also *śiyati* in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XII, L, and in the Mānsehrā edict X, C.

² In Sanskrit the word *varga* means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions it corresponds to *jana*, 'a person', at Gīrnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhāuli (K) reads *jane*, and Jaugada (L) [va]ge. See also *hedisameva vagam*, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhāuli.

³ Read *āhā*.

⁴ *yādisam* Senart, [ā]disham Bühler.

⁵ *dhamma-shaṃvibhage* Bühler.

⁶ *samana-* and *nānam* Bühler.

⁷ *pute* Senart and Bühler; the syllable *na* seems to be entered below the line.

⁸ Read *shuvāmī*.

⁹ The *ta* of *mita-* stands below the line; read *tenā*.

¹⁰ *paṭivesi* Bühler.

¹¹ *sādhu* Bühler.

¹² *cha* Senart and Bühler.

¹³ *anātanaṃ* Senart, *anārita* Bühler.

¹⁴ *puṇnā* Bühler; read *anāntam puṇnān*.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say :—‘ This is meritorious. This ought to be done ’.

(E) If one is acting thus,¹ (happiness) in this world is attained,² and endless merit is produced³ in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

30 (A) देवानापिये पियदधि

31 लाजा षावापाषंडानि पवजितानि गहथानि वा पुजेति दानेन विविधये च ।
पुजाये (B) नो चु तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानंपिये मनति अथा कित
शालावढि शियाति शवपाशडान (C) शालावढि ना बहुविधा (D) तश् चु
इनं मुले अ वचगुति किति ति अतपशड वा पुजा वा पलपाशडंगलहा व
नो शया

32 अपकलनशि लहंका वा शिया तगि तशि पकलनशि (E) पुजेतविय चु
पलपाशडा तेन तेन अकालन (F) हेव कलत अतपाशडा बढं वढियति
पलपाशड पि वा उपकलेति (G) तदा अनथ कलत अतपाशड च छनति
पलपाशड पि वा अपकलेति (H) ये हि केछ अतपाशड पुनाति

33 पलपाशड वा । गलहति । षवे अतपाशडभतिया वा किति । अतपाशड । दिपयेम
षे च पुना तथा । कलंतं । बाढतले । उपहंति । अतपाशडषि । (I) षमवाये वु
षाधु किति । अंनमनषा धंमं । पुनेयु चा । पुषुषेयु चा ति । (J) हेवं हि
देवानंपियषा इछा किंति

34 सवपाशड । बहुषुता चा कयानागा च । हुवेयु ति । (K) ए च तत तत । पषंना ।
तेहि वतविये । (L) देवानापिये नो तथा । दानं वा । पुजा वा । मंनति ।
अथा किति षालावढि शिया । षवपाशडतिं । (M) बहुका चा । एतायाठाये ।
वियापटा । धंममहामाता । इथियिखमहामाता । वचभुमिक्या । अने वा
निक्याया

35 (N) इयं च एतिषा । फले । यं अतपाशडवढि चा । होति धंमष चा दिपना ।

¹ For the form *kalamtām* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

² For *cha kam* see above, p. 31, n. 6.

³ See above, p. 39, n. 3.

30 (A) [D]evānāpiye [P]iyadash[i]

- 31 **lājā** shāvā-pāsham[ḍān]i¹ pav[a]jitā[n]i gahathāni vā pūjeti dānena vividh[aye]² cha³ pūj[ā]ye (B) n[o] ch[u] tathā dāne vā pūjā vā **Devāna[m]piye** m[a]nati athā k[i]ta⁴ ś[ā]lā-v[a]dhi⁵ śiyāti ś[a]va-pāśaḍāna⁶ (C) śālā-vaḍhi⁷ nā⁸ bahuvidhā⁹ (D) taśa chu inam¹⁰ mule a va[cha]-guti kiti t[i]¹¹ ata-pāśaḍa-¹² [v]ā¹³ pūjā vā pala-pāśamḍa-galahā va¹⁴ no [śa]yā¹⁵
- 32 ap[a]k[a]l[a]naś[i] lahakā¹⁶ vā śiyā [ta]gi¹⁷ taśi pakalan[a]ś[i] (E) pūjetav[i]ya chu p[a]la-pā[śa]ḍā tena tena akālana¹⁸ (F) heva¹⁹ kalata ata-pāśaḍā²⁰ bādham²¹ vaḍhiyati pala-pāśaḍa pi²² vā upakaleti (G) tadā²³ anatha²⁴ kalata ata-pāśaḍa cha chhanati pala-pāśaḍa²⁵ pi vā apakaleti (H) ye [h]i kechha [a]ta-pāśaḍa punāti²⁶
- 33 pala-pāśaḍa vā | ga[la]hati | shave ata-pāsham[ḍa]-bhatiyā vā kiti | ata-pāshamḍa²⁷ | [d]ipayema she cha punā tathā | kalamtaṁ | bādhatale | up[a]hamt[i] | ata-pāshamḍashi | (I) shamavāye²⁸ vu²⁹ shādhū kiti | amnamanashā dhammaṁ | shune[y]u chā | shushusheyu chā ti | (J) hevaṁ hi **Devānāmpiyashā** ichhā kintī³⁰
- 34 sava-pāshamḍa | baha-shutā³¹ chā kayānāgā³² cha | huveyu ti | (K) e [cha]³³ tata t[a]t[a]³⁴ | p[a]sh[am]nā³⁵ | te[hi] va[taviye] | (L) **Devānāpiye** no tathā | dānam vā | pūjā vā | mamnat[i] | athā kiti sh[ā]lā-v[a]dhi³⁶ śiyā | shava-pāshamḍatiṁ³⁷ |

¹ Read *shava-*; *shavā pāshamḍani* Bühler.² *vividhaya* Senart, *vividhena* Bühler.³ Bühler omits this sign.⁴ Read *kiti*.⁵ *śāla-* Senart and Bühler.⁶ The syllable *na* (*nam* Bühler) was inserted subsequently.⁷ *śāla-* Bühler.⁸ The other versions read *tu*.⁹ The syllable *vi* was inserted subsequently.¹⁰ Read *iyam*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.¹¹ *ta* Senart and Bühler.¹² The syllable *ta* of *ata-* is entered above the line; *-pāśaḍa* Senart, *-pāśamḍe* Bühler.¹³ Cancel *vā*.¹⁴ The words *pala-pāśamḍa-galahā va* are entered above the line; below them the words *ti apaśalahā vā* are struck out.¹⁵ Read *śiyā*.¹⁶ Read *lahukā*.¹⁷ Read *taśi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.¹⁸ Read *ākālana*.¹⁹ *hevaṁ* Senart and Bühler.²⁰ *-pāśaḍā* Bühler.²¹ *bādham* Senart and Bühler.²² *pi* is entered above the line.²³ The syllable *dā* is entered above the line.²⁴ *anathā* Bühler; read *tad-anatha*.²⁵ The syllable *pā* is entered above the line; *-pāśaḍa* Bühler.²⁶ *pūyāti* Senart, *punati* Bühler; read probably *pūjeti*.²⁷ One feels tempted to read *-pāśamḍam*. But the point after *ḍa* stands much lower than an Anusvāra, and a similar point occurs quite below the *ḍa* in three other cases: *ata-pāśaḍa* in G, *sava-pāshamḍa* in J, and *shava-pāshamḍatiṁ* in L.²⁸ *sama* Bühler.²⁹ Read *chu*; *va* Senart and Bühler.³⁰ *kiti* Bühler.³¹ Read *bahu-*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.³² Read *°nāgamā*.³³ *va* Senart and Bühler.³⁴ *tatā* Senart and Bühler.³⁵ *pashamḍa* Bühler.³⁶ *śāla-* Bühler.³⁷ Read *°dānam ti*.

(M) bahukā ch[ā] | etāyāṭhāye | viyāpaṭā | dha[m]ma-mahāmātā | ithidhiyakha-
mahāmātā | vacha-bh[u]mikyā | ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā]¹

35 (N) iyaṁ cha etishā | phale | yaṁ ata-pāshaṁḍa-vaḍhi chā | hoti dhammasha² chā
dipanā |

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is honouring all sects: ascetics or householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.³

(C) This⁴ promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus,⁵ he is promoting his own sect considerably and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) But concord is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of *Dēvānāmpriya*, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, or other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

35 (A) अठवषा- । भिषित- । षा देवानंपियष पियदषिने । लाजिने । कलिग्या
विजिता । (B) दियदमिने । पानषतषहसे । ये तप्पा अपवुडे । शतषहषमिने ।
तत हते । बहुतावतके । वा मटे (C) ततो पछा । अधुना लधष । कलिग्येषु ।
तिवे । धंमवाये

¹ *nikāye* Senart, *nikā[yā]* Bühler.

³ For *śīyāti* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

⁵ For the form *kalamān* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

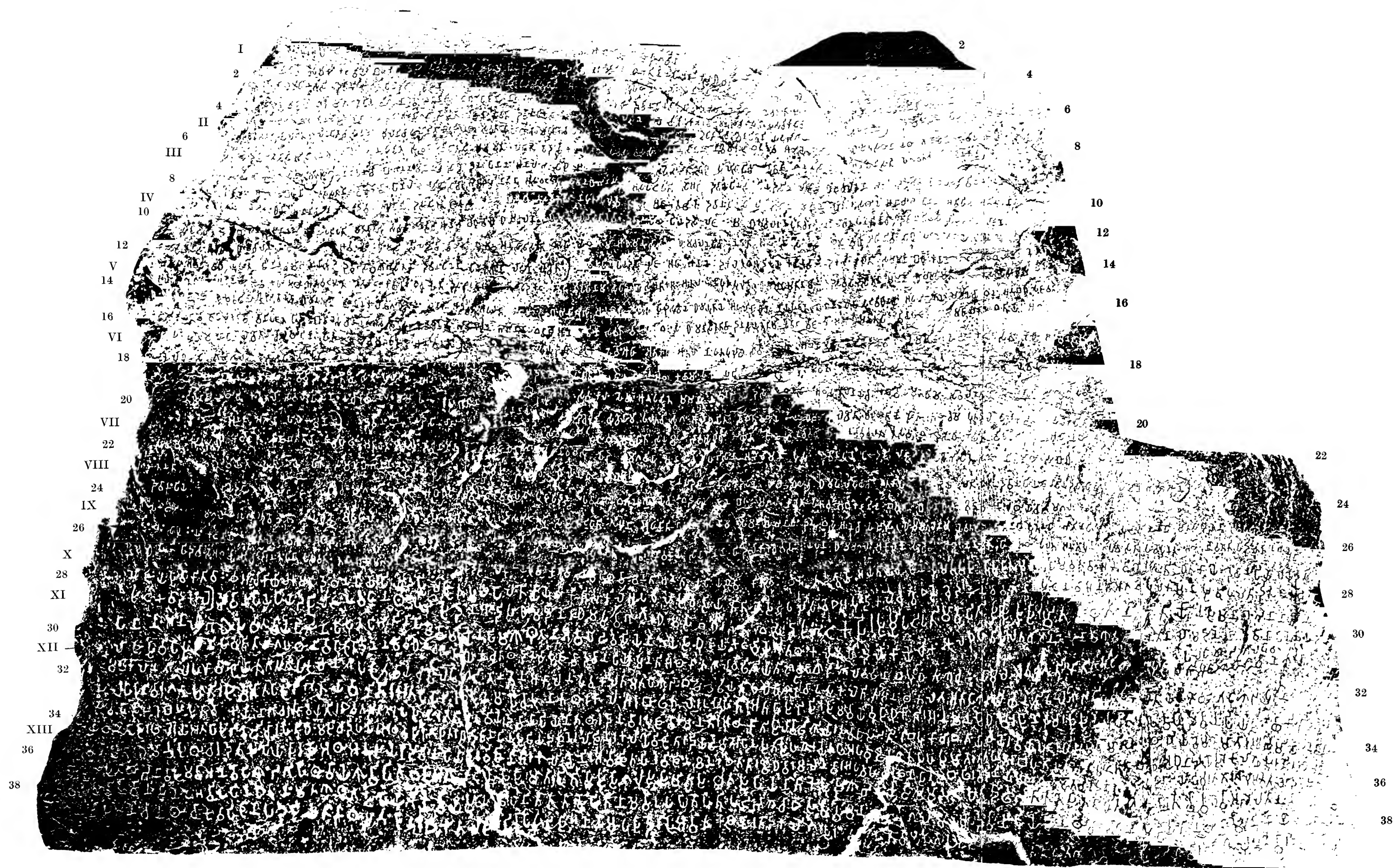
² *dhamasha* Bühler.

⁴ For the pronoun *nā* see above, p. 13, n. 5.

- 36 धंमकामता । धंमानुषधि चा । देवानंपियषा । (D) षे अथि अनुषये । देवानं-
पियषा । विजिनितु । कलिग्यानि । (E) अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । ए
तता । वध वा । मलने वा । अपवहे वा । जनषा । षे बाढ । वेदनियमुते ।
गुलुमुते चा । देवानंपियषा । (F) इयं पि चु । ततो । गलुमततले ।
देवानंपियषा
- 37 (G) य तता वषति बाभना व षम वा अने वा पाशंड गिहिथा वा येषु विहिता
एष अगभुतिषुषुषा मातापितिषुषुषा गलुषुषा मितषंथुतषहायनातिकेषु
दाशभटकषि षम्यापटिपति दिढभतिता तेषं तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा
अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने
- 38 (H) येषं वा पि षुविहितानं षिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितषंथुतषहायनातिक्य
वियषनं पापुनात तता षे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पटिभागे चा
एष षवमनुषानं गुलुमुते चा देवानंपियषा (J) नथि चा षे जनपदे यता
नथि इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु
- 39 बंसने चा षमने चा नथि चा कुवापि जनपदषि यता नथि मनुषान । एकतलषि
पि । पाषडषि । नो नाम पषादे । (K) षे अवतके जने । तदा कलिंगेषु ।
लधेषु हते चा मटे चा । अपवुढे चा । ततो षते भागे वा । षहषभागे वा ।
अज गुलुमुते वा । देवानंपियषा

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1
2
3 नेयु (O) इछ
4 षवभु षयम षमचलियं मदव ति (P) इयं वु मु
5 देवानंपियेषा ये धंमविजये (Q) षे च पुना लधे देवानंपि च
6 षवेषु च अतेषु अ षषु पि योजनषतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला .. पलं
चा तेना
7 अंतियोगेना चतालि ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अतेकिने नाम मका ना-
8 म अलिक्यषुदले नाम निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंबपंनिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा
9 हिदा लाजविश्वषि योनकंबोजेषु नाभकनाभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिक्केषु
10 अधपालदेषु षवता देवानंपियषा धंमानुषधि अनुवतंति (S) यत पि दुता
11 देवानंपियसा नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनंय धंमवुतं विधनं
12 धंमानुसधि धंमं अनुविधियंअ अनुविधियिसंअ चा (T) ये से लधे
13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिलसे से (U) गधा सा होति पिति पिति
धंमविजय-



14 षि (V) लहुका वु खो सा पिति (W) पालंतिक्यमेवे महफला मंनंति देवेनंपिने
 15 (X) एताये चा अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता किति पुता पपोता मे अमु
 16 नवं विजय म विजयतविय मनिषु षयकषि नो विजयषि खंति चा ल । हु-
 17 दंडता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु ये धंमविजये (Y) षे हिदल्लोकिक्य
 पललो-

18 किये (Z) षवा च क निलति होतु उयामलति (AA) षा हि हिदल्लोकिक
 पलल्लोकिक्या

35 (A) aṭha-[va]shā-¹ | bhishita-¹ | shā [De]vānaṃpiyasha Piyadashine | lājine |
 Kaligyā vijitā | (B) diyadha-mite² | pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e | ye [ta]phā apavudhe |
 śa[ta]-[sha]hasha-mite³ | tata hate | bahu-tāvatake⁴ | vā maṭe (C) tat[o⁵ pa]chhā |
 adhunā ladhesha⁶ | Kaligyeshu | tive | dhamma[vāy]e

36 dhamma-k[ā]matā | dhammānushathī chā | Devānaṃpiyashā | (D) sh[e] athi
 anushaye | Devānaṃpiya[sh]ā | vijin[i]tu⁷ | Kaligyāni | (E) avijitān hi |
 vijinamane | e tatā | vadha⁸ vā | malane vā | apavahe [vā] | jan[a]shā | [sh]e
 bādha | vedaniya-mute | g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā | Devāna[m]piyashā | (F) iyaṃ pi
 chu | tato | galu-matatale | D[e]vānaṃpiyashā⁹

37 (G) [ya] tatā¹⁰ vashati b[ā]bhanā¹¹ va shama¹² vā ane vā pāsāṇḍa gih[i]thā vā
 yeṣu vihitā[e]sh[a]a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā¹³ m[ā]tā-piti-shushushā¹⁴ galu-shushā¹⁵
 mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāśa-bha[ṭa]kash[i]¹⁶ sha[m]yā-paṭipati diḍha-
 bhatitā tesham tatā hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abhilatānaṃ vā vinikhamane

38 (H) yesham vā pi shuvihi[t]ānaṃ¹⁷ shinehe avipahine e tānaṃ mita-śamth[u]ta-
 sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya¹⁸ viyashanaṃ¹⁹ pāpunāta²⁰ tatā²¹ she [p]i t[ā]namev[ā]²²
 upaghāt[e] hoti (I) paṭibhāge chā esh[a] sh[a]va-manu[shāna]m gul[u]-m[a]te
 chā Devāna[m]piyashā (J) n[a]thi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathi ime nikāyā
 ānatā²³ Y[o]nesh[u]²⁴

39 baṃhmane ch[ā] shamane chā nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi
 m[a]nushān[a]²⁵ | ekatalash[i] p[ā] | pāśaḍashi | no n[ā]ma pashāde | (K) she
 ava[ta]ke²⁶ jane | t[ā]dā Kali[m]geshu |²⁷ [ladheshu ha]te ch[ā]²⁸ maṭ[e] chā |
 [apavudhe chā] tato²⁹ shat[e] bhāge vā | shah[a]sha-bhāge vā | aja gulu-mate
 vā | Devāna[m]piyashā

¹ bhishita- Bühler. ² -m[ā]te Bühler. ³ -māte Bühler. ⁴ -tāvātake Bühler.

⁵ tatā Senart and Bühler. ⁶ Read *ladheshu*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ This word may be read also *vijinīti*, as both an *i* and a *u* are affixed to the last consonant.

⁸ *vadham* Bühler. ⁹ Bühler adds *ī*.

¹⁰ Read *ye tatā* in accordance with the Shāhbāzgarhi version, which reads *ye tatra*; *savatā* Senart and Bühler, who adds *ī*.

¹¹ *baṃbhanā* Senart and Bühler. ¹² Read *shamanā*.

¹³ *ag[a]bh[uta]*- Bühler. ¹⁴ *matā*- Bühler.

¹⁵ *-shusha* Bühler; read *-shushushā*. ¹⁶ *-bha[ṭa]kashi* Bühler.

¹⁷ *[sha]mvihitānaṃ* Bühler. ¹⁸ The syllable *nā* seems to be entered above the line.

¹⁹ *vīyashane* Bühler. ²⁰ Read *pāpunāti*, which is Bühler's reading.

²¹ *tata* Bühler. ²² *°meva* Bühler. ²³ *ānatā* Senart and Bühler.

²⁴ *yenesha* Bühler. ²⁵ *°shānaṃ* Bühler. ²⁶ *āvatake* Bühler. ²⁷ Bühler omits *ī*.

²⁸ *cha* | Bühler. ²⁹ *tatā* Senart and Bühler.

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1
 2
 3 [ney]u (O) ichha¹
 4 sha[va-bhu]² [shayama shamacha]liya[m] madava ti (P) iya[m] vu³
 mu
 5 Devāna[m]piyeshā⁴ ye dha[m]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[m]-
 p[ī] cha⁵
 6 shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu⁶ at[a] Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[na-
 lā] . . .⁷ [pa]lām chā tenā
 7 A[m]tiyogenā chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] A[m]teki[ne nā]ma Makā nā-
 8 ma Alikyashudale nāma nicham Choda-Parṇḍiyā avam Tambapamniyā
 hevamev[ā]⁸ (R) hevamevā
 9 [hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavashi⁹ Yona-Kambojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṃtishu¹⁰ Bhoja-
 Pitinikye[sh]u
 10 [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]evā[na]m[pi]ya[shā] dhammānu[sha]thi
 anuvataṃti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā
 11 Devāna[m]piyasā no yaṃti t[e] pi sutu Dev[āna]m[pi]naṃya¹¹ dh[aṃma]-vutaṃ
 v[i]dh[a]na[m]
 12 dhammānusa[th]i dha[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyaṃa¹² [a]nuvidhiyaṃa¹³ [ch]ā (T) ye
 se [la]dhe
 13 etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye¹⁴ piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-
 vijaya-
 14 shi (V) lahukā v[u]¹⁵ kho sā piti (W) pāṃtikyameve maha-phalā maṃnam[ti]
 Dev[e]na[m]pi[ne]¹⁶
 15 (X) etāye chā aṭhāye iyaṃ dha[m]ma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā¹⁷ me a[su]
 16 nava[m] vijay[a] ma vijayataviya¹⁸ manishu shayakashī no¹⁹ vi[ja]yashi khaṃti²⁰
 chā la hu-²¹
 17 daṃdatā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijayaṃ manatu ye dhamma-vijaye (Y) she
 hidalokikya palalo-
 18 kiye²² (Z) shavā cha ka²³ nilati hot[u] uyāma-lati (AA) shā hi hi[da]lokika
 pa[la]lokikyā

¹ Restore *ichhati*.² Restore *-bhutānaṃ*.³ Read *chu*.⁴ Read *°piyashā*.⁵ Restore *°piyasa hida cha*.⁶ There is a fissure in the rock between *yोजना* and *shateshu*.⁷ Restore *-lājā*.⁸ *hevameva* Bühler.⁹ [*Hi*]da-lājā *Viśa-Vaji*- Bühler.¹⁰ *Nābhaku*- Senart, *Nābhake* Bühler.¹¹ *°piniya* Senart, *°piyaṃya* Bühler; read *°piyasa*.¹² Read *°yaṃti*, which is Bühler's reading.¹³ Read *°saṃti*, which is Bühler's reading.¹⁴ This word is entered above the line.¹⁵ Read *chu*.¹⁶ Read *pāṃtikyameva mahā-phalaṃ maṃnati Devāna[m]piyā*.¹⁷ *pāpotā* Senart and Bühler.¹⁸ *vijayaṃtaviya* Bühler.¹⁹ Read perhaps *yo* (= Prākṛit *yeva*), as at Shāhbāzgarhi.²⁰ There is a fissure in the rock here.²¹ Cancel the sign of punctuation and join *lahu*-.²² *ki . ye* Bühler.²³ Bühler omits *ka*; read *kaṃ* and see above, p. 31, n. 6.

TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kaliṅgyas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgyas** has been taken, **Dēvānāmpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvānāmpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgyas**.

(E) For, this is considered¹ very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**, that, while one is conquering² an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders,³ who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay,⁴ obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or if there are then incurring misfortune⁵ the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for,⁶ this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.⁷

(I) This is shared by all men⁸ and⁹ is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(J) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist, except among the **Yōnas**; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.¹⁰

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

¹ For *muta* = *mata* see above, p. 35, n. 10.

² *viñamane* is a nominative singular absolute; see my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, S.

³ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A, and the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Y.

⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592 f.) took *agabhūti* = *agrajanman*, 'a member of a higher caste' or 'a Brāhmaṇa'; but the various reading in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, *agrabhūti*, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt. *bhṛiti*.

⁵ *pāpunāti* is used in the same way in the Dhauḷi separate edict I, J, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, K.

⁶ For this meaning of *suviḥita* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *vidahati*.

⁷ The correct construction of this section is due to Lüders, who showed that *etānaṃ* must be divided into *e tānaṃ*; see SPAW, 1914. 850.

⁸ I. e. 'a share of this falls upon all men'; see Thomas in V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 1.

⁹ The *chā* after *gulu-mate* corresponds to the preceding *chā* after *paṭibhāge*. In the same way the double *nathī chā* in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.

¹⁰ See above, p. 25, n. 2.

who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(O) desires towards all beings self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.

(P) But this by **Dēvānāmpriya**, viz. the conquest by morality.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both [here]¹ and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna king** 'named **Antiyoga**² (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoga**, (where) **four—4—kings** (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Tulamaya**,³ (the king) named **Antekina**,⁴ (the king) named **Makā**,⁵ (and the king) named **Alikyashudala**,⁶ (and) likewise⁷ towards the south,⁸ (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇī**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōjas**,⁹ among the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis**,¹⁰ among the **Bhōjas**¹¹ and **Pitinikyās**,¹² among the **Andhras**¹³ and **Pāladas**,¹⁴—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality,¹⁵ the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Firm¹⁶ becomes this satisfaction, (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

¹ viz. 'in my territory'; see section R below, and cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

² The Shāhbāzgarhī version reads *Antiyoka*. For Antiochus II of Syria see above, p. 3, n. 11.

³ The Gīrnār version reads *Turamāya*, and the Shāhbāzgarhī one *Turamaya*.

⁴ The Shāhbāzgarhī version reads *Antikini*. ⁵ The Gīrnār version reads *Magā*.

⁶ The two Kharōshthī versions read *Alikasudara*. The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B.C. 285–247), Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (276–239), Magas of Cyrene (c. 300–250), and either Alexander of Epirus (272–c. 255) or, more probably, Alexander of Corinth (252–c. 244); see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 255, and Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 2, 105.

⁷ The two Kharōshthī versions omit this word.

⁸ This is Senart's rendering of *nicham* (i. e. *nicham*). Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) added that the *Rigvēda* uses its synonym *nyak* in the same sense. ⁹ See above, p. 10, n. 1.

¹⁰ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), Prakṛit *paṁti* = Skt. *paṅkti*.

¹¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) connected the Bhōjas with the city of Bhōjakaṭa in East Berar, which is mentioned in a Vākāṭaka grant (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 241) and in the Bharaut inscriptions (IA, 21. 240). But as, in the rock-edict V, J, the Pitinikas appear among Aśoka's western borderers, the Bhōjas, who are coupled with them here, will have to be looked for in the west as well.

¹² The Pitinikyās are identical with the Pētēnikas in the Gīrnār edict V; see above, p. 10, n. 2. The Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā versions read *Pitinika*.

¹³ Andhra is the old name of the Telugu country and people.

¹⁴ The Gīrnār version seems to read *Pārinda*, and the Shāhbāzgarhī one *Palida*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) identified this word with *Pulinda* and noted that the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned together already in the *Aitarēya-Brahmaṇa*, VII, 18. But the variants at Gīrnār and Kālsī render this identification very improbable. *Pārinda* reminds us of the Sanskrit *pārindra*, 'a lion'.

¹⁵ Cf. *dhamma-vutaṃ cha anuvīdhiyatāṃ* in the Gīrnār edict X, A.

¹⁶ As suggested by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), *gadha* (instead of which two other versions read *ladhā* or *ladha*) may represent **gāddhā*, from Pāli *gādhati*, 'to stand fast.'

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).¹

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; (that), if a conquest does please them,² they should take pleasure³ in mercy and light punishments; and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.⁴

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

19 (A) इयं धमलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लजिना लिखापिता अथि
येवा सुखि-

20 तेना अथि मज्झिमेना अथि विथटेना (B) नो हि सवता सवे घटिते (C) महालके
हि वि-

21 जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निक्खं (D) अथि चा हेता पुन पुना
लपि-

22 ते तष तषा अथषा मधुलियाये येन जने तथा पटिपजेया (E) षे षाया अत
किञ्चि अ-

23 समति लिखिते दिषा वा षंखेये कालनं वा अलोचयितु लिपिकलपलाधेन वा

19 (A) *iyam dhama-lipi Dev[ānamp]i[y]e[n]ā [P]iyadasinā⁵ lajinā likhāpitā athi*
yevā sukhi-

20 *tenā⁶ [a]thi majhimenā athi vithaṭenā (B) no hi savatā save [gha]ṭite⁷ (C) mahālake*
hi vi-

21 *jite bahu cha likhite lekhāpeśāmi cheva nikyaṁ (D) athi chā hetā puna pun[ā]⁸ la[p]i-*

22 *t[e] tasha tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā (E) she shāyā⁹*
ata k[i]chhi a-

23 *samati likhite dishā vā shaṁkheye¹⁰ kālanam vā alochayitu li[p]ikalapalādhena vā*

¹ *mahā-phala* is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrīhi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where *mahā-apāye* (Dhauḷī, R) or *mahāpāy[e]* (Jaugāḍa, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicate of the feminine *asampatīpati*; the preceding word *mahā-phala* may be a Bahuvrīhi at Dhauḷī, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugāḍa.

² *shayaka* may be an adjective formed of *svayam*, and having the same meaning as *spa[ka]* (=Skt. *svaka*) at Shāhbāzgarhī, and as *sarasaka* at Girnār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.

³ For *lochetu* see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁴ *uyāma* is synonymous with *utthāna* and *parākrama* in the rock-edicts VI and X.

⁵ *dashinā* Bühler.

⁶ Girnār reads *saṁkhitena*.

⁷ The syllable *te* was entered subsequently.

⁸ *punam puna* Bühler.

⁹ Read *shiyā*, which is Bühler's reading. The syllable *shā* is entered above the line.

¹⁰ Read probably *shaṁkhāya* in accordance with the Girnār version (*sachhāya*) and the Shāhbāzgarhī one (*saṁkhay[a]*).

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by **king Dēvānām-priya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly¹ cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,² or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE
OF THE KALSI ROCK

गजतमे

gajatame

TRANSLATION

The best elephant.³

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

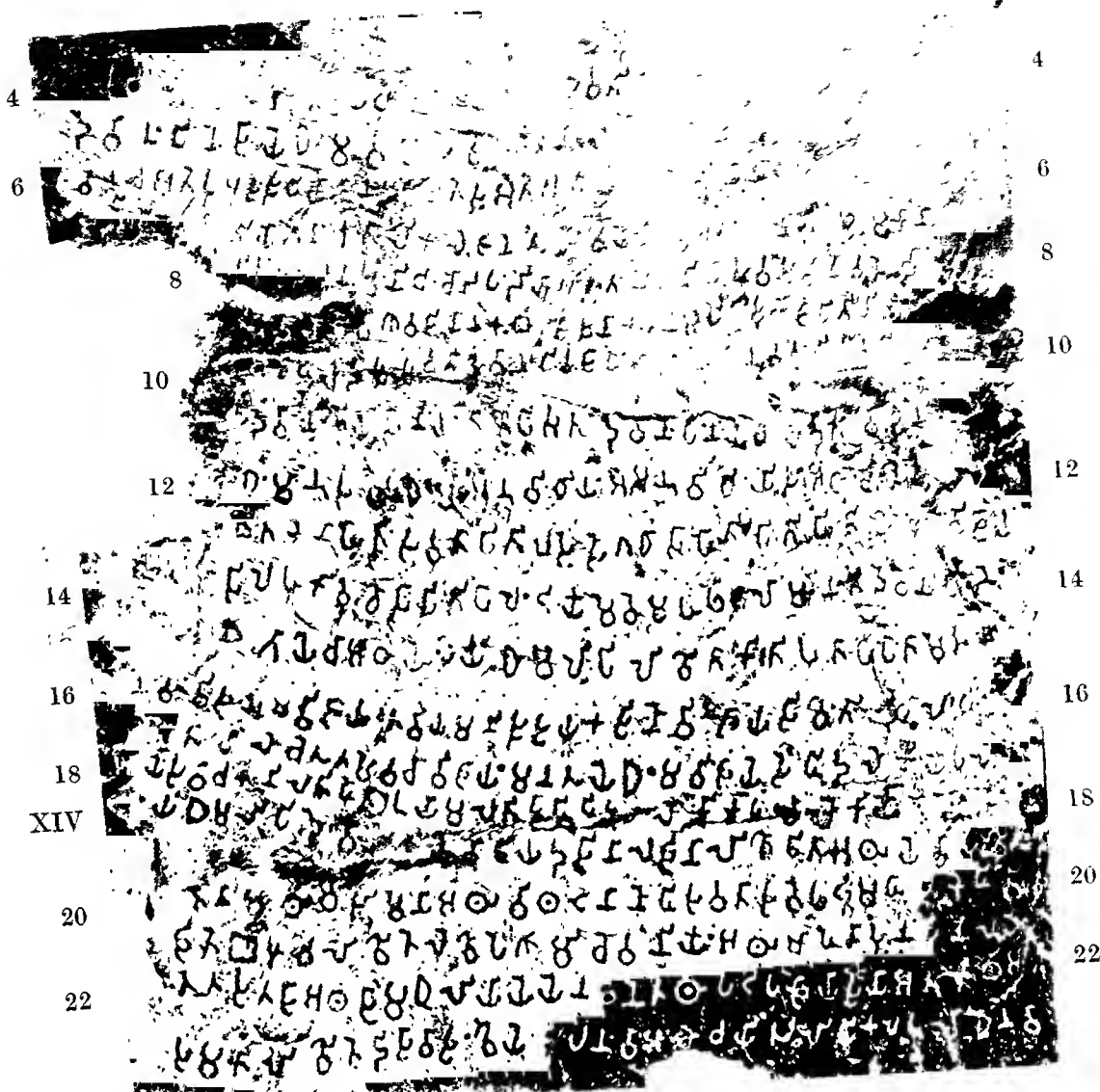
A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock.

- 1 (A) अय धर्मदिपि देवनप्रिअस रजो लिखपितु (B) हिद नो किचि जिवे अरभितु प्रयुहोतवे (C) नो पि च समज कटव (D) बहुक हि दोष समयस्सि देवणप्रिये प्रिअद्रशि रय दखति
- 2 (E) अस्ति पि चु एकतिअ समये ससुमते देवनपिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो (F) पुर महनससि देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो अनुदिवसो बहुनि प्रणशतसहसनि अरभियिस्सु सुपठये (G) सो इदनि यद अय
- 3 धर्मदिपि लिखित तद चयो वो प्रण हंजंति मजुर दुवि २ सुगो १ सो पि सुगो नो ध्रुवं (H) एत पि प्रण चयो पच न अरभिशंति

¹ Senart and Bühler consider *nikyam* a dialectical variant of *nityam*.

² *dis* is used in the sense of *dēśa*, unless *dishā* is simply a clerical mistake for the Gīrnār reading *desam*.

³ Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhāuli (at the end of edict VI), and see above, p. 27, n. 2.



KALSI ROCK; NORTH FACE



- 1 (A) [aya]¹ dhrama-dipi **Devanapriasa** raño likhapitu² (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhita p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hu]ka [hi] dosha sa[maya]spi **Devanapriy[e]**³ Priadraśi ray[a da]khati
- 2 (E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia⁴ samaye sasu-mate⁵ **Devanapriasa**⁶ Priadraśisa raño (F) pura mahana[sas]i [Devana]pr[i]asa⁷ Priadraśisa raño anudivaso bahuni pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani⁸ [arabhi]yis[u] supaṭhay[e] (G) s[o i]dani yada aya
- 3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa haṁñānt[i] majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[m] (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhiśānti

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 3 (A) सवत्र विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् ये च अंत यथ चोड
4 पंडिय सतियपुत्रो केरडपुत्रो तंबपणि अंतियोको नम योनरज ये च अंजे तस
अंतियोक्स समंत रजनो सवत्र देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजो दुवि २
चिकिस क्रिट मनुशचिकिस . . पशुचिकिस च
- 5 (B) ओषढनि मनुशोपकनि च पशोपकनि च यत्र यत्र नस्ति सवत्र हरपित च
वुत च (C) कुप च खनपित प्रतिभोगये पशुमनुशनं
- 3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite [De]va[nam]priyasa Priyadraśisa y[e] cha [a]nta yatha [Choḍa]
- 4 Paṇḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro⁹ Taṁbapaṁni¹⁰ Aṁtiyo[k]o nama Yona-
raja ye cha aṁñe tasa Aṁtiyokasa samaṁta rajano savratra **Devanaṁ-
priyasa Priyadraśisa** raño du[vi] 2 chik[i]sa [kr]i[ṭa]¹¹ manuśa-chikisa . .
pa[śu-ch]ikisa [cha]
- 5 (B) [o]sha[ḍha]ni¹² manuśopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra
harapita¹³ cha vuta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuśanaṁ

¹ [a]ya[m] Bühler.

² Read probably *likhapita*, as at Mānśhrā.

³ *dosham sama . . sa Devanapriy[o]* Bühler.

⁴ *cha ekatie* Bühler.

⁵ Read *sadhu-*; *sresta-mati* Bühler.

⁶ *priasa* Bühler.

⁷ *Devanaṁpri* Bühler.

⁸ *[-sa]has[r]ani* Bühler.

⁹ *Satiyaputra Keralaputra* Bühler.

¹⁰ *paṁni* Bühler.

¹¹ *ki[ṭra]* Bühler.

¹² *[oshuḍh]ani* Bühler.

¹³ *har[o]pita* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Satiyaputra**, the **Kōra aputra**, **Tāmraparṇī**, the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka**, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoka**,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 5 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज अहति (B) बद्यवषभिसितेन अणपितं
(C) सवत्र मञ्ज
- 6 विजिते युत रजुको प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो
करण इमिस ध्रमनुशस्तिये य अजये पि क्रमये (D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष
मित्रसंस्तुतजतिकनं ब्रमणश्मणनं प्रणनं अनरंभो सधु
- 7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युतनि गणनसि अणपेशंति हेतुतो च
वज्जनतो च
- 5 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi raja ahati (B) badaya-vashabh[i]si[tena]¹
[a]ṇapi[tam]² (C) savatra ma[a]³
- 6 vijite yuta rajuko pradeśi[ka⁴ pañcha]shu pañchashu 5 vasheshu anusamyanam
nik[r]amatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dhraṁmanuśastiye [tha]⁵ añaye pi
krammaye⁶ (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrusha mitra-samst[u]ta-ñatikanam
bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[naṁ] [pra]ṇanam [anaram]bho sadhu⁷
- 7 apa-vayata apa-bhaṁdata sadhu (E) pari⁸ [pi] yutani [ga]ṇanasi⁹ aṇapeśamti hetuto
cha vaññanato¹⁰ cha

TRANSLATION

(A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks¹¹ (thus).

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twelve years**, [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rajuka*, (and) the *Prādēsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

¹ With Bühler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badāśa*-. On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in EI, II. 203 f, and ZDMG, 73. 227.

² Bühler omitted this word.

³ Bühler omitted *maa*.

⁴ *pradeśik[e]* Bühler.

⁵ Read *yatha*; *dhramanuśasti yatha* Bühler.

⁶ *kramaye* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted the end of this line.

⁸ Read *parisha*.

⁹ There is a vacant space between *ga* and *na*.

¹⁰ *vaññanato* Bühler.

¹¹ Bühler wrote *aha ti* in two words. But the barbarous form *ahati* or *hahati* is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by *evam*, and where consequently *ti* cannot have the meaning 'thus'.

for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas [is meritorious]. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 7 (A) अतिक्रतं अंतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वढितो वो प्रणरंभो विहिस च भुतनं
जतिन असंपटिपति अमणब्रमणनं असंपटिपति (B) सो अज देवनंप्रियस
प्रियद्रशिस रजो
- 8 ध्रमचरणेन भेरिघोष अहो ध्रमघोष विमननं द्रशनं अस्तिन जोतिकंधनि अजनि
च दिवनि रूपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषशतेहि न भुतप्रुवे
तदिशे अज वढिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमनुशस्तिय अनरंभो
प्रणनं अविहिस भुतनं जतिनं संपटिपति ब्रमण-
- 9 अमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु वुढनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अजं च बहुविधं ध्रमचरणं
वढितं (E) वढिशति च यो देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमचरणं इमं
(F) पुत्र पि च कं नतरो च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो
प्रवदेशंति यो ध्रमचरणं इमं अवकप ध्रमे शिले च
- 10 तिठिति ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि सेठं क्रमं यं ध्रमनुशशनं (H) ध्रमचरणं
पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अथूस वढि अहिनि च सधु
(J) एतये अठये इमं निपिस्तं इमिस अठस वढि युजंतु हिनि च म लोचेषु
(K) बदयवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन रज जनं हिद निपेसितं

- 7 (A) atikrataṃ aṃtaraṃ bahuni vasha-śatani vadhito vo praṇarambho vihisa cha
bhuta[na]m ñatina¹ asaṃpaṭipati śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m] a[sam]paṭipati²
(B) [so aja Devana]ṃpriyasa Priyadraśisa [raño]
- 8 dhrama-charaṇena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimanana[m] draśanaṃ
[a]stina³ joti-kamdhani añani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa (C) yadiśam
bahuhi vasha-śatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vadhite Devanaṃpriyasa
Priyadraśisa raño dhraṃmanuśa[sti]ya anarambho praṇa[nam] avihisa
bhutanaṃ ñatina[m] sampa[ti]pati⁴ [bra]maṇa-
- 9 śramaṇana⁵ sampaṭipati mata-pitushu vuḍhana[m] suśrusha (D) e[ta] añam cha
bahuvidham dhrama-charaṇam vadhitaṃ (E) vadhiśati cha yo Devanaṃpriyasa
Priyadraśisa raño dhrama-charaṇam⁶ ima[m] (F) putra pi cha kaṃ⁷ nataro

¹ ñatinaṃ Bühler.

⁴ sa[ṃ]praṭi^o Bühler.

⁷ ku Bühler.

² [asaṃ]praṭi^o Bühler.

⁵ śramaṇanaṃ Bühler.

³ [ha]stino Bühler.

⁶ -charaṇo Bühler.

cha pranatika cha **Devanāmpriya[sa] Priyadrasīsa rañño** pra[va]dh[e]śamti ¹
 [yo] ² dhrama-charaṇaṃ ima[m] ava]-kapa ³ dhrame śīle cha
 10 tiṭṭhiti ⁴ dhramaṃ anuśāśīsamti (G) eta h[i s]reṭṭhaṃ k[r]ama[m] yaṃ
 dhramaṃ[u]śāśana[m] (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m] pi cha na bhoti aśīlāsa (I) so
 imisa athrasa vaḍhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye aṭṭhaye ima[m] nipistam ⁵ imisa
 aṭṭhasa vaḍhi yujamtu hini cha ma lo[ch]e[sh]u (K) **badaya-vashabhisitena** ⁶
Devanāmpriyena Priyadrasīna rañña ñanaṃ hi[da] nipesitam ⁷

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) And also the sons,⁸ grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written,⁹ (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve ¹⁰ the neglect (of it).

(K) (This) conception (*jñāna*) was caused to be written here by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

¹ *ra[ñño vaḍhe]śamti* Bühler.

² Bühler omitted *yo*.

³ *-[kapaṃ]* Bühler.

⁴ *tiṭṭhiti* Bühler.

⁵ *dipista* Bühler.

⁶ Read *badaśa-*, and cf. above, p. 52, n. 1.

⁷ *rañña [id]am . . nam dipa[pi]tam* Bühler. The *da* of *hida* looks like *dam*, as it does frequently at Mānsehrā.

⁸ For *cha kam* see above, p. 31, n. 6. Mānsehrā has once *cha kam* (XI, 14) and twice *cha ka* (IV, 16; XIII, 13).

⁹ The participles *nipistam* and *nipesitam* in J and K, which correspond to *likhite* and *lekhitā* at Kālsī, must be derived from *ni-pish*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشتن. Cf. the Russian писать 'to write'.

¹⁰ See above, p. 8, n. 3.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलणस सो दुकरं करोति (D) सो मय बहु कलं किट्रं (E) तं मञ्च पुच च नतरो च परं च तेन ये मे अपच व्रक्षंति अवकपं तथ ये अनुवटिशंति ते सुकिटं कषंति (F) यो चु अतो . . कं पि हपेशदि सो दुकटं कषति (G) पपं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिक्रतं अतर नो भुतप्रुव धंममहमच नम (I) सो तोदशवषभिसितेन
- 12 मय ध्रममहमच किट (J) ते सव्रप्रषंडेषु वपट धंमधिथनये च ध्रमवढिय हिदसुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंबोयगंधरनं रठिकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि अपरंत (K) भटमयेषु ब्रमणिभेषु अनथेषु वुढेषु हितसुखये धंमयुतस अपलिगोध वपट ते
- 13 (L) वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये अयि अनुव . . प्रजव किटभिकरो व महलके व वियपट ते (M) इञ्च बहिरेषु च नगरेषु सव्रेषु ओरोधनेषु भतुन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि अंजे जतिक सवच वियपुट (N) ये अयं ध्रमनिशिते ति व ध्रमधिथने ति व दनसयुते ति व सवत विजिते मञ्च ध्रमयुतसि वियपट ते ध्रममहमच (O) एतये अठये अयि ध्रमदिपि निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवततु
- 11 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raya eva[m] hahati¹ (B) ka[la]ṇa[m] dukara[m] (C) [yo] a[dikaro kala]ṇasa so du[ka]raṁ karoti (D) so maya bahu kalaṁ² ki[t]raṁ (E) taṁ maa³ putra cha nataro cha para[m] cha [tena y]e⁴ me apacha vṛakṣhaṁti⁵ ava-kapaṁ tatha⁶ ye an[u]vaṭiśaṁti⁷ te s[u]kiṭa[m]⁸ kashaṁti (F) yo chu ato . . kaṁ⁹ pi hapeśadi¹⁰ so dukataṁ kashati (G) papaṁ h[i] sukaraṁ (H) sa atikrataṁ atara no¹¹ bhuta-pruva dhrama-ma[ha]ma[tra]¹² nama (I) so todaśa-vashabhisitena¹³
- 12 maya dhrama-mahamatra kiṭa¹⁴ (J) te savra-praśaṁdeś[u] vapata dhrammadhithanaye¹⁵ cha dhrama-vadhiya¹⁶ hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasa Yona-Kaṁboya-Gaṁdharanaṁ¹⁷ Raṭhikanam¹⁸ Pitinikanam ye

¹ aha ti Bühler.² Read kalaṇam.³ ma[ha] Bühler.⁴ [ya] Bühler.⁵ [a]chhamti Bühler. In JA (10), 17. 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharoṣṭhī uses a special form of chh in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit ksh. In order to distinguish this sign from the real chh, I transcribe it by ksh, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.⁶ tatham Bühler; but what he took for an Anusvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Mānsehrā.⁷ °vaṭiśaṁti Bühler.⁸ sukiṭ[r]am Bühler.⁹ Restore perhaps ekaṁ; the other versions read desaṁ or deśa.¹⁰ [hapeśati] Bühler.¹¹ so atik[raṁ]taṁ am̐taraṁ na Bühler.¹² dhrama- Bühler.¹³ [tadaśa]- Bühler.¹⁴ kiṭ[r]a Bühler.¹⁵ dhrama° Bühler.¹⁶ -vadhiy[e] Bühler.¹⁷ The rock has a hole here.¹⁸ Raṭhikanam Bühler. The ṭh is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17. 429, note.

va pi aparaṃta (**K**) bhaṭamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vuḍheshu [hita]-
sukhaye [dhraṃ]ma-yutasa¹ apaliḡ[o]dha² vap[a]ṭa te

- 13 (**L**) badhana-badhasa³ paṭividhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba...⁴
prajava kiṭabhikaro va mahalake⁵ va viyapaṭa⁶ [t]e⁷ (**M**) ia bahreshu cha
nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratuna⁸ cha me spasana⁹ cha ye va pi
amñe ñatika savatra viyapuṭa (**N**) y[e] ayaṃ¹⁰ dh[r]ama-niṣite¹¹ ti va
dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata¹² vijite maa¹³ dhrama-
yu[ta]si¹⁴ viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (**O**) etaye aṭhaye [a]yi¹⁵ dhrama-dipi
nipista¹⁶ ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha]¹⁷ cha [m]e¹⁸ p[r]aja anuvatatu

TRANSLATION

- (**A**) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.
(**B**) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
(**C**) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
(**D**) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
(**E**) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who
shall come¹⁹ after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will
conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
(**F**) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
(**G**) For sin is easily committed.
(**H**) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
(**I**) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been)
anointed thirteen years.
(**J**) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting
morality, and for the welfare and happiness²⁰ of those who are devoted to morality
(even) among the *Yōnas*, *Kambōyas*, and *Gandhāras*, among the *Raṭhikas*, among
the *Pitinikas*,²¹ and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

¹ [dhra]ma- Bühler.

² °b[odhe] Bühler; read °godhaye (=°godhāya at Gīrnār).

³ baṃdhana- Bühler.

⁴ Restore anubadha; iyaṃ a[n]uba[dh]aṃ Bühler.

⁵ mahalaka Bühler.

⁶ viyapaṭra Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted te.

⁸ bhratunaṃ Bühler.

⁹ Read spasuna; spasunaṃ Bühler.

¹⁰ y[am i]yaṃ Bühler.

¹¹ -niṣrite Bühler.

¹² savatra Bühler.

¹³ ma[ha] Bühler.

¹⁴ There is a vacant space here.

¹⁵ ay[am] Bühler.

¹⁶ dipist[a] Bühler.

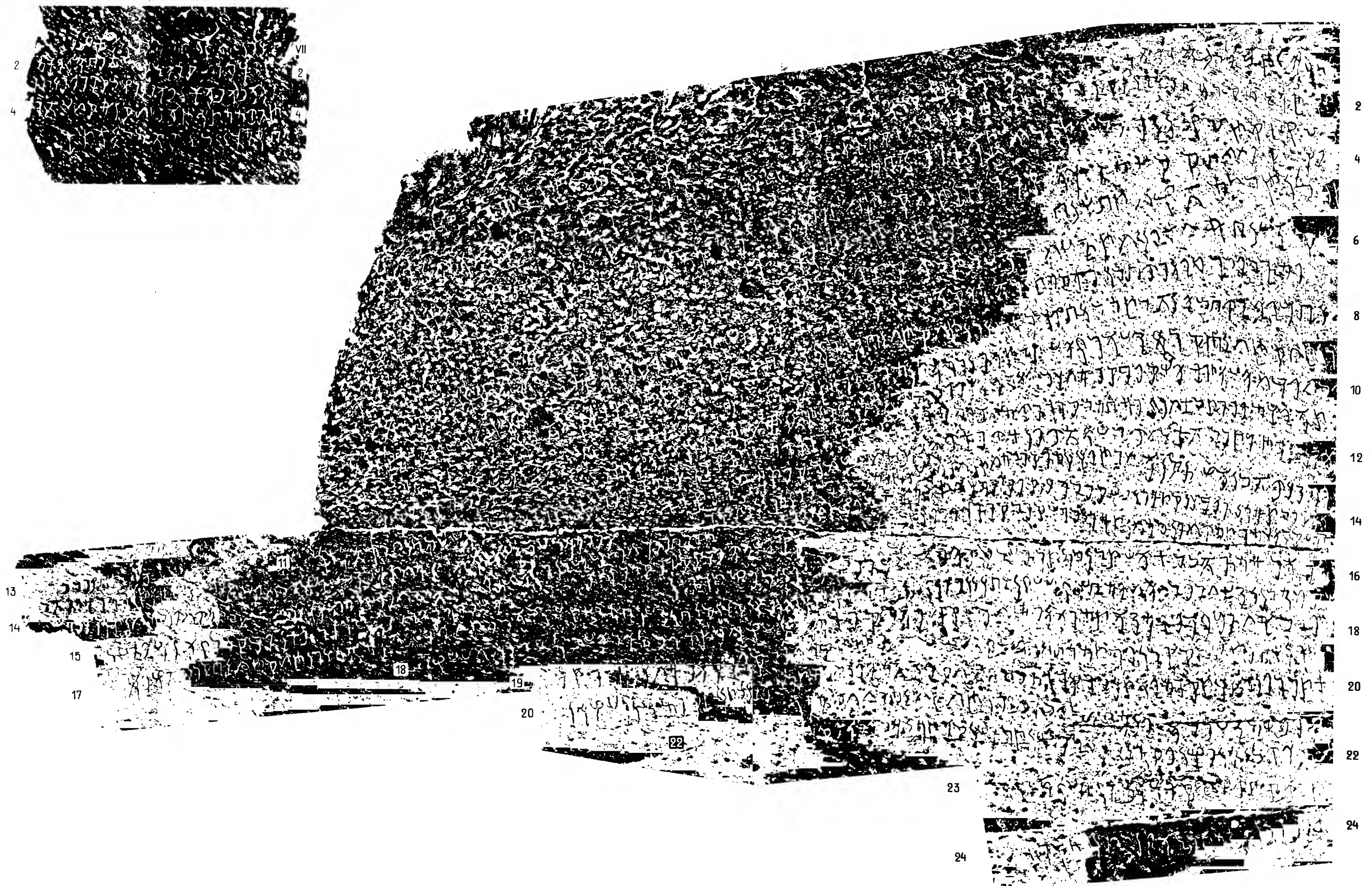
¹⁷ This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.

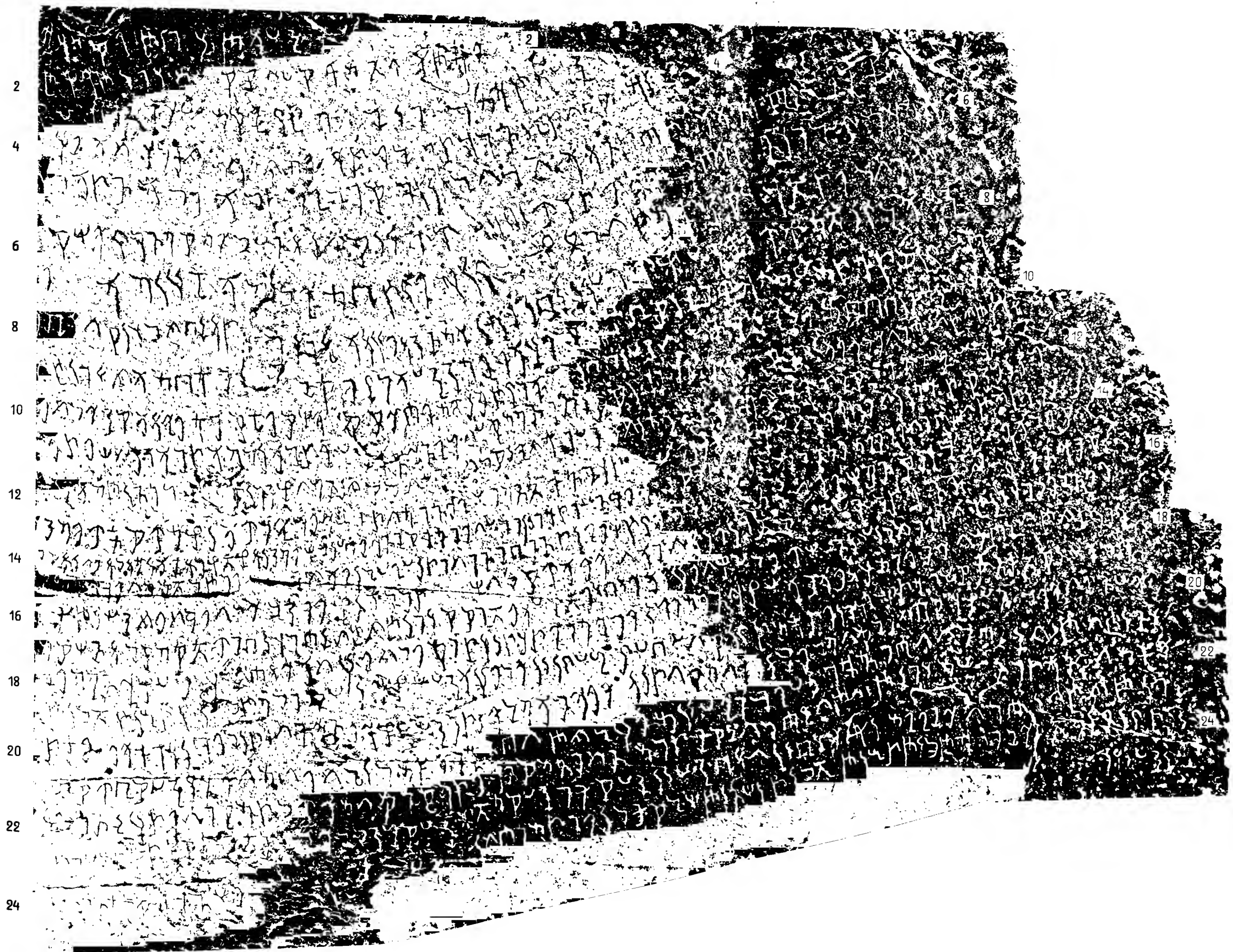
¹⁸ Bühler omitted me.

¹⁹ *vrakshati* is the future of *vrachati* which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgarhī (VI, L, and XIII, S).
For Prākṛit *vachchāi*=Skt. *vrajati* see Hēmachandra, IV, 225.

²⁰ Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4.

²¹ For *Raṭhika* and *Pitinika* Gīrnār reads *Riṣṭika* and *Petenika*. As *Laṭhika* at Dhāuli agrees
with *Raṭhika* at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, *Riṣṭika* at Gīrnār may be a clerical mistake for
Rāṣṭika, just as *parikamate* for *parākamate* in X, l. 3, *Devinam*° for *Devānam*° in XI, l. 1, and *dūtī*
for *dūtā* in XIII, l. 9. Conversely, *astā* is written for *asti* in IX, l. 7, *ṭitarā* for *ṭitari* in XI, l. 2,
and *vivādhāya* for *vividhāya* in XII, l. 1. The Sanskrit original of *Rāṣṭika* would be *Rāṣṭrika*.
The identifications of this name with *Surāshṭra* (Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, p. 126) or
Lāṭa (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces
were included in Aśoka's empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History
of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects *Rāshṭrika* with *Mahārāshṭra*, the Pāli form of which,
Mahārāṭṭha, occurs in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*. Could the *Rāshṭrikas* be identical with the
Āraṭṭas of the Panjāb (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 76) and with the *Ἀραῤῥῆιοι* who are mentioned
in the *Periplus* (§ 47) together with the *Ἀραχώσιοι* and *Γανδάριοι*?





(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).¹

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.²

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 14 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एव अहति (B) अतिक्रतं अंतर न भुतप्रुवं सवं कलं अठक्रमं व पटिवेदन व (C) तं मय एवं किटं (D) सवं कलं अशमनस मे ओरोधनस्मि यभगरस्मि व्रचस्मि विनितस्मि उयनस्मि सवत्र पटिवेदक अठं जनस पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवत्र च जनस अठु करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपक व श्रवक व ये व पन महमचन अचयिक आरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निजति व सतं परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे
- 15 (E) सवत्र च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अणपेमि अहं दपकं व श्रवक व ये व पन महमचनं अचयिकं आरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे सतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे सवत्र सवं कलं (G) एव अणपितं मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषो उठनसि अठसंतिरणये च (I) कटवमतं हि मे सवलोकहितं (J) तस च मुलं एव उथनं अठसंतिरण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतरं
- 16 सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि परक्रममि किति भुतनं अनणियं व्रचेयं इअ च ष सुखयमि परच च स्पयं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि धम निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तथ च मे पुत्र नतरो परक्रमंतु सवलोकहितये (N) दुकर तु खो इमं अजच अये परक्रमेन

- 14 (A) Devanāṃpriyo Priyadraśi raya eva³ ahati (B) atikratam āntara⁴ na bhuta-pruṇam sava[m]⁵ kala[m] aṭha-kramam⁶ va paṭivedana va (C) ta[m] maya eva[m] kiṭa[m] (D) savram kalam aśamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṭivedaka⁷ aṭham janasa paṭivedetu⁸

¹ *paligodha* is a Māgadhā form of *parigodha*, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.

² See above, p. 34, n. 3.

³ *eva[m]* Bühler.

⁴ *āntaram* Bühler.

⁵ *savram* Bühler.

⁶ *aṭha-* Bühler.

⁷ *savratra paṭri*^o Bühler.

⁸ *paṭ[r]i*^o Bühler.

me (E) savatra cha ja[na]sa aṭh[r]a karomi (F) ya[m̐] pi cha ki[chi] mukhato
 aṇapayami a[haṃ] dapa[ka]¹ va śravaka² va ye³ va p[a]na mahamatrana⁴
 a[cha]yika⁵ a[ro]pitaṃ bhoti taye aṭhaye viva[de]⁶ nijha[t̐]i va sataṃ⁷
 parishaye anam̐tariyena paṭivedetavo me

15 (E)⁸ savatra cha aṭhaṃ⁹ janasa karomi a[haṃ] (F) yaṃ cha kichi¹⁰ mukhato
 aṇapemi ahaṃ dapaka[m̐] va śravaka va ye¹¹ va pana mahamatranam̐
 achayi[k̐]am̐ aropita[m̐] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v̐]ivade sa[m̐]taṃ nijati¹² va
 parishaye anam̐tariyena paṭivedetavo¹³ me savatra savaṃ¹⁴ kala[m̐] (G) eva¹⁵
 aṇapita[m̐] maya (H) [na]sti hi me tosho uṭhanas[i] aṭha-sa[m̐]tiraṇaye [cha]
 (I) kaṭava-mataṃ¹⁶ hi me sava-loka-hitaṃ¹⁷ (J) ta[sa cha] mulaṃ etra uthanaṃ
 aṭha-sam̐tiraṇa cha (K) na[sti] hi k[r̐]amatara[m̐]

16 sava-loka-hite[na]¹⁸ (L) yaṃ cha kichi parak[r̐]amami kiti bhutanaṃ anañiyaṃ
 v[r̐]acheyaṃ ia cha sha sukhayami paratra cha spagram¹⁹ aradhetu (M) etaye
 aṭhaye ayi dhrama²⁰ nipista²¹ chira-thitika bhotu tatha cha me putra nataro
 parakramaṃtu sava-lo[ka-hita]ye (N) [du]kara²² tu [kh]o imaṃ aṇat[r̐]a²³
 agre²⁴ parakramena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) And the root of that (consists) in this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge

¹ [da]pakam̐ Bühler.

² śravakam̐ Bühler.

³ yaṃ Bühler.

⁴ °tranam̐ Bühler, who added v[o].

⁵ There is a fissure between a and cha.

⁶ Bühler added va.

⁷ sam̐tam̐ Bühler.

⁸ E and F (besides the last three words of the latter) were repeated by mistake.

⁹ There is a vacant space between a and ṭhaṃ.

¹⁰ There is a fissure between ki and chi.

¹¹ ya Bühler.

¹² Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.

¹³ paṭri° Bühler.

¹⁴ sav[r̐]am̐ Bühler.

¹⁵ evam̐ Bühler.

¹⁶ There is a hole between ma and tam̐.

¹⁷ sav[r̐]a- Bühler.

¹⁸ s[r̐]ava- Bühler.

¹⁹ spagam̐ Bühler.

²⁰ Read dhrama-dipi.

²¹ dipista Bühler.

²² [d]ukara[m̐] Bühler.

²³ am̐natra Bühler.

²⁴ Read agreṇa.

the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them¹ happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this [rescript on] morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT : SHAHBAZGARHI²

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियशि रज सवच इच्छति सव-
- 2 प्रषंड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयमे भवशुधि च इच्छति
- 3 (C) जनो चु उचवुचछंदो उचवुचरगो (D) ते सव व एकदेशं व
- 4 पि कषंति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
- 5 शुधि किट्टजत द्रिढभतित निचे पढं

- 1 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyaśi³ raja savatra ichhati savra-⁴
- 2 [p]rashaṁḍa vaseyu (B) save⁴ hi te sayame⁵ bhava-śudhi cha ichhamti
- 3 (C) jano chu uchavucha-chhaṁdo uchavucha-rago (D) te savraṁ va eka-deśaṁ va
- 4 pi kashaṁti (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-
- 5 śudhi kiṭṭaṇata driḍha-bhatita⁶ niche paḍhaṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, (and) firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT : SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock (continued).

- 17 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनंप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) अच मुगय अजनि च एदिशनि अभिरमंति अभुवसु (C) सो देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज दशवषभिसितो सतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद धंमयच (E) अच इयं होति अमणब्रमणनं द्रशने दनं वुढनं दशन हिरजप्रटिविधने च जनपदस जनस दशन धमनुशस्ति धमपरिमुछ च ततोपयं (F) एषे भुये रति भोति देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो भगो अंजि

¹ *sha* (*she* at Mānsēhrā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, *nāni* at Gīrnār and *kāni* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa. Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 149) derived it from Skt. *ēśhām*, and translated it by '(some) of them'.

² This edict is engraved on the left of the east face, at the top of the rock. The lines are therefore numbered separately.

³ Read *Priyadrasi*.

⁴ *savre* Bühler.

⁵ *sayama* Bühler.

⁶ *diḍha*- Bühler.

- 17 (A) atikratam ataram¹ Devanampriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya añani cha ediśani² abhiramani abhuvasu³ (C) so Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raja daśa-vashabhisito sataṁ⁴ nikrami Sabodhi⁵ (D) tenada⁶ dhramma-yatra⁷ (E) atra iyaṁ hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇanam draśane danam vuḍhana[m] daśana⁸ hiraṇa-p[r]aṭividhane⁹ cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana¹⁰ dhramanuśasti dhrama-pa[r]i[p]ru[ru]chha¹¹ cha tatopayam (F) eshe¹² bhuy[e ra]ti bhoti¹³ Devanampriyasa Priyadraśisa raño bhago¹⁴ amñi

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Dēvānāmpriyas* used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
 (C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.
 (D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.¹⁵
 (E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
 (F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं अहति (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति अबधे अवहे विवहे पजुपदने प्रवसे अतये अजये च एदिशिये जनो व मंगलं करोति (C) अत्र तु स्त्रियक बहु च बहुविधं च पुतिक च निरठियं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व खो मंगल (E) अपफलं तु खो एत (F) इमं तु खो महफल ये ममंगल
- 19 (G) अत्र इम दसभटकस सम्मपटिपति गरुन अपचिति प्रणनं संयमो शमणब्रमणन दन एतं अजं च भ्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितुन पि पुवेन पि भ्रतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसस्तुतेन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अद्रस निवुटिय निवुटस्मि व पुन
- 20 इमं कषं (I) ये हि एतके मगले सशयिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पुन नो (K) इअलोक च वो तं (L) इद पुन भ्रममंगलं अकलिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अथ परच अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भोति इअ च सो अठो परच च अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति तेन भ्रमंगलेन

¹ atikratnam amtaram Bühler.² [h]ediśani Bühler.³ abhavasū Bühler.⁴ sato Bühler.⁵ sabodhi[m] Bühler.⁶ tenad[a] Bühler.⁷ dhrama- Bühler.⁸ draśane Bühler.⁹ -paṭividha[ne] Bühler.¹⁰ draśanam Bühler.¹¹ -pa[r]i[p]uchha Bühler.¹² esh[a] Bühler.¹³ hoti Bühler.¹⁴ bhag[i] Bühler.¹⁵ See above, p. 37, n. 5.

- 18 (A) **Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi** r[a]ya evaṃ ahati (B) jano uchavuchaṃ maṅgalaṃ karoti abadhe avāhe vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye¹ añaye cha ediśiy[e]² jano ba³ maṅgalaṃ karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidhaṃ cha putika⁴ cha nirāthiyāṃ⁵ cha maṅgalaṃ karo[ti]⁶ (D) so kaṭavo cha [va]⁷ kho maṅgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta⁸ (F) imaṃ [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṅgala⁹
- 19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati¹⁰ garuna apachiti praṇaṇaṃ sa[m]yamo¹¹ śamaṇa-bramaṇa¹² dana etaṃ aṇaṃ cha dhrama-maṅga[laṃ] nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana¹³ pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena¹⁴ ava prativeśiyena imaṃ sadhu [imaṃ]¹⁵ kaṭa[vo] maṅgala[m] yava tasa aṭhresa¹⁶ nivuṭṭiya nivuṭṭaspi va p[u]na¹⁷
- 20 imaṃ kashaṃ¹⁸ (I) ye hi etake¹⁹ magale saśayike²⁰ taṃ (J) siya vo taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeyati siya puna²¹ no²² (K) ialoka cha²³ vo taṃ²⁴ (L) ida²⁵ puna dhrama-maṅgalaṃ akalikaṃ (M) yadi puna taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭ[e]²⁶ ia²⁷ atha paratra anaṃtaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna taṃ ṭhaṃ²⁸ nivaṭeti tato u[bha]y[e]sa²⁹ ladhaṃ bhoti ia³⁰ cha so aṭho paratra cha anaṃtaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramaṅgalena³¹

TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,³² (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive³³ and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

¹ Read *etaye*, which is Bühler's reading.

² Read probably *ediśaye*, as at Mānsehrā.

³ Read *bahu*.

⁴ *putika[m]* Bühler.

⁵ *nirāthriyaṃ* Bühler.

⁶ *ka[rotne]* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted *va*.

⁸ *etaṃ* Bühler.

⁹ Read *dhrama-*; *-maṅgala[m]* Bühler.

¹⁰ *-pratipati* Bühler.

¹¹ *saṃyama* Bühler.

¹² *śramaṇa-* Bühler.

¹³ Read *bhratuna*, which is Bühler's reading.

¹⁴ *-saṃstutena* Bühler.

¹⁵ There is a vacant space here.

¹⁶ *aṭhasa* Bühler.

¹⁷ *pana* Bühler.

¹⁸ *ke[sha]* Bühler.

¹⁹ *et[ra]ke* Bühler.

²⁰ *sa[m]śayike* Bühler.

²¹ *pana* Bühler.

²² Bühler omitted *no*.

²³ *ialokach[e]* Bühler.

²⁴ *tiṭhe* Bühler.

²⁵ *iya* Bühler.

²⁶ Read *nivaṭeti*, as at Mānsehrā.

²⁷ *[h]ia* Bühler.

²⁸ Read *taṃ aṭhaṃ*; Bühler read *[a]thaṃ* for *taṃ ṭhaṃ*.

²⁹ *ubhayasa* Bühler.

³⁰ *iha* Bühler.

³¹ Read *dhrama-maṅgalena*.

³² For *pajupadane* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

³³ Instead of *pūtika*, 'foul', all other versions read *kshudra*, 'vulgar'.

- (I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).
 (J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).
 (K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.
 (L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.
 (M) But if¹ one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).
 (N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो व किट्टि व नो महठवह मज्जति अज्जच यो पि यशो किट्टि व इच्छति तदत्वये अयतिय च जने धम्मसुश्रष सुश्रुषतु मे ति धम्मवुत्तं च अनुविधियतु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो किट्टि व
 22 इच्छति (C) यं तु किचि परक्रमति देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय तं सव्वं परचिकये व किति सकले अपरिसवे सियति (D) एषे तु परिसवे यं अपुजं (E) दुकरे तु खो एषे खुद्रकेन वयेन उसटेन व अज्जच अयेन परक्रमेन सव्वं परित्तित्तु (F) अज्ज च उसटे
- 21 (A) *Devanapriye Priyadraśi raya yaśo va kiṭṭi va no mahatṭhavaḥa mañati añātra yo pi yaśo kiṭṭi va ichhati tadatvaye² ayatiya cha jane dhrama-suśrasha³ suśrushatu me ti dhramma-vuttaṃ cha anuvi[dhi]yatu* (B) *etakaye Devanapriye⁴ Priyadraśi raya yaśo⁵ kiṭṭi va*
 22 *ichhati* (C) *ya[m] tu kichi parakramati Devanaṃpriyo Priyadraśi raya taṃ sav[r]aṃ paratirikaye va kiti sakale aparisrave siyati* (D) *eshe tu parisrave yaṃ apuññaṃ* (E) *dukare⁶ [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usaṭena va añātra agrena parakramena sava[m] paritijitu* (F) *at[r]a⁷ chu usaṭe*

TRANSLATION

- (A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.
 (B) On this (account) **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is desiring glory and fame.
 (C) But whatever effort **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger.
 (D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

¹ Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.

² *tadattaye* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 11, C.

³ Read *-suśrushaṃ*.

⁴ *Devanaṃpriye* Bühler.

⁵ Bühler added *va*.

⁶ *dukaraṃ* Bühler.

⁷ *etaṃ* (which is also possible) Bühler.

(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 23 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) नस्ति एदिशं दनं यदिशं ध्रमदन
ध्रमसंस्तवे ध्रमसंविभगो ध्रमसंबंध (C) तच्च एतं दसभटकनं संम्मपटिपति
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं श्रमणब्रमणन
- 24 दन प्रणन अनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितुन पि पुवेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
मिचसंस्तुतन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तथ करतं
इअलोक च अरधेति परच च अनतं पुज प्रसवति
- 25 तेन ध्रमदनेन

- 23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṃ hahati¹ (B) nasti ed[i]śaṃ danaṃ
yadiśaṃ dhrama-dana² dhrama-saṃstav[e] dh[r]ama-saṃvibhago dh[r]ama-
saṃba[m]dha³ (C) tatra etaṃ dasa-bhaṭakanaṃ saṃmma-paṭipati⁴ mata-pitushu
suśruṣa mi[t]ra-saṃstuta-ñāṭikanaṃ śramaṇa-bramaṇana⁵
- 24 dana praṇana⁶ anara[m]bho (D) etaṃ vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi
[spa]mikenā⁷ pi mitra-saṃstutana⁸ ava prativeśiyena [i]ma[m]⁹ sadhu imaṃ
kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] ialoka¹⁰ cha a[ra]dheti paratra cha anataṃ puṇa¹¹
prasavati
- 25 [te]na dhrama-danena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

¹ aha ti Bühler.

² -danaṃ Bühler.

³ -saṃbaṃdho Bühler.

⁴ samma-paṭipati Bühler.

⁵ -bramaṇanaṃ Bühler.

⁶ danaṃ praṇanaṃ Bühler.

⁷ [sa]mikenā Bühler.

⁸ Read -saṃstutena, which is Bühler's reading.

⁹ There is a fissure in the rock here.

¹⁰ karaṇitaṃ ialoka[m] Bühler.

¹¹ puṇaṃ Bühler.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

B.—On a separate boulder.

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सवप्रषंडनि प्रव्रजितनि यहथनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सवप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध
(D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परपषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषं-
- 4 ड तेन तेन अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति
(G) तद अजथ करमिनो अतप्रषंड
- 5 क्षणति परप्रषंडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कचि अतप्रषंडं पुजेति परप्रषंडं
गरहति सवे अतप्रषंडभतिय व किति
- 6 अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं सो च पुन तथ करतं बढतरं
उपहंति अतप्रषंडं (I) सो सयमो वो सधु किति अजमजस धमो
- 7 श्रुण्येयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सवप्रषंडं बहुश्रुत च
कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तत्र तत्र
- 8 प्रसन तेषं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मज्जति यथ किति
सलवढि सियति सवप्रषंडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अठ . .
- 9 वपट धममहमत्र इस्त्रिधियक्षमहमत्र वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस
फलं यं अतप्रषंडवढि भोति
- 10 धमस च दिपन

- 1 (A) Devanam̐priyo Priyadraśi raya savra-praśaṃḍani pravrajita[ni]¹
grahathani² cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha
[da]na³ va puja va
- 2 Devanam̐priyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vaḍhi siya savra-praśaṃḍanaṃ
(C) sala-vaḍhi tu bahuvidha (D) tasa tu iyo mula yaṃ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-praśaṃḍa-puja va pa[ra]-paśaṃḍa-garana va no siya [a]pakaraṇasi⁴
lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[n]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-praśa[m]-
- 4 [da] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]aṃ karataṃ⁵ ata-p[r]aśaṃḍaṃ vadheti
para-praśaṃḍaṃsa⁶ pi cha upakaroti (G) tada añatha⁷ ka[ra]min[o]⁸
ata-p[r]aśaṃḍa]⁹

¹ This word was entered above the line; *pravrajita* Bühler.

² *graha[tha]ni* Bühler.

⁴ *aparakaraṇasi* Bühler.

⁶ Read °*ḍasa*, which is Bühler's reading.

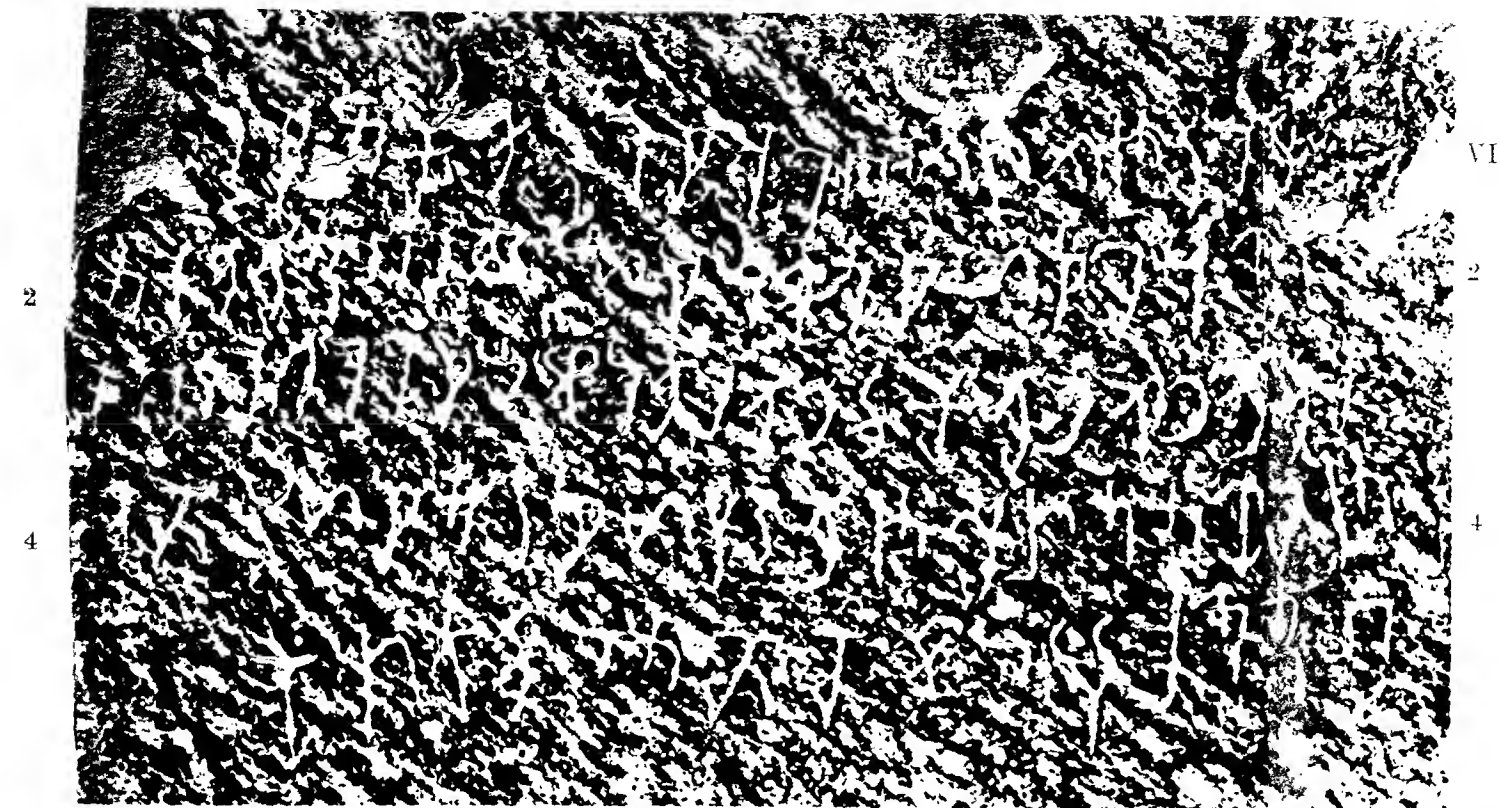
⁸ *ka[rata]cha* Bühler.

³ *dana[m]* Bühler.

⁵ *kara[m]taṃ* Bühler.

⁷ Read *tad-añatha*.

⁹ *-praśaṃḍaṃ* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

SEE PAGE 59



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

- 5 kṣhaṇati para-[pra]śaḍasa¹ cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi² ata-prashaḍam puḇeti
[para]-p[r]aśaḍa[m]³ garahati savre ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti
6 ata-prashaṁḍam dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karaṁtam so cha puna tatha
karataṁ⁴ ba[ḍhata]raṁ upahaṁti ata-prashaḍam (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti
aṇamaṇasa dhramo
7 śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (J) evaṁ hi Devanāṁpriyasa ichha kiti savra-
prashaṁḍa bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[aṇa]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra
8 prasana tesha[m] vatavo (L) Devanāṁpriy[o] na [tatha da]na[m] va] p[u]ja va
maṇati ya[tha] kiti sala-vaḍhi siyati savra-prashaḍanam (M) bahuka cha etaye
a[tha] . . .⁵
9 vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[stidhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika⁶ aṇe
cha nikaye (N) imaṁ cha etisa [pha]laṁ yaṁ ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi⁷ [bh]o[ti]
10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects : (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Dēvānāṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control⁸ alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāṁpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Dēvānāṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.⁹

¹ -prashaṁḍasa Bühler.

² k[o]chi Bühler.

³ -prash[a]ḍa Bühler.

⁴ Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

⁵ Restore *athaye*.

⁶ *vācha*- Bühler.

⁷ -prashaḍa- Bühler.

⁸ Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

⁹ For *siyati* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

C.—West face of Shāhbāzgarhī rock.

- 1 (A) अठवषअभिसितस देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रिगि रजो कलिग विजित (B) दिअढमचे
प्रणशतसहसे ये ततो अपवुढे शतसहस्रमचे तत्र हते बहुतवतके व मुटे
- 2 (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिन्ने ध्रमशिलन ध्रमकमत ध्रमनुशस्ति च
देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रिअस विजिनिति कलिगनि
- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तत्र वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं
वढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं
देवनप्रियस (G) ये तत्र
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व अमण व अंजे व प्रषंड ग्रहथ व येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष
मतपितृषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुतसहय-
- 5 जतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपति दिढभतित तेष तत्र भोति अपग्रथो व वधो व
अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिहो अविप्रहिनी ए तेष
मित्रसंस्तुतसहयजतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति तत्र तं पि तेष वो अपग्रथो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सव्रमनुशनं
गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्मि न नम प्रसदो
(K) सो यमत्रो जनो तद् कलिगे हतो च मुटो च अपवुढ च ततो
- 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयति
क्षमितवियमते व देवनप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि
देवनप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि
च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवचपेयु न च हंजेयसु (O) इक्षति हि देवनप्रियो
सव्रभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च मुखमुत विजये
देवनप्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लधो देवनप्रियस इह च सवेषु
च अंतेषु
- 9 अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु यत्र अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अंतियोकेन
चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम
निच चोडपंड अव तंबपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद् रजविषवस्मि योनकंबोयेषु
नभकनभितिन

- 10 भोजपितिनिकेषु अंध्रपलिदेषु सवच देवनंप्रियस धमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति (S) यत्र
पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न व्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस धमवुटं विधनं
धमनुशस्ति धमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिंति च (T) यो स लधे एतकेन
भोति सवच विजयो सवच पुन
- 11 विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (U) लध भोति प्रिति धमविजयस्सि (V) लहुक तु खो स
प्रिति (W) परच्चिकमेव महफल मेज्जति देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च अटये अयि
धमदिपि निपिस्स किति पुत्र पपोत्र मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेतविस्स
मज्झिषु स्पकस्सि यो विजये स्संति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मज्जतु
- 12 यो धमविजयो (Y) सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (Z) सवचतिरति भोतु य
धमरति (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa¹ Devana]pri[a]sa Pri[a]draśisa ra[ño] Ka[liga]
vi[ji]ita (B) diadha-mat[r]e² praṇa-śata-[saha]sre y[e] tato apavudhe śata-
sahasra-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va]³ m[uṭe]
- 2 (C) tato [pa]cha⁴ a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu⁵ tivre dhrama-śilana]⁶
dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana⁷
Devanap[ria]sa vijiniti Kaliga[ni]⁸
- 3 (E) avijitaṃ [hi vi]jinaṃmano yo⁹ tat[r]a vadha¹⁰ va maraṇaṃ va apavaho va
janasa taṃ baḍhaṃ v[e]dani[ya]-ma[taṃ] guru-mata[m] cha Devanaṃpriyasa
(F) idaṃ¹¹ pi chu [tato] guru-matataraṃ [Devanaṃ]priyasa (G) ye tatra¹²
- 4 vasati¹³ braṃaṇa va śrama[ṇa] va a[m]ñe va prashaṃḍa gra[ha]tha va yesu viḥita
esha agrabhūti-suśrūsha mata-pitushu suśrūsha guruna¹⁴ suśrūsha mitra-
saṃstuta-sahaya-
- 5 ñatikeshu dasa-bhaṭakanāṃ samma-pratipa[ti] dīḍha-bhaṭita¹⁵ tesha¹⁶ tatra bhoti
[a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṃ (H) yesha va pi
suvihitaṇaṃ¹⁷ [si]ho¹⁸ aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-saṃstuta-sahaya-ñatika vasana
- 6 prapuṇati [ta]tra taṃ pi tesha vo apagratho¹⁹ bhoti (I) pratibhagaṃ cha
[e]taṃ savra-manuśanaṃ²⁰ guru-mataṃ cha Devanaṃpriya[sa] (J) nasti
cha ekatare²¹ pi prashaḍaspi²² na nama prasado (K) so yamatro [ja]no tada
Kalige [ha]to cha muṭ[o] cha apav[uḍha]²³ cha tato
- 7 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagaṃ va [a]ja guru-mataṃ v[o] Devanaṃpriyasa (L) yo
pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va²⁴ Devanaṃp[r]iyasa yaṃ śako
kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha aṭavi Devanaṃpriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti
anunijapeti²⁵ (N) anutape pi cha prabhava

¹ a[sta]- Bühler.² [diyadha]- Bühler.³ Bühler omitted va.⁴ [pa]chha Bühler.⁵ [Kalimgeshu] Bühler.⁶ -[palanaṃ] Bühler.⁷ °n[am] Bühler.⁸ °priyasa vijini[ṭu Ka]liṃga[ni] Bühler.⁹ °maṇ[i ye] Bühler.¹⁰ vadh[o] Bühler.¹¹ imaṃ Bühler.¹² tatra h[i] for ye tatra Bühler.¹³ vasaṃti Bühler.¹⁴ gurunāṃ Bühler.¹⁵ diḍha- Bühler.¹⁶ teshaṃ Bühler.¹⁷ saṃvi° Bühler.¹⁸ Read sineho; [ne]ho Bühler.¹⁹ Read apagratho, which is Bühler's reading.²⁰ savraṃ manu° Bühler.²¹ ekataraspi Bühler.²² prashaṃḍaspi Bühler.²³ apavudh[o] Bühler.²⁴ vo Bühler.²⁵ Read °nijhapeti, which is Bühler's reading.

- 8 **Devanāmpriyasa** vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasu (**O**) ichhati hi **D[e]vanāmpriyo** savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamañ sama[cha]riyañ rabhasiye (**P**) ayi¹ cha mukha-mut[a]² vijaye **Devanāmpriya[sa]** yo dhrama-vijayo (**Q**) so cha puna ladho **Devanāmpriyasa** iha cha sava³ cha amteshu
- 9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra **Am̐tiyoko** nama **Y[o]na-raja** parañ cha tena **Atiyok[e]na**⁴ chature 4 rajani **Turamaye** nama **Am̐tikini** nama **Maka** nama **Alikasudaro** nama nicha **Choḍa-Paṁḍa** ava **Ta[m]bapañ[ñi]ya**⁵ (**R**) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi⁶ **Yona-Ka[m]boyesu** **Nabhaka-Nabhitina**⁷
- 10 **Bhoja-Pitinikeshu** **Am̐dhra-Palideshu**⁸ savatra **Devanāmpriyasa** dhramanuśasti anuvaṭam̐ti (**S**) yatra pi **Devanāmpriyasa** duta na vracham̐ti te pi śrutu **Devanāmpriyasa** dhrama-vuṭaṁ vidh[a]nañ⁹ dhramanuśasti dhramañ [a]nuvidhiyam̐ti anuvidhiyañ[ti] cha (**T**) yo [sa]¹⁰ ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]
- 11 vijayo priti-raso so (**U**) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi (**V**) lahuka tu kho sa priti (**W**) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meñati **Devana[m]priyo** (**X**) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi¹¹ dhrama-dipi nipi[sta]¹² kiti putra papotra me asu navañ vijayañ ma vijetav[i]a¹³ mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e kshañ]ti cha lahu-da[m]ḍata¹⁴ cha rochetu tañ cha yo¹⁵ vija¹⁶ maña[tu]
- 12 yo dhrama-vijayo (**Y**) so hidalokiko paralokiko (**Z**) sava-chati-rati¹⁷ bhotu ya [dh]ramma-rati¹⁸ (**AA**) sa hi hidalokika paralokika

TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, **Dēvānāmpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality,¹⁹ to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvānāmpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas**.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

¹ *eshe* Bühler.

² *-mute* Bühler.

³ *sa[vre]shu* Bühler.

⁴ *Am̐tiyokena* Bühler.

⁵ *°pañniya* Bühler.

⁶ *Visha-Vajri-* Bühler.

⁷ *Nabhake Na[bhi]tina* Bühler.

⁸ *-Puli[de]shu* Bühler.

⁹ *vidhenam̐* Bühler.

¹⁰ *[cha]* Bühler.

¹¹ *ayo* Bühler.

¹² *[di]pista* Bühler.

¹³ *°tavi[ya]ñ* Bühler.

¹⁴ *-dani[da]tañ* Bühler.

¹⁵ *tañ e[va]* Bühler.

¹⁶ Read *vijayañ*, as at Kālsī.

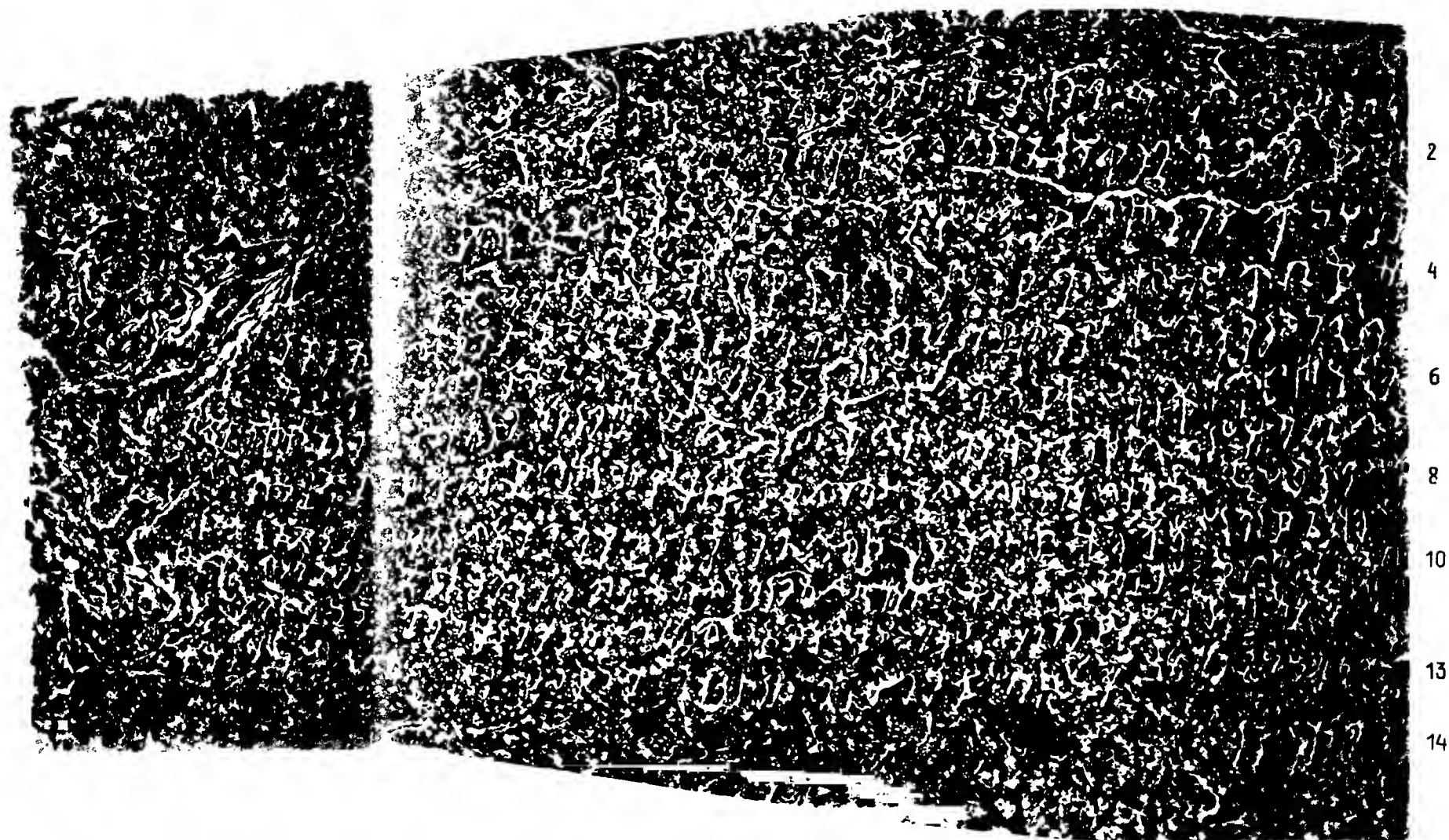
¹⁷ *savra cha nirati* Bühler.

¹⁸ *[s]rama-* Bühler.

¹⁹ *dhrama-śilana* (= Skt. *dharmā-śilana*) is the equivalent of *dharmavāyo* at Gīrnār; see above, p. 24, n. 14.

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

LEFT HALF



SCALE ONE-NINTH

RIGHT HALF



SCALE ONE-NINTH

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury¹ or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.²

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in **Kaliṅga**, (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(L) And **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests³ which are (included) in the dominions of **Dēvānāmpriya**, even those he pacifies (and) converts.⁴

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which **Dēvānāmpriya** (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,⁵ in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For **Dēvānāmpriya** desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.⁶

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one⁷ by **Dēvānāmpriya**, viz. the conquest by morality.

¹ 'The meaning of *apagratho* is fixed by the various readings *upaghāte* (Kālsī) and *upaghāto* (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for *grathita* the meaning *hata*, *hinisita*; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s.v. *granth*.'—Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 174.

² 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.

³ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 174 f.), the nom. plur. *aṭavi* is used in the sense of *āṭavikāḥ*. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression *lakṣaṇā*. One of the examples given in the *Tarkasaṃgrahadīpikā*, § 59, is मञ्चः क्रोशन्ति, 'the tribunes (i.e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'

⁴ Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. *nijhapayisanti* and *nijhapayitā* (or *nijhapayitave*) in the pillar-edict IV, M, *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, R, and *nijhati* in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa, where Aśoka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

⁵ Bühler (EI, 2. 471) rendered *anutāpe prabhavē* (i.e. *anutāpē prabhāvē*) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to *anutāpa* is unusual, and this word is a synonym of *anuśaya* or *anuśōchana* in section D of this edict. Thomas takes *prabhavē* = Skt. *prabhavēt*; see V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgarhī the 3. sing. opt. ends in *-eyati*; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

⁶ I adopt Lüders' rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914. 851. The Girnār and Kālsī versions replace the locative *rabhasiye* (= Skt. *rābhasyē*) by the accusative *mādava* or *madava* (= Skt. *mārdavam*, 'kindness').

⁷ *mukha-muta* (also at Mānsehrā, XIII, l. 9) is the same as *mukhya-muta* in the Lauriyā-Arārāj and Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edicts, VI, F.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka** (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoka**, (where) **four—4—kings** (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Turamaya**, (the king) named **Antikini**, (the king) named **Maka**, (and the king) named **Alikasudara**, (and) towards the south, (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇī**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōyas**, among the **Nabhakas** and **Nabhitis**,¹ among the **Bhōjas** and **Pitinikas**, among the **Andhras** and **Palidas**,²—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,³ they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims),⁴ which is pleasure in morality.

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBĀZGARHĪ

- 13 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रिणि रज निपेसपित अस्ति वो संक्षितेन
अस्ति यो विस्त्रितेन (B) न हि सवच्च ससवे गटिते (C) महलके हि विजिते
बहु च लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपितं तस
तस अठस मधुरियये येन जन तथ
- 14 पटिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अच किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय करण
व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

¹ The Kālsī version reads *Nābhapaṃti* for *Nabhiti*.

² See above, p. 48, n. 14.

³ Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kālsī and Mānsehrā differs here. Unless the Shāhbāzgarhī reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prākṛit substantive *chatti* = Skt. **tyakti* in the sense of *tyāga*.

- 13 (A) ayi¹ dhrama-dipi² **Devanāṃpriyena Priśi[na]**³ **raña** nipesapita⁴ asti vo
 :saṃkshitenā⁵ asti yo vistṛiṭena (B) na hi savatra⁶ sasavre⁷ gaṭite⁸ (C) mahalake
 hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]eśāmi cheva (D) asti chu⁹ atra puna puna
 [la]pitaṃ tasa tasa [a]ṭṭhasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha
 14 paṭipajeyati¹⁰ (E) so siya va atra kiche¹¹ asamataṃ likhitaṃ deśaṃ va saṃkhay[a]¹²
 karaṇa va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written¹³ by **king**
Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin either in an abridged (form) or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause
 still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm
 of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.¹⁴

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of
 the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,¹⁵ or by the fault of the writer.

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

A.—First Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिण रजिन लिखपित (B) हिद नो किछि
 जिवे अरभितु प्रजोहि-
 2 तविये (C) नो पि च समजे कटविये (D) बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये
 प्रियद्रशि रज दखति (E) अस्ति पि चु
 3 एकतिय समज सधुमत देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने (F) पुर महनससि
 देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस र-
 4 जिने अनुदिवस बहुनि प्रणशतसहस्रनि अरभिसु सुपथ्ये (G) से द
 अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित तद तिनि येव प्रणनि अरभियंति दुवे २ मजु-
 5 र एके म्रिगे से पि चु म्रिगे नो ध्रुवं (H) एतनि पि चु तिनि प्रणनि पच नो
 अरभि

¹ *ayo* Bühler.

² There is a vacant space between *ma* and *di*.

³ Read *Priyadrasina*.

⁴ *dipapito* Bühler.

⁵ *saṃkshitenā* Bühler.

⁶ *savratra* Bühler.

⁷ Read *savre*; [*so*] *savre* Bühler.

⁸ Read *ghaṭite*; *ghaṭiti* Bühler.

⁹ *cha* Bühler.

¹⁰ *praṭi* Bühler.

¹¹ Read *kichi*, which is Bühler's reading.

¹² *saṃkhaye* Bühler.

¹³ With *nipesapita* cf. *nipesitaṃ* in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict IV, K.

¹⁴ With the optative *paṭipajeyati* (= *°yāti* at Dhauli and Jaugada) cf. *apakareyati* (XIII, l. 7), *nivaṭeyati* (IX, l. 20), and *siyati* (= *śiyāti* or *shiyāti* at Kālsī); see above, p. 40, n. 1.

¹⁵ See above, p. 8, n. 3.

- 1 (A) ayi dhra[ma]-dip[i] Devana[m]priye]na¹ Priya[draśina rajina li]khapita (B) hi[da] no kichhi² ji[ve] ara[bhita] pra[johi]-
 2 taviye³ (C) no pi [cha] samaj[e] kaṭaviye⁴ (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha samajasa Devana[m]priye] Priyadraśi raja [da]kha[ti] (E) asti [pi chu]
 3 [eka]tiya samaja sa[dhu]-mata Devanapriyasa Priyadraśi[sa]⁵ rajine (F) pura maha[nasa]si [Devana]pri[ya]sa Pri[yadra]śisa ra-
 4 jine anudiva[sa ba]huni praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani [arabh]isu supa[thra]ye (G) s[e] [da] ayi dhrama-dipi likhi[ta] ta[da] ti[ni] y[eva] pra[ṇa]ni [ara]bh[iya]nti du[v]e [2] maju-
 5 ra [e]k[e]⁶ m[r]ig[e] s[e] p[i] chu mrig[e] no dhruva[m] (H) [e]tani pi chu [tini] praṇani pacha no ara[bhi]

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 5 (A) सवत्र विजितसि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने ये च अत अथ
 6 चोड पंडिय सतियपुत्र केरलपुत्र तंबपणि अतियोगे नम योनरज ये च अ स
 गस समत रजने सवत्र प्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने
 7 दुवे २ चिकिस कठ मनुश्चिकिस च पशुचिकिस च (B) ओषढनि मनु कनि
 च प कनि च अत्र अत्र नस्ति सवत्र हरपित च रोपपित च
 8 (C) एवमेव मुलनि च फलनि च अत्र अत्र नस्ति सवत्र हरपित च रोपपित च
 (D) मगेषु रुद्धनि रोपपितनि पितनि पठिभोगये पशु-
 मुनिशनं

- 5 (A) sa[vatra vi]jitas Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa rajine ye cha ata⁷ atha
 6 [Choda] Pa[m̐di]ya Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Keralaputra⁸ [Tam]bapaṇi [A]tiyoge⁹
 nama Yona-[raja] ye cha [a] sa [gasa] samata¹⁰ ra[jane sa]vratra
 priyasa Priyadraśisa rajine
 7 [duve 2] chikisa [ka]ṭa manuśa-chik[isa] cha paśu-[chi]kisa cha (B) osha[dha]ni¹¹
 manu ka[ni] cha pa [kani] cha atra atra¹² nasti savra]tra [ha]rapi[ta]
 cha] ropa[pita] cha
 8 (C) e[va]meva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra a]tra [na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha
 ro[pa]pita cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani¹³ [ropa]pi[tani]¹⁴ [pi]tani
 paṭibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śanaṁ¹⁵

¹ [De]vana[pri]yena Bühler.² kichi Bühler.³ pra[yuho]taviye Bühler.⁴ sama[ja] kaṭaviya Bühler.⁵ [Pri]yadraśi[ne] Bühler.⁶ Bühler inserted the figure '1'.⁷ aṁta Bühler.⁸ °putr[e] Bühler.⁹ . tiyo[ke] Bühler.¹⁰ samaṁta Bühler.¹¹ osha[dhi]ni Bühler.¹² [ya]tra yatra Bühler.¹³ ru[chha] Bühler.¹⁴ The next symbol (read [ku] by Bühler) may be the first letter (u) of udupanani.¹⁵ -m[a]nuśana Bühler.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एव अह (B) दुवडशवषभिसेतेन मे इयं अणपयिते
(C) सव्रच विजितसि त रजु . . प्रदेशिके पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु
10 अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतये व अथूये इमये धमनुशस्तिये यथ अजये पि क्रमणे
(D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुत-
11 जतिकनं च ब्रमणश्मरणं सधु दने प्रणन अनरभे सधु अपवयत अपभडत सधु
(E) परिष पि च युतनि गणनसि अणपयिशति हेतुते च वियंज-
12 नते च

- 9 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[. a]śa-vashabhisetena¹
me iyaṁ² [aṇapayit]e (C) savrat[r]a vijitasi ta³ [ra]ju . . pradeśike
[paṁ]chashu paṁ[chashu] 5 vashesh[u]
10 anusa[m]yana[m] nikramatu⁴ etaye va⁵ athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye ya[tha]⁶
añaye⁷ pi krama[ṇe]⁸ (D) [sadhu mata]-pi[tu]shu [s]u[śrusha mitra]-sa[m]stuta-
11 ñatikanam cha bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[m]⁹ sadhu dane praṇana [anara]bhe sadhu
apa-[va]yata apa-bha[ḍata] sadhu (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[ṇa]nasi
[aṇapa]yiśa[ti] he[tute] cha vi[yaṁja]-
12 nate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वधिते वो प्रणरंभे विहिस च भुतनं जतिन
असपटिपति श्रमणब्रमणन असंपटिपति
13 (B) से अज देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने धमचरणेन भेरिघोषे अहो धमघोषे
विमनद्रशन अस्तिने अगिकंधनि अजनि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशेति जनस
14 (C) अदिशे बहुहि वषशतेहि न हुतमुवे तदिशे अज वढिते देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने
रजिने धमनुशस्तिय अनरभे प्रणन अविहिस भुतन जतिन
15 संपटिपति ब्रमणश्मरणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष वुधन सुश्रुष (D) एषे अजे
च बहुविधे धमचरणे वधिते (E) वधयिशति येव देवनप्रिये
16 प्रियद्रशि रज धमचरण इमं (F) पुत्र पि च क नतरे च पणतिक देवनप्रियस
प्रियद्रशिने रजिने पवढयिशंति यो धमचरण इमं अवकपं धमे शिले च

¹ Read °bhisitena. ² ayaṁ Bühler. ³ [me] . . ta Bühler. ⁴ nikrama[m]tu Bühler.

⁵ vaṁ Bühler. What he took for an Anusvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved) bottom-line which he has noted in *ja* (ZDMG, 43. 275), and which the Mānsehrā version uses also in *ḍa* (XIII, 10), *ḍha* (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), *ta* of *mata* (I, 3; IV, 15; XIII, 4), *tha* (II, 5; V, 20, 26; XII, 4; cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and *pa* (XII, 5).

⁶ *ya . aṁ* Bühler. ⁷ *añaye* Bühler. ⁸ *kramane* Bühler. ⁹ *-śramaṇanam* Bühler.

- 17 चिठितु ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एषे हि सेठे अं धमनुशशन (H) ध्रमचरणे पि च
न होति अशिलस (I) से इमस अयस वध्रि अहिनि च सधु (J) एतये
- 18 अयये इयं लिखिते एतस अयस वध्र युजंतु हनि च म अलोचयिसु (K)
दुवदशवषभिसितेन देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि न रजिन इयं लिखपिते
- 12 (A) atikratam ata[ram]¹ bahuni vasha-sa[ta]ni vadhite vo² pranaram[bh]e vihi[sa]
cha bhutanam natina asapa[t]ipati srama[na]-bramanana³ asa[m]pa[ti]pati
- 13 (B) se aja [De]vanapriyasa Priyadrasine rajine dhrama-[cha]ra[ne]na bheri-
ghoshe aho dhama-ghoshe⁴ vimana-drasana asti[ne]⁵ agi-kamdhana[i] aña[ni
cha] di[vani] rupani draśeti janasa
- 14 (C) [a]diśe bahuhi vasha-sa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]ja vadhite [De]vana-
priyasa Priyadrasine rajine dhramanuśastiya anarabhe pranana⁶ avihisa
bhutana natina
- 15 sampa[ti]pati bama[na]-srama[na]⁷ sa[m]pa[ti]pati mata-pitushu⁸ suśru[sha] vudhrana
[su]śrusa (D) eshe añ[e] cha bahavidhe dhrama-chara[ne] vadhrite (E)
vadhraiśati yeva Devanapriye
- 16 Priyadraśi raja dhama-[cha]ra[na]⁹ ima[m]¹⁰ (F) [putra] pi cha ka¹¹ natore cha
pañatika De[va]napriyasa Priyadaśine¹² rajine pavadhayisānti yo¹³ dhrama-
chara[na] imam [a]va-kapa[m] dhrame śile cha
- 17 [chi]t[hi]tu¹⁴ dhra[mam] anu[śa]śisānti (G) eshe hi sreṭhe a[m] dhramanuśasana
(H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ne] pi [cha] na hoti aśi[la]sa (I) se imasa athrasa vadhri
ahi[ni cha] sadhu (J) etaye
- 18 athraye i[ya[m]¹⁵ li[khi]te e[ta]sa [athra]sa vadhra¹⁶ yu[jam]tu hini cha ma
[alo]chay[i]su¹⁷ (K) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Devanapriyena Priya-
draśina rajina iya[m] likhapite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 19 (A) देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) ये अदिकरे कयणस
से दुकरं करोति (D) तं मय बहु कयणे कटे (E) तं मअ पुव च
- 20 नतरे च पर च तेन ये अपतिये मे अवकपं तथ अनुवटिशति से सुकट कषति
(F) ये चु अत्र देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति
- 21 (G) पपे हि नम सुपदरवे (H) से अतिक्रतं अंतरं न भुतपुव ध्रममहमच नम (I)
से वेदशवषभिसितेन मय ध्रममहमच कट (J) ते सवपषडेव
- 22 वपुट ध्रमधियनये च ध्रमवधिय हिदसुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंबोजगधरन
रठिकपितिनिकन ये व पि अजे अपरत (K) भटमये-

¹ a[m]ta[ram] Bühler.⁴ dhrama-goshe Bühler.⁷ -srama[na]ni Bühler.¹⁰ ima Bühler.¹³ Bühler omitted yo.¹⁷ anu[lo]chayisu Bühler.² vadhite vam Bühler.⁵ hastine Bühler.⁸ matu- Bühler.¹¹ ku Bühler.¹⁴ [ti]stitu Bühler.³ -bramananam Bühler.⁶ prananam Bühler.⁹ dhrama- Bühler.¹² Devanapriyasa Priyadrasine Bühler.¹⁵ i[mam] Bühler.¹⁶ Read vadhri.

- 23 षु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनथेषु वुधेषु हिदसुखये भ्रमयुतअपलिबोधये वियपुट ते (L)
बधनबधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये च इयं
- 24 अनुबध प्रज ति व कट्टभिकर ति व महलके ति व वियप्रट ते (M) हिद बहिरेषु
च नगरेषु सव्रेषु ओरोधनेषु भतन च स्पसुन च
- 25 ये व पि अजे जतिके सव्रच वियपट (N) ए इयं भ्रमनिशितो तो व भ्रमधिचने
ति व दनसंयुते ति व सव्रच विजितसि मअ भ्रमयुतसि वपुट ते
- 26 भ्रममहमच (O) एतये अथूये अयि भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथ च मे
प्रज अनुवटतु

- 19 (A) De[vanam]priyena¹ Priyadraśi raja eva[m] aha (B) kalaṇa[m] dukara[m]
(C) ye adikare kayāṇasa se dukaraṁ karoti (D) taṁ maya bahu [ka]yaṇe
[ka]ṭe (E) [ta]m ma[a] putra [cha]
- 20 natar[e] cha² para³ cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]paṁ tatha anuvaṭṭisati⁴ se
sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapeṣati se dukāṭa kashati
- 21 (G) pape hi nama supadarave⁵ (H) s[e] atikrata[m] a[m]tara[m] na bhuta-pruva
dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama (I) se treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya dhrama-
mahamatra kaṭa (J) te savra-pa[sha]desha⁶
- 22 vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yutasa
Yona-Kaṁboja-Gadharana⁷ Raṭhika-Pitinikana⁸ ye va pi aṇe aparata (K)
bha[ṭa]maye-
- 23 shu bramaṇibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-su[khaye]⁹ dhrama-yuta-
apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (L) badhana-badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye
mokshay[e cha iyaṁ]
- 24 anubadha p[r]aja¹⁰ t[i] va kaṭrabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṭa te (M)
hida¹¹ bahireshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu bhatana¹² cha
spas[u]na [cha]
- 25 ye va pi aṇe ṇatike savratra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyaṁ dhrama-niśito to¹³ va
dhramadhithane ti va dana-saṁyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhrama-yutasi
vaputa [te]
- 26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika hotu
tatha¹⁴ cha me praja anuvaṭatu

¹ Read °priye, which is Bühler's reading.

² Bühler omitted cha.

³ param Bühler.

⁴ tatham anuvaṭṭisati Bühler.

⁵ supadare v[a] Bühler.

⁶ Read °deshu, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ -Ga[m]dharanam Bühler.

⁸ Raṭrakra- Bühler. The second symbol (tḥi) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbāz-garhī, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like kaṁ; but the apparent Anusvāra is the optional bottom-line of the letter. Cf. the ka of chira-ṭhitika, VI, 3I, and above, p. 73, n. 5.

⁹ hidaṁ- Bühler.

¹⁰ paja Bühler; ja looks like ju.

¹¹ hidaṁ Bühler.

¹² Read bhatuna.

¹³ -niśiti ti Bühler; read ti for to.

¹⁴ tatham Bühler.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 26 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अञ्ज (B) अतिक्रतं अतरं
 27 न हुतप्रुवे सव्रं कल अथक्रम व पटिवेदन व (C) त मय एवं किटं (D) सव्र
 कलं अशतस मे ओरोधने यभगरंसि व्रचस्पि विनितस्पि उयनस्पि सव्रच
 पटिवेदक अथ जनस
 28 पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सव्रच च जनस अथ करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किछि मुखतो
 अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अ्रवकं व ये व पुन महमचेहि अचयिके अरोपिते
 होति
 29 तये अथये विवदे निजति व संत परिषये अनतलियेन पटिवेदेतविये मे
 सव्रच सव्र कल (G) एवं अणपित मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषे उठनसि
 अथसंतरणये च
 30 (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस चु पुन एषे मुले उठने अथसतिरण
 च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतर सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किछि परक्रममि अञ्जं
 किति भुतनं
 31 अणणियं येहं इञ्ज च षे सुखयमि परच च स्पय अरधेतु ति (M) से एतये अथये
 इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथ च मे पुच नतरे परक्रमते सव्र-
 32 लोकहितये (N) दुकरे च खो अञ्जच अयेन परक्रमेन

- 26 (A) Devanapriye¹ Priyadraśi raja [e]va[m] aa² (B) atikratam ataram³
 27 na⁴ huta-pruve [sa]vram kala athra-[krama] va [pa]tivedana va (C) ta maya evam
 kitam (D) savra kalam asatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi vinitaspi
 uyanaspi savratra pa[t]i[ve]da[ka] athra janasa
 28 pativedetu me (E) savratra cha janasa athra kar[o]mi aham (F) yam pi cha⁵
 kichhi⁶ mukhato⁷ anapemi aham dapakam va sravakam va ye⁸ va puna
 mahamatrehi achayike aropite⁹ hoti
 29 taye athraye vivade nijati¹⁰ va samta par[isha]ye a[na]taliyena pativedetaviye¹¹
 me savratra savra kala (G) evam anapita maya (H) nasti hi me toshe
 [uṭhanasi] ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇaye cha
 30 (I) kaṭaviya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te (J) [ta]sa chu puna eshe mule uṭhane
 athra-satiraṇa cha (K) nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena (L) ya[m] cha
 [kichhi]¹² pa[rakra]mami aam¹³ k[i]t[i] bh[u]tanam
 31 ananīyam¹⁴ ye[ham] ia cha she¹⁵ sukhayami paratra cha spagra¹⁶ a[ra]dhetu ti

¹ Devana[m]priye Bühler.² aha Bühler.³ atikramtam amtaram Bühler.⁴ n[o] Bühler.⁵ Bühler omitted cha.⁶ kichi Bühler.⁷ mukhato looks almost like mukhati, which is Bühler's reading.⁸ yam Bühler.⁹ aropita Bühler.¹⁰ Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.¹¹ a[na]taliyena pativeditaviye Bühler.¹² [ki]chi Bühler.¹³ aham Bühler.¹⁴ ananīyam Bühler.¹⁵ sha Bühler.¹⁶ spagram Bühler.

- (M) se etaye athraye iyaṁ dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika¹ hotu ta[tha²
cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate³ sa[vra]-
32 [lo]ka-hitaye (N) dukare cha⁴ kho [a]ñātra a[g]rena para[kra]mena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 32 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज सव्रच इच्छति सव्रपषड वसेयु (B) सव्रे हि ते समय
भवशुधि च
33 इच्छति (C) जने चु उचवुचछदे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सव्रं एकदेशं व पि कषति (E)
विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयेमे भवशुति क्कित्तनत्त द्दिढभत्तित च
34 निचे बढं
- 32 (A) Devanapriyo⁵ Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati savra-pashaḍa vaseyu (B)
savre hi te sa[ya]ma [bha]va-śu[dh]i [cha]
33 [ichham]ti (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhade⁶ uchavucha-rage (D) te savraṁ eka-deśam
va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme⁷ bhava-śuti⁸
kiṭanata driḍha-bhatita⁹ cha
34 niche baḍham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 34 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) इअ म्रिगविय अजनि
च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि
35 रज दशवषभिस्सिते संतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद धमयद (E) अच इय होति
शमणब्रमणन द्रशने दने च वुधन द्रशने च हिजपटिविधने च
36 जनपदस जनस द्रशने धमनुशस्ति च धमपरिपुछ च ततोपय (F) एषे भुये रति
होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस
37 रजिने भगे अणे
- 34 (A) a[ti]krataṁ ataraṁ¹⁰ Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) ia¹¹
mrigaviya añani cha ediśani abhiramani husu (C) s[e] Devanap[r]iy[e]
P[r]iyadraśi
35 raja daśa-vashabhisite saṁta[m] nikrami Sabodhi¹² (D) tenada dhrama-yada¹³

¹ -ṭhitikaṁ Bühler.² tatham Bühler.³ °manite Bühler.⁴ chu Bühler.⁵ °[priye] Bühler.⁶ -chade Bühler.⁷ sayame Bühler.⁸ Read -śudhi.⁹ driḍhra- Bühler.¹⁰ aṁtaram Bühler.¹¹ i[ha] Bühler.¹² sambodhi Bühler.¹³ tenad[am] dhrama-yadra Bühler. What looks like an Anusvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of *da*, which occurs also in V, 23, 24; VIII, 36; IX, 8 (twice); X, 9; XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n. 7.

- (E) atra iya hoti śamaṇa-bramaṇana ¹ dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana ² dra[śa]ne
[cha hi]ṇa-paṭivi[dhane ³ cha]
36 janapadasa janasa draśane dhramaṇuśasti cha dhrama-[pa]r[i]puchha cha tatopaya
(F) eshe bhuye rati hoti Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa
37 rajine bhage aṇe

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

B.—North Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति
- 2 अबधसि अवहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्मि एतये अजये च एदिशये जने
- 3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अत्र तु अबकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरप्पिय
च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो
- 4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एषे (F) इयं चु खो महफले ये धम्ममगले (G) अत्र
इयं दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति गुरुन अपचिति
- 5 प्रणन सयमे अमणब्रमणन दने एषे अणे च एदिशे धम्ममगले नम (H) से
वतविये पितुन पि पुत्तेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
- 6 मित्रसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अथूस
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम कषमि ति (I) ए हि इतरे मगले
- 7 शशयिके से (J) सिय व तं अथं निवटेय सिय पन नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से
(L) इयं पुन धम्ममगले अकलिके (M) हचे पि तं अथं नो निवटेति हिद
अथ परच
- 8 अनत पुण प्रसवति (N) हचे पुन तं अथं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं अरधे होति
हिद च से अथे परच च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन धम्मगलेन

- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja evaṃ aha (B) jane uchavucha[m ma]gala[m]
karoti
- 2 abadhasi a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi prajopadaye pravasaspi etaye añaye [cha ed]iśa[ye
jane]
- 3 bahu maṅga[laṃ ka]ro[t]i (C) atra tu abaka-janika ⁴ bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda
cha nirathriya cha magalaṃ karoti (D) se ka[ṭaviye ch]eva ⁵ kho
- 4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iyaṃ chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-
magale ⁶ (G) atra iyaṃ dasa-bhaṭakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[pachit]i
- 5 pra[ṇa]na [sa]yame śramaṇa-bramaṇana [dane] eshe aṇe cha ediśe dhrama-magale
nama (H) se vataviye pi[tu]na pi putrena pi bhratuna ⁷ pi spamikena pi
- 6 mitra-sa[m]stutena [a]va paṭiveśiyena pi iyaṃ sadhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye magale ava tasa
athrasa nivuṭiya nivuṭasi va puna ima [ka]shami ti ⁸ (I) e hi [i]tare ⁹ maga[le]

¹ śramaṇa- Bühler.

⁴ balika for abaka- Bühler.

⁷ bhatuna Bühler.

² vadhrana Bühler.

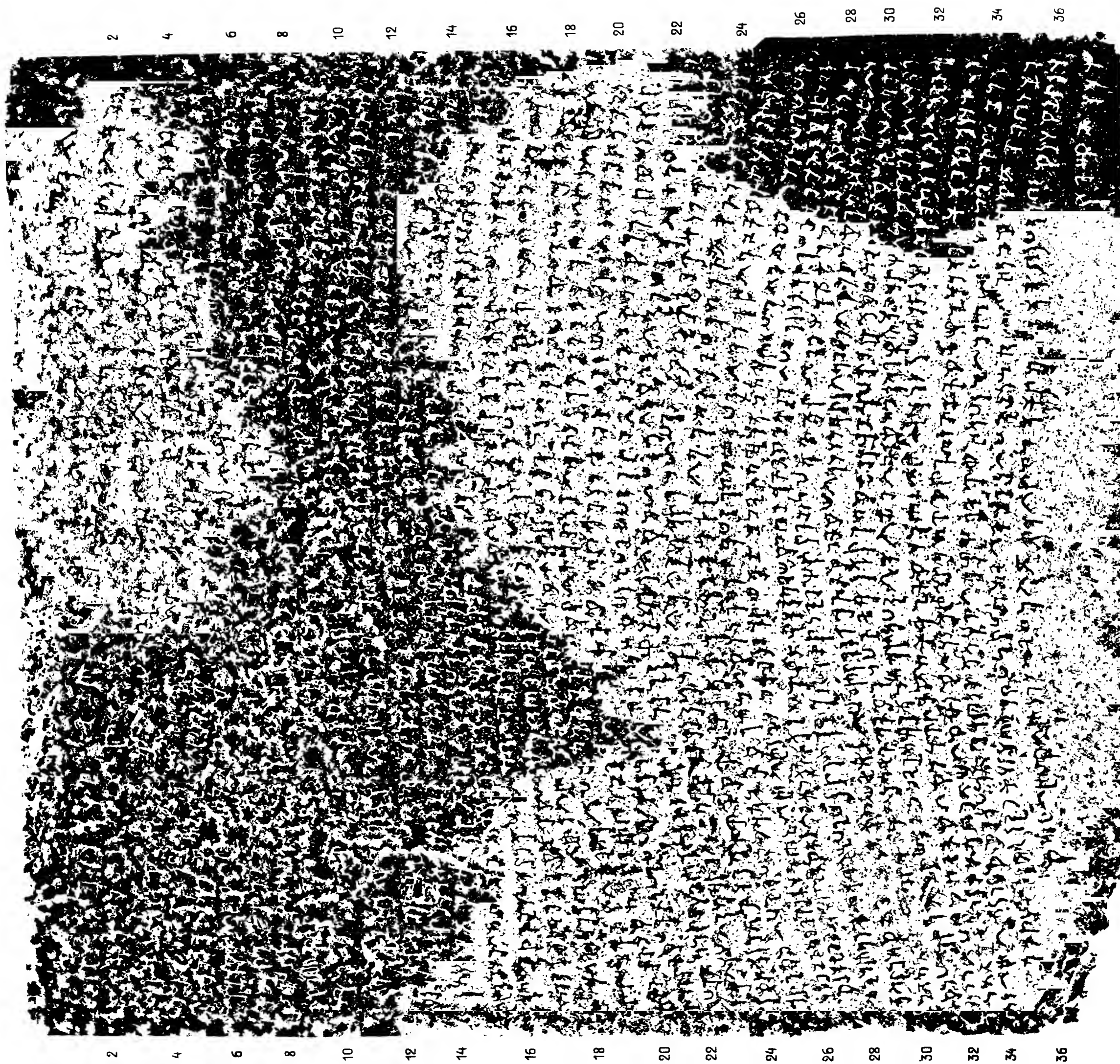
⁵ cha for [ch]eva Bühler.

⁸ k[e]sh[a]miti Bühler.

³ Read hiraṇa-.

⁶ -maṅgale Bühler.

⁹ [a]trake Bühler.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

- 7 śa[śa]yike se (J) s[i]ya va taṁ athraṁ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no (K) hida[o]kike
cheva se¹ (L) iyaṁ puna dhrama-magale akalike (M) [ha]che pi taṁ athraṁ
no² nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra
- 8 anata puṇa³ prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m̃] athraṁ⁴ nivaṭ[e]i hida tato⁵
ubhayesaṁ [ara]dhe⁶ hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata⁷ puṇaṁ
prasavati tena dhramagalena⁸

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि व नो महथ्रवहं मज्जति अणच यं पि
यशो व किटि व इछति तदत्वये अयतिय च जने ध्रमसुश्रुष सश्रुषतु मे ति
- 10 ध्रमवुतं च अनुविधियतु ति (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि
व इछति (C) किछि परक्रमति देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज तं सव्रं
परचिकये व किति
- 11 सकले अपपरिसवे सियति ति (D) एषे चु परिसवे ए अपुणे (E) दुकरे चु खो
एषे खुदकेन व वयेन उसटेन व अनच अयेन परक्रमेन सव्रं परितिजितु (F)
अच तु खो उसटेनेव दुकरे

- 9 (A) [Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja yaśo va kiṭi va no⁹ mahathravaham mañati
aṇatra yaṁ pi ya[śo va] kiṭi va ichhati tadatvaye¹⁰ ayatiya cha jane
[dhra]ma-suśrusha suśrushatu¹¹ me ti
- 10 dhrama-[vutaṁ cha]¹² anuvīdhiyatu ti (B) etakaye Devanapriye Priya[dra]śi
raja yaśo va kiṭi va i[chha]ti (C) [k]ichhi¹³ parak[r]ama[ti] Devanapriye
Priyadraśi raja taṁ savraṁ parat[r]ikay[e va k]i[ti]
- 11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]isav[e] siyati ti (D) eshe chu¹⁴ pa[r]isave e apu[ṇe]¹⁵ (E) dukare¹⁶
chu kho eshe khudakena¹⁷ [va va]gr[e]na [u]saṭena va ana[tra]¹⁸ a[gre]na
para[krame]na sav[raṁ] pariti[ji]tu (F) atra¹⁹ tu [kho] usaṭeneva du[ka]re²⁰

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) नस्ति एदिशे दने अदिशे ध्रमदने
ध्रमसंथवे ध्रमसंविभग ध्रमसंबंधे (C) तच एषे दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष

¹ i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha] vase Bühler.² na Bühler.³ an[an]taṁ puṇaṁ Bühler.⁴ [a] . ra Bühler.⁵ tato looks almost like tati.⁶ ubhayasa [va la]dhe Bühler.⁷ ana[m̃]ta[m̃] Bühler.⁸ Read dhrama-magalena. The same mistake is found in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.⁹ n[a] Bühler.¹⁰ tadattaye Bühler; but see above, p. 62, n. 2.¹¹ The syllable śru is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at the time of the inscription.¹² Bühler omitted cha.¹³ [e tu] kichi Bühler.¹⁴ tu Bühler.¹⁵ [apu]ṇa[m̃] Bühler.¹⁶ dukaram Bühler.¹⁷ khudrakena Bühler.¹⁸ a[ṇa]tra Bühler.¹⁹ e . . Bühler.²⁰ usaṭena va duka[ra] Bühler.

- 13 मित्रसंस्तुतज्जतिकन अमणब्रमणन दने प्रणन अनरभे (D) एषे वतविये पितुन
पि पुत्रेन पि भृतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मित्रसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन
14 इयं सधु इयं कटविये (E) से तथ करतं हिदलोके च कं अरधे होति परच च
अनंतं पुणं प्रसवति तेन धमदनेन

- 12 (A) Devanapri[y]e Priyadraśi raja evaṃ aha (B) nasti ediśe dane [a]diśe
dhrama-dane dhrama-saṃtha[v]e dhrama-saṃvibhaga¹ dhrama-sa[m̐]ba[m̐]dh[e]
(C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]śi samya-paṭipati² mata-[pitu]shu su[śru]sha
13 mitra-saṃ[stuta]-ñatikana śramaṇa-bramaṇana dan[e] praṇana [ana]rabhe³ (D)
[e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna⁴ pi spamike[na] pi mitra-
saṃ[stu]t[e]na ava paṭiveśiyena
14 iyaṃ sa[dhu] iyaṃ kaṭaviye⁵ (E) se tatha karata[m̐] hi[dalo]ke⁶ [cha] kaṃ⁷ aradhe
ho[ti]⁸ pa[ra]tra cha ana[m̐]taṃ puṇaṃ p[r̥]asavati te[na dhra]ma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C.—South Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज सत्रपषडनि प्रवजितनि गेहथनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
2 देवनंप्रिये मज्जति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सत्रपषडन ति (C) सलवढि तु
बहुविध (D) तस चु इयं मुले अं वचगुति
3 किति अतप्रषडपुज व परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि पकरणसि (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषड तेन तेन
4 अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अत्वपषड बढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (G)
तदंजथ करतं अतप्रषड च छणति परपषडस पि च
5 अपकरोति (H) ये हि केछि अत्वपषड पुजेति परपषड व गरहति सत्रे अत्व-
पषडभतिय व किति अत्वपषड दिपयम ति . . . पुन तथ करतं
6 बढतरं उपहंति अत्वपषड (I) से समवये वो सधु किति अणमणस धमं श्रुण्ये
च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनप्रियस इछ किति सत्रपषड बहुश्रुत च
7 कयणगम च हुवेयु ति (K) ए च तच तच प्रसन तेहि वतविये (L) देवनप्रिये नो
तथ दनं व पुजं व मणति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सत्रपषडन
8 (M) बहुक च एतये अथूये वपुट धममहमच इस्त्रिजक्षमहमच वचभुमिक अजे च
निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले
9 यं अत्वपषडवढि च भोति धमस च दिपन

¹ °bhage Bühler.

² -[bha]ta . . sa sa[mya]-saṃpaṭipati Bühler.

³ anarambhe Bühler.

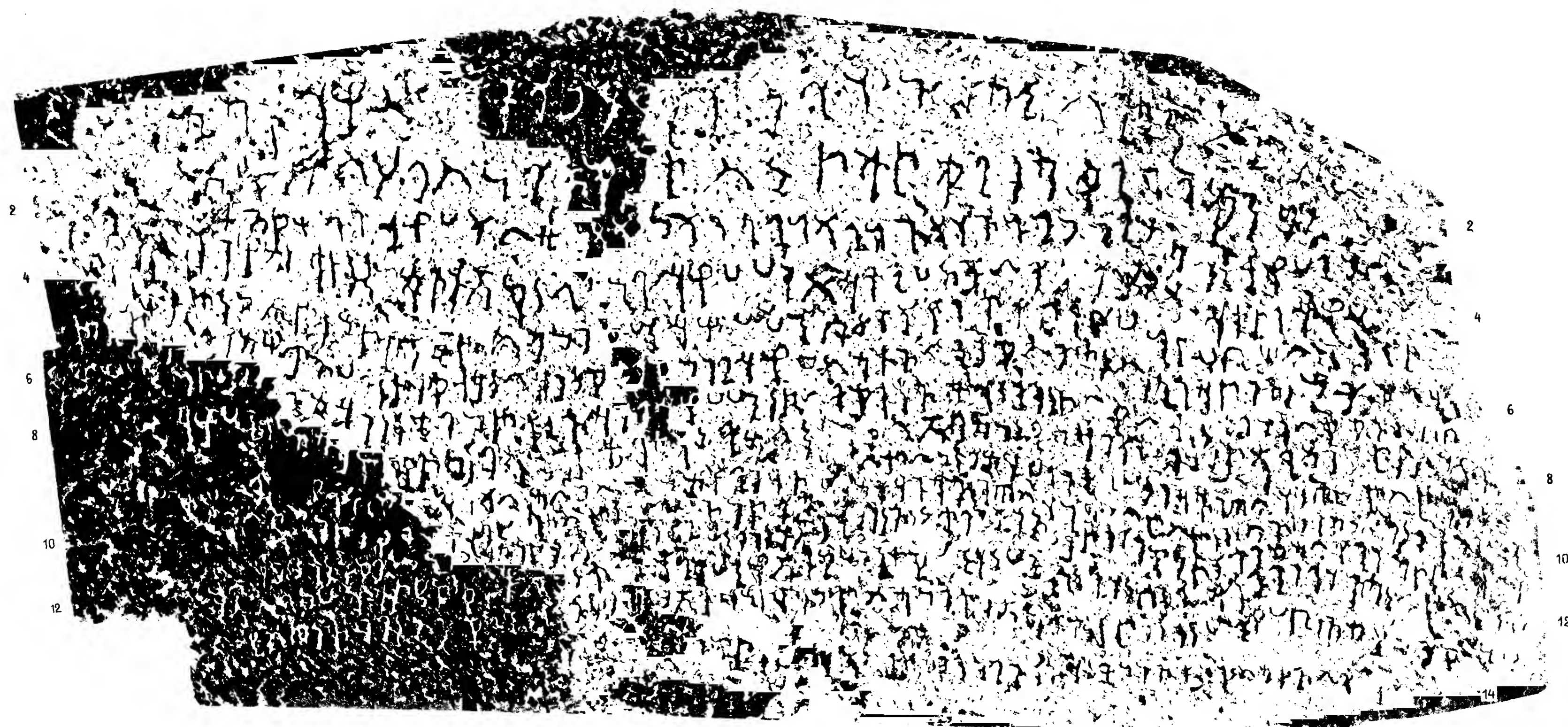
⁴ bhatuna Bühler.

⁵ krataviye Bühler.

⁶ karamtaṃ hida . . ka Bühler.

⁷ [ku?] Bühler in foot-note 10.

⁸ aradhe . . i Bühler.





SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

- 1 (A) **Devanapriye Priyadrasi raja** savra-pashadani [p]rava[ji]tani gehathani¹ cha
pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye² (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va
2 [De]vana[m]priye mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya savra-pashadana ti (C) sala-
vrudhi t[u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyaṁ mule aṁ vacha-guti
3 kiti ata-prashada-puja va para-pashada-garaha va no siya apakaraṇasi lahuka va
siya tasi tasi pakaraṇasi (E) pujetaviya va chu para-p[r]ashada tena tena
4 akarena (F) evaṁ karataṁ atva-pashada³ badhaṁ vadhayati para-pashadasa pi cha
upakaroti (G) tad-aṁñatha⁴ karataṁ ata-pashada⁵ cha chhaṇati para-pashadasa
pi cha
5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi⁶ atva-pashada pujeti para-pashada va garahati savre
atva-pashada-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashada dipayama ti puna tatha
karataṁ
6 badhataraṁ⁷ upahaṁti⁸ atva-pasha[da] (I) se samavaye vo⁹ sadhu ki[ti] aṇamaṇasa
dhramaṁ śruṇ[e]y[u] cha suśrushe[ya] cha ti (J) evaṁ hi **Devanapriyasa**¹⁰
ichha kiti savra-pashada bahu-śruta cha
7 kayanaḡama cha [hu]veyu¹¹ ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye (L)
Devanapriye no tatha danaṁ va puja[m] va mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya
savra-pashada[na]
8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vapuṭa dhrama-mahamatra istriyaksha-mahamatra¹²
vracha-bh[u]mika aṇe cha nikay[e]¹³ (N) iyaṁ cha etisa phale
9 yaṁ atva-pashada-vaḍhi cha bh[o]t[i] dhramasa cha [di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT : MANSEHRA

D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अठवषभिसितस देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने कलिग विजित (B) दियढमवे
प्रणशतस
2 मटे (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिन्ने भ्रमवये
भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रि (D)
3 मरणे व अपवहे व जनस से बढं वेदनियमते गुरुमते च देवनप्रियस (E) इयं पि
चु ततो
4 येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुसुश्रुष मिचसंस्तु

¹ -prashadani pravrajitani gahathani Bühler.² pujaya Bühler.³ Here, and in five other places of the same edict, Bühler read *atma-* for *atva-*. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the *tva* of *tadatvaye* in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read *atva-*, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 804, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 277.⁴ *tadañathaṁ* Bühler. The wavy line at the bottom of *da* need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of *da* itself; see above, p. 77, n. 13.⁵ *atma-* Bühler.⁶ *kechi* Bühler.⁷ *badhamtaraṁ* Bühler.⁸ *haṁti* looks like *aṁti*; *ha[na]ti* Bühler.⁹ *v[a]* Bühler.¹⁰ *Devana[m]priyasa* Bühler.¹¹ *haveyu* Bühler.¹² Read *istrijhaksha-*.¹³ *nikaya* Bühler.

- 5 वधे व अभिरतनं व विनिक्रमणि (H) येषं व पि सुविहितनं सिनेहे अविपहिने ए
तनं मिचसं
- 6 (I) एष सव्रमनुशनं गुरुमते च देवनंप्रियस (J) नस्ति च से
जनपदे यत्र नस्ति इमे निकय अजत्र योनेषु ब्रमणे च अमणे
पि जनपदसि यत्र
- 7 न नम प्रसदे (K) से यवतके जने तद कलिगेषु हते च अपवुडे च
ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगे व अज गुरुमते व देवनंप्रियस (L)
यक मितवि
- 8 (M) .. पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजितसि होति त पि अनुनयति
अनुनिभूपयति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेष कि
..... (O) .. छ वनप्रिय
- 9 (P) सुखमुते विजये देवनंप्रियस ये ध्रमविजये (Q) से च पुन लधे
देवनंप्रियस हिद च सव्रेषु च अंतेषु अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु
तियोगे नम योनरज
- 10 अंते नम मक नम अलिकसुदरे नम निच चोडपंडिय अ तंबपणिय (R)
एवमेव हिद रजविषवसि योनकंबोजेषु नभकनभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिक्केषु
अधप
- 11 (S) यत्र पि दुत देवनंप्रियस न यंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस ध्रमवुत विधनं
ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) ये से लधे एतकेन
होति सवत्र विजये
- 12 (W) परचिकमेव महफल मणति देवनंप्रिये (X) एतये च अणूये इयं ध्रमदिपि
लिखित किति पुच प्रपोच मे असु नवं वि तवियं मणेषु
सय
- 13 (Y) .. हिदलोके परलोकिके (Z) सव च क निरति होतु य ध्रमरति (AA) स
हि इअलोकिक परलोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadraśine rajine [Ka]liga
[v]i[jita] (B) [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e prāṇa-śata-sa
- 2 [ma]ṭe (C) [tato] pacha¹ adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligeshu ti[vr]e dhrama[va]ye
..... [dhra]manu[śa]sti [cha De]vana[pri] (D)
- 3 [maraṇe va apavahe va janasa] se [badham] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha
Devanapriyasa] (F) [i]yam [pi] chu tato
- 4 [ye]su [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ti]-suśrusha mata-pi[tu]sh[u] su[śru]sha guru-suśrusha
mit[r]a-sa[m]stu

¹ *pachha* Bühler. In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.

- 5 [va]dh[e] va abh[iratanam] va vini[k]ramaṇi¹ (H) yesha[m] va pi s[u]vih[itanam]² si[ne]he avipahin[e³ e] ta[nam] mitra-[sam]
- 6 (I) [esha] savra-manuśanam⁴ guru-mate cha **Devanampriyasa** (J) nasti cha se janapade yatra nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[ña]tra **Yoneshu** [bramaṇe⁵ cha] śra[maṇe] pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra
- 7 na⁶ nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane tada **Kaligesh[u]** hate⁷ cha apavudhe cha ta[to]⁸ śata-bhage va sahasra-bhage va⁹ aja guru-ma[te va] **Devanapriya[sa]** (L) pa[ka] [mi]tavi
- 8 (M) . . [pi cha] aṭavi **Devanapriyasa**¹⁰ vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[ti a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]¹¹ (N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhava **Devanapriyasa**¹² vuchati [te]sha¹³ [ki] (O) . . chha **vanapri[y]**¹⁴
- 9 (P) [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye **D[e]vanapriyasa**¹⁵ ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [**Deva**]napri[ya]sa¹⁶ hida cha sa[vr]eshu cha aṁteshu a shashu pi y[o]ja[na-śa]t[e]shu tiyo[ge]¹⁶ nama **Yo**]na-[raja]
- 10 **Aṁt[e]** [nama **Ma**]ka na[ma] **Alikasudare** nama nicha¹⁷ **Choda-Paṁdiya** a **Taṁbapa[m]niya**¹⁸ (R) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]¹⁹ **Y[o]na-Kaṁ**[bojeshu] **Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu**²⁰ [**Bh**]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu **Adha-[Pa]**²¹
- 11 (S) [yatra pi du]ta [**De**]vanapriyasa na²² yaṁti te pi śrutu **Devanapriyasa**²³ dhrama-vuta²⁴ vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti dhra[m]ma[m] anuvīdhiyaṁti [a]nuvidhiy[iśaṁti]²⁵ cha] (T) [ye se] ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra]²⁶ vi[jaye]
- 12 (W) paratrikameva maha-phala [ma]ṇati **De[va]napri[ye]** (X) e[ta]ye cha²⁷ [a]thray[e] iyaṁ dhramma-dipi²⁸ li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[o]tra me a[su] nava[m]²⁹ v[i] [tavi]yaṁ maṇ[ishu saya]
- 13 (Y) . . hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava³⁰ cha [ka]³¹ nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati³² (**AA**) sa hi [i]aloki[ka]³³ paraloki[ka]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 13 (A) इयं भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रियेन प्रिय जिन लिखपित
- 14 लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव नि . . (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपिते तस तस अथस मधुरियये येन जने तथ पटिपजेयति (E) से सिय अच किछि ति लिखित व संखय

¹ °maṇe Bühler.² samvī° Bühler.³ aviprahī[ne] Bühler.⁴ savraṁ manu° Bühler.⁵ yenesha [bramaṇa] Bühler.⁶ no Bühler.⁷ hate looks like aṁte.⁸ [tata] Bühler.⁹ Bühler omitted va.¹⁰ Devanampri° Bühler.¹¹ °paye ti Bühler.¹² Deva[nam]pri° Bühler.¹³ [teshaṁ] Bühler.¹⁴ vanamprī[ye] Bühler.¹⁵ [De]vanamprī° Bühler.¹⁶ yok . Bühler.¹⁷ [ni]chaṁ cha Bühler.¹⁸ °paṁniya Bühler.¹⁹ Visha-Vaj[ri]- Bühler.²⁰ [Nabha]ke [Na]bha° Bühler.²¹ Aṁdha- Bühler.²² no Bühler.²³ Devanamprī° Bühler.²⁴ -vutaṁ Bühler.²⁵ °[saṁti] Bühler.²⁶ Bühler omitted this word.²⁷ Bühler omitted cha.²⁸ dhrama- Bühler.²⁹ nava Bühler.³⁰ savra Bühler.³¹ Bühler omitted ka.³² [s]rama- Bühler.³³ [hida]lo° Bühler.

- 13 (A) [i]yaṁ dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[ya] ¹ [jina likhapita]

 14 [likhite likha]pe[śa]mi che[va] ni . . ² (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pīte] tasa
 ta[sa] a[thra]sa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jane ta[tha] paṭipaje[ya]ti (E) se [si]ya
 atra ki[chhi] [t]i likhi[t .] va [saṁkha]ya

V. THE DHAULI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) सि पवतसि देवानंपिय ना लाजिना
 लिखा ीवं आलभितु पजोह
 2 (C) नो पि च समाजे समाज . . द (E)
 पि चु तिया समाजा साधुमता देव
 3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) मह पिय नि
 पानसत आलभियसु सूपठाये
 4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिता ति आलभिय
 तिनि पानानि पछा नो आलंभियसंति
- 1 (A) [si³ pava]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]m[p]iy] [nā lājina l]i[khā]
 [i]vaṁ ālabhitu pajoh
 2 (C) [no pi cha sam]ā[je] [samā]ja . . [d] (E) [pi
 chu] [t]i[y]ā [sam]ā[jā] s[ā]dhu-matā Dev
 3 [Piyadasine lā]j[ine] (F) [mah] Piy[a] [n]i
 [p]āna-[sa]ta [ā]labhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]
 4 (G) se a[ja] adā [iyaṁ dha]m[ma]-līpī likhitā tim [āla]bh[iy]
 [t]imni pānāni pachhā n[o] ā[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i]⁴

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल अथा
 तियोके नाम योनलाजा
 2 ए वा पि तस अंतियोक्स सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना
 सा च पसुचिकिसा च (B) धानि

¹ Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [*Devanampriyena Priyadrasina*]; see ZDMG, 44. 704.

² The actual reading was perhaps *nikam*, which would correspond to *nikyaṁ* at Kālsī.

³ The name of the hill on which the Dhauli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been *Khepingala* as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugaḍa rock; see the Jaugaḍa edict I, A.

⁴ *ālābhi*° Senart, *ālabhi*° Bühler.



- 3 आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नथि सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता
च (C) मूल वत हालापिता च
- 4 लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि
पटिभोगाये न

- 1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ji]tasi [D]e[v]ānaṃpiyasa Piyadasi[ne l] [athā]
..... [t]iyoke nāma Yo[na]-lājā
- 2 [e] vā [p]i [ta]sa Aṃtiyo[ka]sa sāmāntā lājāne savat[a D]evā[naṃp]i[ye]na
P[i]yadasi[nā] [s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā] cha (B) dhāni
- 3 ān[i m]u[nisopa]gāni pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpit[ā] cha [lo]pāp[i]tā
[cha] (C) mū[l] v[a]t[a] hālāpitā [cha]
- 4 lo[p]āpitā cha (D) ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[p]itāni
p[a]ṭibhogāye [na]m

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
आनापयि .. (C) त विजितसि मे युता लजुके
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अनाये पि कमने हेवं इमाये
धंमानुसथिये (D) साधु मातापितिसु सुसूसा म
- 3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु अपवियता अपभंडता
साधु (E) पलिसा पि च नसि युतानि आनपयिसति हेतुते च
वियंज

- 1 (A) Dēvānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me
iy[a]m ānāp[ay]i¹ [ta v]i[ji]t[a]si m[e] yut[ā] la[j]u[k]e
- 2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā añnaye pi [ka]m[ma]ne
hevaṃ imā[y]e [dham]mānus[ath]iy[e] (D) [s]ādh[u] māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su su[s]ūs[ā
m]
- 3 nātīsu cha baṃbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālambhe sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā]²
apa-bh[am]datā sādhu (E) p[a]lisā pi cha [nas]i y[u]t[ān]i ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti
[he]tut[e] ch[a] vi[yaṃja]

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते च पानालंभे विहिसा च भूतानं
नातिसु असंपटिपति समनबाभनेसु असंपटिपति
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेलिघोसं अहो
धंमघोसं विमानदसनं हथीनि अगिकंधानि अंनानि च दिवियानि

¹ ānāpa . i Bühler.² apaviyati Senart and Bühler.

- 3 लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससतेहि नो हूतपुलुवे तादिसे
अज वढिते देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमानुसथिया
4 अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संपटिपति समनबाभनेसु संपटिपति
मातिपितुसूसुसा वुढसूसुसा (D) एस अंने च बहुविधे
5 धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं
(F) पुता पि चु नति पनति . . च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
6 पवढयिसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आकपं धंमसि सीलसि च चिठितु धंमं
अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कंमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने
पि चु
7 नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वढी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठाये
इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वढी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचयिसू
8 (K) दुवादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इध लिखिते

- 1 (A) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānā[la]mbhe vihisā cha
bhūtānaṃ nātisu asaṃpaṭipati samana-bābha[ne]su asaṃpaṭipati
2 (B) se aja Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine lājine dhamma-chalanena bheli-ghosaṃ
a[h]o dhamma-[gho]saṃ vimāna-dasanaṃ hathīni [a]gi-kaṃdhāni aṃnāni cha
[di]vi[y]āni
3 lūpān[i] dasayitu munisānaṃ (C) ād[i]se b[a]hūhi vasa-sa[t]hehi no hūta-puluve tādise
aja va[ḍ]hite Devānaṃpiyasa Piy[a]dasine lājin[ē] dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā
4 an[āla]mbhe pānānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisu saṃpaṭipat[i] sama[na-b[ā]bhanesu¹
saṃpaṭipati m[ā]t[i]-pitu-susūsā vu[ḍ]ha-susūsā (D) esa aṃne cha ba[h]uvidhe
5 dh[a]mma-chalane vaḍhite (E) vaḍhayis[a]ti cheva Devānaṃpiye Piyada[s]i l[ā]jjā
dhamma-chalanānaṃ imaṃ (F) putā pi chu² nati [panati] . . .³ [cha] Devānaṃ-
piyasa Piyadasine lājine
6 pavaḍhayisaṃti yeva dhamma-chalanānaṃ imaṃ ā-k[a]paṃ dhammasi [s]īlasi ch[a
ch[i]t[th]itu [dhammaṃ a]nus[ā]sisaṃ[t]i (G) esa h[i] se[ṭhe kaṃ]me yā
dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu
7 no hoti asīlasi (I) se imasa aṭhasa v[a]dhī⁴ ahīni ch[a] sād[hū]⁵ (J) et[āy]e [aṭhāy]e
iyaṃ likhite imasa aṭhasa vaḍhī yujantū hīni cha mā alochayisū⁶
8 (K) duvādasa vasāni abhisitasa Devānaṃpi[ya]sa Piyadasine lājine yaṃ⁷ [idha]
likhite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयाने दुक्कले (C)
कयानस से दुक्कलं कलेति (D) से मे बहुके कयाने कटे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

¹ -bamghanesu Bühler.³ The Kālsī version reads *panātikyā*.⁶ *yisu* Senart and Bühler.² *cha* Senart and Bühler.⁴ *vaḍhī* Bühler.⁵ *sādhu* Senart and Bühler.⁷ Read perhaps *iyaṃ*.

- 2 नती व . . . च तेन ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवतिसंति से सुकटं कछति
(F) ए हेत देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कछति (G) पापे हि नाम
- 3 सुपदालये (H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धंममहामाता नाम (I) से
तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धंममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सबपासंडेसु
- 4 वियापटा धंमाधिधानाये धंमवढिये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस योनकंबोचगंधालेसु
लठिकपितेनिकेसु ए वा पि अने आपलंता (K) भटिमयेसु
- 5 बाभनिभियेसु अनाथेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये
वियापटा से (L) बंधनबधस पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये च
- 6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M)
हिद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु मे ए वा पि भातीनं
मे भगिनीनं व
- 7 अनेसु वा नातिसु सवत वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधिधाने ति
व दानसयुते व सवपुठवियं धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धंममहामाता (O)
इमाये अठाये
- 8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु

- 1 (A) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā h[eva]m āhā (B) kayāne dukale (C)
k[a]y[ā]n[a]sā s[e] dukalaṃ kal[e]ti (D) se me b[ah]juke kayāne kaṭe (E) taṃ ye
me [p]ut[ā] va
- 2 n[a]t[ī]¹ va] . . . m cha t[e]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvatisaṃti s[e]
sukaṭaṃ kachh[aṃ]ti (F) e heta d[esa]m pi hāpayisaṃti se dukaṭaṃ kachhati (G)
pā[p]e hi [nāma]
- 3 supadālaye (H) s[e] at[ikaṃ]taṃ aṃtalaṃ no hūta-puluvā dhamma-mahāmātā nāma
(I) se tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena me dhamma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā (J) te
sava-pāsaṇḍe[su]
- 4 v[i]y[ā]paṭā dhammādhithān[ā]ye dhamma-[va]dhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamma-
yutas[a] Yona-Kambocha-Gaṇḍhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu e vā pi aṃne
āpalaṃtā² (K) bhaṭi[mayesu]
- 5 bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u anāthesu ma[hāla]kesu cha h[i]t[a]-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye
a[pā]libodhāye viyā[pā]ṭā se³ (L) baṇḍhana-[ba]dhas[a] p[a]ṭi[vidhānā]ye
apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye cha
- 6 iya[m] anubandh[a] p[aj]ā⁴ [t]i [va ka]ṭābhikā[le] ti va mahālake ti va viyāpaṭā
se (M) hida cha bāhilesu cha nagalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u me] e vā pi
bhāt[i]naṃ⁵ me bhaginīnaṃ va

¹ nat[ī] Bühler.

² āpalaṃta Bühler.

³ Here, and at the end of section L, Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) joins *viyāpaṭāse* into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-āsah*. In the pillar-edict VII, Y (twice) and CC, *viyāpaṭāse* actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32. 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauli, because the other versions have *te* in the place of *se*.

⁴ pa[ja] Bühler.

⁵ bhātinaṃ Bühler.

- 7 amnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]t[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyaṃ dhamm[a-n]isite ti va
dhammādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyaṃ dha[m]ma-yutasi
viyāpaṭā ime dhamma-mahām[ā]tā (O) [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye
8 iyaṃ dhamma-lip[i] li[kh]i[tā] chila-ṭhitik[ā ho]tu t[athā] cha me pa[jā anu]vatatu

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे व पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
..... मानस मे
2 अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेदका
जनस अठं पटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अठं कलामि हकं
3 (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि
अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व निभूती वा संतं
पलिसाया
4 आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि
हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते
5 (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमत ..
सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि पलकमामि हकं किंति भूतानं आननियं
येहं ति
6 हिद च कानि मुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू ति (M) एताये अठाये
इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च पुता पपोता मे
पलकमंतू
7 सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन पलकमेन

- 1 (A) Dev[ānaṃp]iye Pi[yada]sī lājā [he]vaṃ [ā]hā (B) atikaṃ[taṃ a]m[ta]laṃ no
[h]ū[ta]-puluve s[a]vaṃ kālāṃ aṭha-ka[m]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va (C) se mamayā
kaṭe (D) sa[va]m [kālāṃ] [māna]sa¹ me
2 aṃte olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]g[ā]si v[achas]i [v]inītasi [u]y[ā]n[asi] cha sa[vata]
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṃ [pa]ṭived[a]yaṃtu m[e] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa
aṭhaṃ kalāmi h[aka]m
3 (F) aṃ pi cha ki[m]chhi mukh[a]te ānapay[ā]mi dāpakāṃ v[ā] sāv[a]kaṃ vā e vā
mahām[āte]h[ati] atiyāyike ālopite hoti tasi aṭhasi v[i]vāde va [n]ijhatī vā saṃtaṃ
palisāyā²
4 āna[m]taliyaṃ paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] me ti savata savaṃ kālāṃ (G) heva[m] me
anusathe (H) nath[i] hi m[e] [tos]e u[ṭhāna]si aṭha-saṃtīlanāya cha (I) kaṭaviya-
m[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite

¹ [mī]nasa Bühler.² palisāya Bühler.



- 5 (J) tasa cha pana iyaṃ mūle [u]ṭhān[e cha a]ṭha-saṃtīl[a]n[ā] cha (K) nathi hi kaṃmata . . [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena (L) [aṃ] ch[a kichhi] p[a]lakamāmi haṃ kiṃti bhūṭānaṃ ā[na]niyaṃ yeha[m] ti
- 6 [h]i[da] cha [k]ān[i] sukhayāmi pal[a]ta cha svag[aṃ āl]ādhayaṃtū ti (M) et[ā]y[e aṭhāye i]yaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā hotu ta[ṭh]ā cha putā papotā me palakama[m]ṭ[ū] ¹
- 7 [sava-loka]-hitāye (N) dukale chu iyaṃ aṃnat[a] a[g]en[a pa]lakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा सवत इच्छति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इच्छति (C) मुनिसा च
- 2 उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा (D) ते सवं वा एकदेसं व कछंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने अस नथि सयमे भावसुधी च नीचे बाढं

- 1 (A) [D]evānaṃ[p]iye Piy[a]dasī lājā savata ichhat[i sava-p]āsaṃ[dā va]sevū ti (B) save h[i] t[e sa]yamaṃ [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichhaṃti (C) mun[i]sā ch[a]
- 2 [u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā uchāvucha-lāgā (D) te savaṃ vā ek[a]-de[sam va kachhaṃ]ti (E) vipul[e] pi chā ² dāne asa n[athi sa]yame [bh]āva-sudhī cha niche bāḍhaṃ

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) . . त मिगविया अन्नानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं (C) से देवानंपिये
- 2 पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संबोधि (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) ततेस होति समनबाभनानं दसने च दाने च बुढानं दसने च
- 3 हिल्लनपटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धंमानुसथी च पुछा च तदोपया (F) एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अंने

- 1 (A) [atika]m[ta]m aṃt[ala]m lāj[ā]n[e] v[i]h[ā]la-yātaṃ nāma [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u] (B) . . [ta miga]viy[ā] a[m]nāni ch[a] edisāni a[bh]i[l]āmāni huvaṃti naṃ (C) se Devānaṃpiye
- 2 P[i]y[a]dasī lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e [n]ikhami Saṃbodh[i] ³ (D) [t]e[na]tā dha[m]ma-yātā (E) [tat]esa [ho]ti samana-bābhanānaṃ d[a]s[a]n[e] ch[a] d[āne] cha v[u]dhānaṃ dasane cha

¹ °mātu Senart, °maṃtu Bühler.

² cha Bühler; the reading chu is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugada version has chā.

³ sambodhī Bühler.

- 3 h[i]lāmna-p[a]ṭividhā[ne¹ cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhammānu[sath]i
[cha] [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) e[sā bhuy]e² abhilāme hoti
Devānāmpiyasa Piyada[s]ine lājine bhāge [am]ne

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अथि जने उचावुचं मंगलं
कलेति आबाध वीवाह जुपदाये पवाससि
2 एताये अंनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क (C) चु इथी बहुकं
च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलठियं च मंगलं कलेति
3 (D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे मंग . . (F) . . यं
चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) ततेस दासभटकसि संम्यापटिपति
4 गुलूनं अप मे समनबाभनानं दाने एस अंने च
धंममंगले नाम (H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि
5 सुवामिकेन पि ले आव तस अठस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं
वुते दाने साधू ति (J) से नथि अनुगहे वा
6 आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे . . (K) मि तिकेन सहायेन
पि वियोवदित ि तसि पकलनसि इयं
7 लाधयितवे (L) टव स्वगस
आलधी

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) [athi ja]ne uchāvuchaṃ maṅgalaṃ
kal[e]ti [āb]ādha³ [v]i[vāha] [ju]padāye⁴ pavās[a]si
2 etāye aṇṇāye ch[a] hedisāye j[a]n[e] bahukaṃ maṅgalaṃ k[a] (C)
[chu]⁵ ithī b[ahuka]ṃ cha [ba]hu[v]idh[am] ch[a kh]ud[am]⁶ cha nilaṭhi]yaṃ cha
maṅgalaṃ kaleti
3 (D) se kaṭ[a]viye che[va kh]o m[a]ṅgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kho esa h[e]dise
maṃ[ga] . . (F) . . [ya]ṃ [ch]u⁷ kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le e [dha]mma-maṅgale (G)
[ta]te[sa d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i saṃmyā-paṭipat[i]
4 [gulū]naṃ a[pa] [me] samana-bābhan[ā]naṃ dāne esa aṇṇe ch[a]
 [dhamma]-maṅga[le nāma] (H) [se]⁸ vata[viye p]it[inā pi pute]na
pi bhātinā pi
5 suvāmike[na p]i [I]e [ā]va tasa aṭhas[a] niphatiy[ā] (I) [a]thi [cha]⁹
heva]ṃ v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (J) [s]e [na]thi [anu]ga[h]e v[ā]
6 [ād]i[se dha]ṃma-dāne dham[mānugahe]¹⁰ . . (K) [m]i [t]i[k]ena
sahāye[na p]i viyovadita¹¹ i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṃ
7 [I]ādhayitave (L) ṭa[v] [svagasa] āl[adh]i

¹ *hīlāmna*- Senart and Bühler; *-paṭi*^o looks like *-peṭi*^o, and may be meant for *-praṭi*^o.

² *esa bhūye* Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. *esā* see above, p. 15, n. 7.

³ *ābādhe* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ [*j*]opadāye Bühler.

⁵ [*eta*] tu Bühler.

⁶ *khuda[kam]* Bühler.

⁷ [*cha*] Bühler.

⁸ *tā* Senart, [*ta*] Bühler.

⁹ *pa* Senart, [*p*]i Bühler.

¹⁰ *dhammann*^o Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ Restore *vijovaditaviye*.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा यसो वा किटी वा न हं मंनते
 ि यसो वा किटी वा इच्छति तदत्वाये आ जने
 2 सूसं सुसूसतु मे धंम मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किटी
 वा इ ि पलकमति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये ..
 3 किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति (D) पलिस (E) दुक्कले
 त अग्गेन न सवं च पलित्तिजित्तु
 4 खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुक्कलतले

- 1 (A) [Devānaṃ]piye Piyad[a]s[ī] lājā yaso v[ā] [k]iṭṭi vā n [ha]m
 maṃn[ate] i [yaso] vā k[iṭṭi] [v]ā ichhati tadatvāye [ā]
 [ja]ne
 2 [sūsa]m [susū]s[at]u [m]e dhamma [me] (B) etakāye [yaso vā
 kiṭṭi v]ā i i [pa]lakama[t]i Devānaṃpiye pāl[atik]ā[y]e ..
 3 kiṃti saka[le] apa-pal]isave [hu]v[eyā t]i (D) pa[l]isa (E) [du]ka[le]
 t[a] agena] [na sa]vaṃ cha paliti[j]i[tu]
 4 khudakena v[ā] usaṭena vā (F) u[saṭena] chu [dukalatale]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखा
 अथि मम्मिमेन हि सवे सवत्त घटिते
 2 (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस (D) अथि
 वुत्ते तस याये
 3 किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमति लिखिते स सं
 .. लोचयित्तु कला ति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipī De[v]ānaṃpiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā] likhā
 athi ma[jhimena] [h]i save sav[a]ta ghaṭite
 2 (C) mahānte hi vijaye bahu[k]e cha likhite likhiyis¹ (D) [a]thi
 [vu]tte ta[sa] [y]āy[e]
 3 [k]iṃti cha j[a]ne tathā paṭipajeyā ti² (E) e pi chu heta asamati likhit[e s]³
 saṃ .. [lochay]ittu k[a]l[ā] [t]i

AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

सेतो

seto

¹ Restore *likhiyisāmi*.

² Or *paṭipajeyāti* may be *one* word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14.

³ *saṃ* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

The white one.¹

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
- 2 वतविय (B) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कंमन पटिपादयेहं
- 3 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु
- 4 अनुसथि (D) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितमुखेन
हिदलोकिक-
- 6 पाललोकिकेन यूजेवू ति तथा मुनिसेसु पि इछामि हकं (G) नो च
पापुनाथ आवग-
- 7 मुके इयं अठे (H) केछ व एकपुलिसे नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I)
देखत हि तुफे एतं
- 8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुलिसे पि अथि ये बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा
पापुनाति (K) तत होति
- 9 अकस्मा तेन बधनंतिक अंने च हु जने दविये दुखीयति (L) तत
इछितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मभं पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति
इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 निठूलियेन तूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किलमथेन (N) से इछितविये
किंति एते
- 12 जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति (O) एतस च सवस मूले अनासुलोपे अतूलना च
(P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
- 13 न ते उगछ संचलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दखेय तुफाक
तेन वतविये
- 14 आनंने देखत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि (R) से महाफले ए तस
संपटिपाद
- 15 महाअपाये असंपटिपति (S) विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नथि स्वगस आलधि नो
लाजालधि

¹ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauli rock. Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.

- 16 (T) दुआहले हि इमस कंसस मे कुते मनोअतिलेके (U) संपटिपजमीने चु
एतं स्वगं
- 17 आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन सोतविया
- 18 (W) अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोतविय (X) हेवं च
कलंतं तुफे
- 19 चघथ संपटिपादयितवे (Y) एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन
- 20 नगलवियोहालका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति नस अकस्मा पलिवोधे व
- 21 अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च अठाये हकं मते
पंचसु पंचसु वसे-
- 22 सु निखामयिसामि ए अखखसे अचंडे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु
..... तथा
- 23 कलंति अथ मम अनुसथी ति (AA) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये
निखामयिस
- 24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तखसिलाते
पि (CC) अदा अ
- 25 ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंसं एतं पि
जानिसंति
- 26 तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसथी ति

- 1 (A) [Devāna]m[pi]y[asa vacha]nena Tosaliyam ma[hā]māta [naga]la-
[v]i[yo]hālak[ā]
- 2 [va]taviya (B) [am kichhi dakhā]mi hakam tam ichhāmi k[i]m[t]i kam[mana
pa]ti[pāday]eham¹
- 3 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la etasi aṭha]si am
tuph[esu]
- 4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasam² ā[yata]³ p[a]na[ya]m ga]chh[e]ma
su munisānam (E) save
- 5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m kimti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena
hidalokika]-
- 6 pālalokike[na]⁴ y[ūjev]ū [t]i [tathā . . . muni]sesu⁵ pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no
cha pāpunātha āv[a]-ga-
- 7 [m]u[k]e⁶ [iya]m aṭhe (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-puli[se] . . . nāti⁷ e[ta]m se pi
desam no savam (I) de[kha]t[a hi t]u[phe] etam
- 8 suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyam⁸ eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] bamdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā
pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

¹ *paṭiveda*° Senart and Bühler.

² *āyatā* Senart and Bühler.

³ Restore *sava-munisesu*.

⁴ Read *pāpunāti*, as at Jaugaḍa.

⁵ *sesu* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *lokikāye* Senart and Bühler.

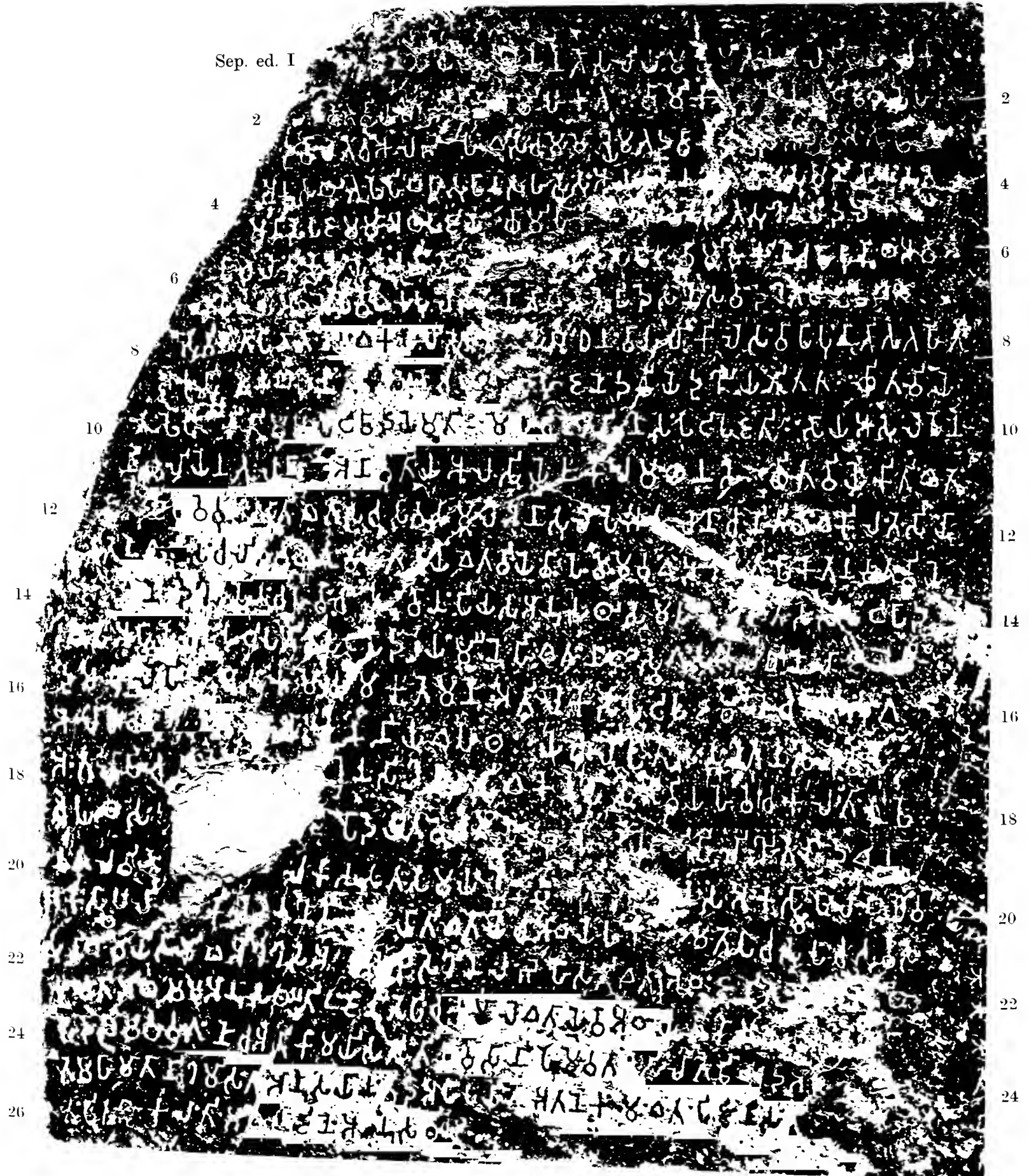
⁷ *āvā-gamake* Senart and Bühler.

⁸ *niti iya*m Senart and Bühler.

- 9 akasmā tena badhana[m̄]tik[a]¹ amne cha hu jane da[v]iye dukhīyati (L)
tata ichhitaviye
- 10 tuphehi kintī m[a]jhaṃ paṭipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṃpaṭipajati
isāya āsulopena
- 11 nī[thū]liyena² tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye
kitim³ ete
- 12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū]l[a]nā cha
(P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā
- 13 [na] te uga[chha]⁴ saṃchalitaviy[e] tu va[ṭ]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṃmeva e
da[kheya]⁵ t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye
- 14 ānamne⁶ dekhata hevaṃ cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānampiyasa anusathi (R) se
mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [saṃpa]ṭipāda
- 15 mahā-apāye asaṃpaṭipati (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi⁷ etaṃ nathi svagasa [ā]l[a]dhi
no lāj[ā]la[dh]i
- 16 (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṃm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke⁸ (U) sa[m]paṭi-
pajam[i]n[e] chu [etaṃ] svaga[m]
- 17 ālādha[yi]sa[tha] mama cha⁹ ā[naniyaṃ] ehatha (V) iyaṃ cha l[i]p[i]¹⁰ t[i]sa-
na[kha]tena so[ta]viy[ā]¹¹
- 18 (W) aṃta[l]ā [p]i cha [ti]s[e]na¹² kha[nasi] kha[nas]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṃ
cha kalaṃtaṃ tuphe
- 19 chaghatha saṃpa[ti]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye¹³ iya[m] l[i]p[i] likhit[a]
h]ida ena
- 20 nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṃ samayaṃ yūjevū¹⁴ t[i] [na]sa¹⁵ akasmā
[pa]libodhe va
- 21 [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] mate¹⁶
p[a]mchasa paṃchasa [va]se-
- 22 su [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chaṃ]d[e] s[a]khinālaṃbhe hosati etaṃ
aṭhaṃ jānitu [ta]thā
- 23 kala[m]ti atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a] aṭhāye
[ni]khāma[yisa]
- 24 hedisameva¹⁷ vagaṃ no cha atikāmayisati timni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte
pi (CC) [a]dā a
- 25 te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānaṃ tadā ahāpayitu atane kaṃmaṃ etaṃ pi
jānisaṃti
- 26 taṃ pi ta[th]ā kalaṃti a[tha] lājine anusathī ti

¹ *bandha*° Senart and Bühler.² *nithūli*° Senart and Bühler.³ Read *kintī*, which is Senart's reading; *kiti* Bühler.⁴ Read *ugachhe*.⁵ *dakhiye* Senart and Bühler.⁶ *amnam ne* Senart and Bühler.⁷ Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 1013, n. 1) has shown that *hi* must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, T. Senart and Bühler read °*mīnehi*.⁸ *mana-* Senart, *mane-* Bühler.⁹ *t* for *mama cha* Senart, [ta] Bühler.¹⁰ *lipi* Bühler.¹¹ °*viyaṃ* Senart, °*viya* Bühler.¹² [tis]e Bühler.¹³ *athāye* Senart and Bühler.¹⁴ *yujevū* Senart and Bühler.¹⁵ Restore *ena janasa*; *nagala-janasa* Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.¹⁶ Read *mahāmātā*; *dhammate* Senart and Bühler.¹⁷ *hedisameva* Senart and Bühler.

Sep. ed. I



TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Dēvānāmpriya**, the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsali**,¹ (who are) the judicial officers of the city,² have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.³

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,⁴ with the object of gaining the affection of men.⁵

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.⁶

(G) And you do not learn⁷ how far this (my) object reaches.⁸

(H) Some single person⁹ only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion,¹⁰ (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.¹¹

¹ Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsali; see EI, 9. 286, and 15. 1. Prinsep (JASB, 7. 449) identified Tōsali with the *Τωσαλει μητρόπολις* of Ptolemy; but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 252, n. 2; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 673; Kern, JRAS, 1880. 384 f.; IA, 13. 382.

² With *nagala-vijyohālaka* cf. *paura-vyāvahārika* in the *Kauṭīliya*, p. 20, l. 13; see SPAW, 1914. 855.

³ The correct translation of this section is due to Senart; see Franke, GN, 1895. 537, and cf. a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, E.

⁴ Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C; VII, M, N), the participle *āyata* (= Skt. *āyatta*) seems to be used in the sense of *vyāpṛita*. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII, Y to AA.

⁵ Previous translators took *sumunisānam* to be one word: 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Lüders is no doubt right in explaining *su* = Skt. *svit*; see SPAW, 1914. 856, and cf. *su* in the Dhauri separate edict II, F.

⁶ Cf. *Asvaghōsha's Buddhacharita*, II, 35: *स्वाम्यः प्रजाभ्यो हि यथा तथैव सर्वप्रजाभ्यः शिवमाश्रये*; 'as for his own children, even so (king Śuddhōdana) desired welfare for all (his) subjects.'

⁷ Bühler rendered *pāpunātha* by 'understand', and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer'; see my note on the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, K.

⁸ Bühler translated *āva-gamuke iyaṁ athe* by '(all) that the sense (of these words) implies', and Lüders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to'. Cf. *ava ite pi cha me āvuti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, l. 15.

⁹ This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared *eka-pulise* (= *eka-munise* at Jaugaḍa) with the Buddhist term *prithagjana* (see Childers, s.v. *puthujjano*), and Bühler rendered it by 'a private person'; see ZDMG, 41. 15. The expression *eka-pulise* or *eka-munise*, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugaḍa), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugaḍa). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V; see also the second separate edict, N and O.

¹⁰ Cf. the rock-edict V, F, and VII, D.

¹¹ See above, p. 47, n. 6.

(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)¹ that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.²

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment³ is (obtained) by him⁴ accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions:⁵ envy, anger,⁶ cruelty, hurry, want of practice,⁷ laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you:⁸ 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king);⁹ such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.¹⁰

(S) For if one fails to observe this,¹¹ there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.¹²

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?¹³

¹ As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 859), *nīti* is here = *daṇḍa-nīti*. I connect the locative *nītyām* with *asti*; at Jaugaḍa it is replaced by *bahuka*, 'frequently'.

² Bühler translated *palikileśa* by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the *Kauṭīliya* the technical term for 'torture' is *karman*, and *pariklēśayataḥ*, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as *karma kārayataḥ* in the next preceding line.

³ The correct explanation of *ba[m*]dhanamitika* and *daviye* is due to Lüders; see SPAW, 1914. 861 f.

⁴ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16), one would expect *tasa* for *tena*. He proposed to supply *prāptam*.

⁵ As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of *jātāni* is justified by etymology; see IA, 19. 89.

⁶ For *āśulopa*, 'anger' (literally: 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 60 f.

⁷ With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take *āvūti* (Dhauḷi) or *āvuti* (Jaugaḍa) = Skt. *āvṛitti*, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, *āvuti* corresponds to Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order'.

⁸ Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative *e* corresponds to the demonstrative *tena*, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

⁹ Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read *aṁnamne*, which they divided into *aṁnam ne* = Skt. *ājñām naḥ* (Senart and Bühler) or *anyat + naḥ* (Lüders).

¹⁰ Both at Dhauḷi and at Jaugaḍa, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

¹¹ As *vipaṭipādayamīne* corresponds to *vipaṭipātayamītaṁ* at Jaugaḍa, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to *saṁpaṭipajamīne* in section U, below, to *anuvēkhamāne* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, and to *viḥinamane* in the Kālsī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1011 ff.

¹² For *ālādhi* (= **ārāddhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

¹³ In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain *duāhale* as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadhā dialect the locative would end in *-asi*.

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.¹

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.²

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus,³ you will be able⁴ to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times⁵ (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering⁶ nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men].

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years⁷ [a *Mahāmātra*] who will be neither harsh⁸ nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers),⁹ paying attention to this object, are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from *Ujjayinī* also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose a person of the same description,¹⁰ and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from *Takshaśilā* also.

(CC) When these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तीसलियं कुमाले महामाता च वतविय (B) अं किछि
दखाभि हकं तं इ
- 2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अठसि अं
तुफेसु मम

¹ Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, L.

² i. e. three times per year; see the Dhauli separate edict II, N.

³ The forms *kalanītanī* (here and in II, L and P), *°pātayāntanī* (Jaugada separate edict I, S and T), *sainītanī* (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), *nāsainītanī* (pillar-edict IV, M), and *°pajanītanī* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.

⁴ Franke (VOJ, 9. 340 ff.) has shown that *chaghati* is the future of *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*. Cf. *chakiye* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock-inscription, l. 3, and in the Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 5; also *chakye*, *ibid.*, l. 6.

⁵ In the translation of *sasvatānī samayanī* I follow Kern (JRAS, 1880. 391) and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 864).

⁶ See above, p. 33, n. 8.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict III, C.

⁸ Cf. Dhammapada, verse 408:

akakkasam viññāpanim giram sachcham udīraye |
yāya nābhisaje kañchi tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam ||

⁹ The context shows that these are meant here, and that the *Mahāmātras* were directed by the king to control them; see SPAW, 1914. 865 f.

¹⁰ See above, p. 40, n. 2.

- 3 (E) अथ पजाये इहामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये
युजेवू ति हेवं
- 4 (F) सिया अंतानं अविजितानं किछंदे सु लाज अफेसु . . (G) मव इछ
मम अंतेसु . . ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय अनुविगिन ममाये
5 हुवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखंमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं . . पुनेवू इति खमिसति
ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चकिये खामतवे मम निमित्तं व च
धमं चलेवू
- 6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलाधयेवू (H) एतसि अठसि हकं अनुसासामि तुफे
अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिजा
च ममा
- 7 अजला (I) से हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वास ि च तानि एन
पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंपिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं
देवानंपिये अनुकंपति अफे
- 8 अथा च पजा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु तुफाक
देसावुतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पटिबला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये
हितसुखाये च तेस
- 9 हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं आलाधयिसथ मम
च आननियं एहथ (M) एताये च अठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद एन
महामाता स्वसतं सम
- 10 युजिसंति अस्वासनाये धमचलनाये च तेस अंतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनु-
चातुंमासं तिसेन नखतेन सोतविया (O) कामं चु खणसि खनसि अंतला
पि तिसेन एकेन पि
- 11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चघथ संपटिपादयितवे

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B)
am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam tam i]
- 2 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi am
tuphe[s]u mama
- 3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṃ ki[m]ti savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-
pālalokikāye¹ yujevū ti h[e]v[am]
- 4 (F) siyā aṃtānaṃ avijitānaṃ ki-chha[m]de su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) m[a]va²
ichha mama aṃtesu . . . i³ [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānaṃp[iy]
[anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
- 5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhaṃmeva lahevu mamat[e] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]

¹ Read *-pālalokikena*, as in the first separate edict, F.

² *mave* Bühler; read perhaps *hevameva*.

³ Restore *kiṃti*.

- ... un[e]vū¹ iti khamisati² ne **Devānāmpīye** [aph]ākā³ ti e chakiye
 khamitave mama nimitam [va]⁴ cha dhammam chalevū
 6 hidaloka palaloka[m] cha ālādhayevū (**H**) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe
 ana[n]e [e]takena haka[m] anusāsitu chhamdam cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimā
 cha mamā
 7 [a]jalā (**I**) s[e] heva[m] kaṭu kaṁme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i⁵ [cha] tāni
 ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha **Devānāmpiy[e]** aphāka athā cha atānam⁶
 heva[m] **Devānāmpīye** [a]nukampati aphe
 8 athā cha pajā⁷ heva[m] may[e] **D[e]vānāmpiyasa** (**J**) se haka[m] anusāsitu
 [chha]mda[m] ch[a] veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hosāmi etāye aṭhāye⁸ (**K**)
 paṭibalā hi tūph[e] asvāsanāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]
 9 hidalokika-pālalo[k]ikāye (**L**) heva[m] cha kalaṁtam tuphe svagam ālādha[yi]satha
 mama ch[a] ānaniyam ehaṭha (**M**) etāye cha aṭhāye iya[m] lipi likhitā hida e[na
 ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa]ma⁹
 10 yujisaṁti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] aṁtānam (**N**) iya[m] cha lipi
 [anu]chāturmāsā[m] tisenā nakhatena sotaviyā (**O**) kāma[m] chu¹⁰ [kha]ṇas[i]¹¹
 khaṇasi aṁtalā pi tisenā ekena [p]i
 11 [so]taviya (**P**) heva[m] kala[m]tam [t]uphe chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Dēvānāmpriya**, the prince (governor) and the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsali** have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. to you.

(D) my

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus

(F) It might occur¹² to (my) unconquered borderers¹³ (to ask): 'What does the king desire¹⁴ with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that **Dēvānāmpriya** that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

¹ Restore *pāpunevū*.

² The syllable *sa* is entered above the line.

³ *aphākaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ Senart and Bühler omit *va*.

⁵ Restore *asvāsaniyāni*.

⁶ The syllable *nam* is entered above the line.

⁷ *paja* Bühler.

⁸ *athāye* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Read *sasvatam samayam*.

¹⁰ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ The syllable *si* is entered above the line.

¹² Lüders showed that *siyā* is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as *huthā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, D and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff.

¹³ Cf. the Kālsī rock-edict II, A; V, J; XIII, Q.

¹⁴ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained *su* by Skt. *svit*. Cf. *gachhema su* in the Dhauli separate edict I, D, and *kinasu* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.

confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me,¹ not misery; that they may [learn] this, that **Dēvānāmpriya** will forgive them² what can be forgiven;³ that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(H) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them)⁴ by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. my unshakable⁵ resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them,⁶ in order that they may learn that **Dēvānāmpriya** is to them like a father, that **Dēvānāmpriya** loves them like himself, and that they are to **Dēvānāmpriya** like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces⁷ for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months⁸ on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.⁹

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person)¹⁰ also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

¹ Here and at Jaugaḍa, Senart and Bühler wrongly read *mama te* (in two words) instead of *mamate*, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative *mamatto*. See JRAS, 1880. 380, 382, 383; SPAW, 1914. 868; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 415 f.

² As Bühler (ASSI, I. 128, n. 24) remarked, either *ne* or *aphākā* is superfluous.

³ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, L. For *chakiye* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

⁴ Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

⁵ *ajala* corresponds to *achala* at Jaugaḍa, as *loga* (Jaugaḍa separate edict II, ll. 7 and 13) to *loka*, *libi* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to *lipi*, *hida* (Kālsī, V, J and K) to *hita*, and *dose* (Kālsī, VI, H) to *tose*.

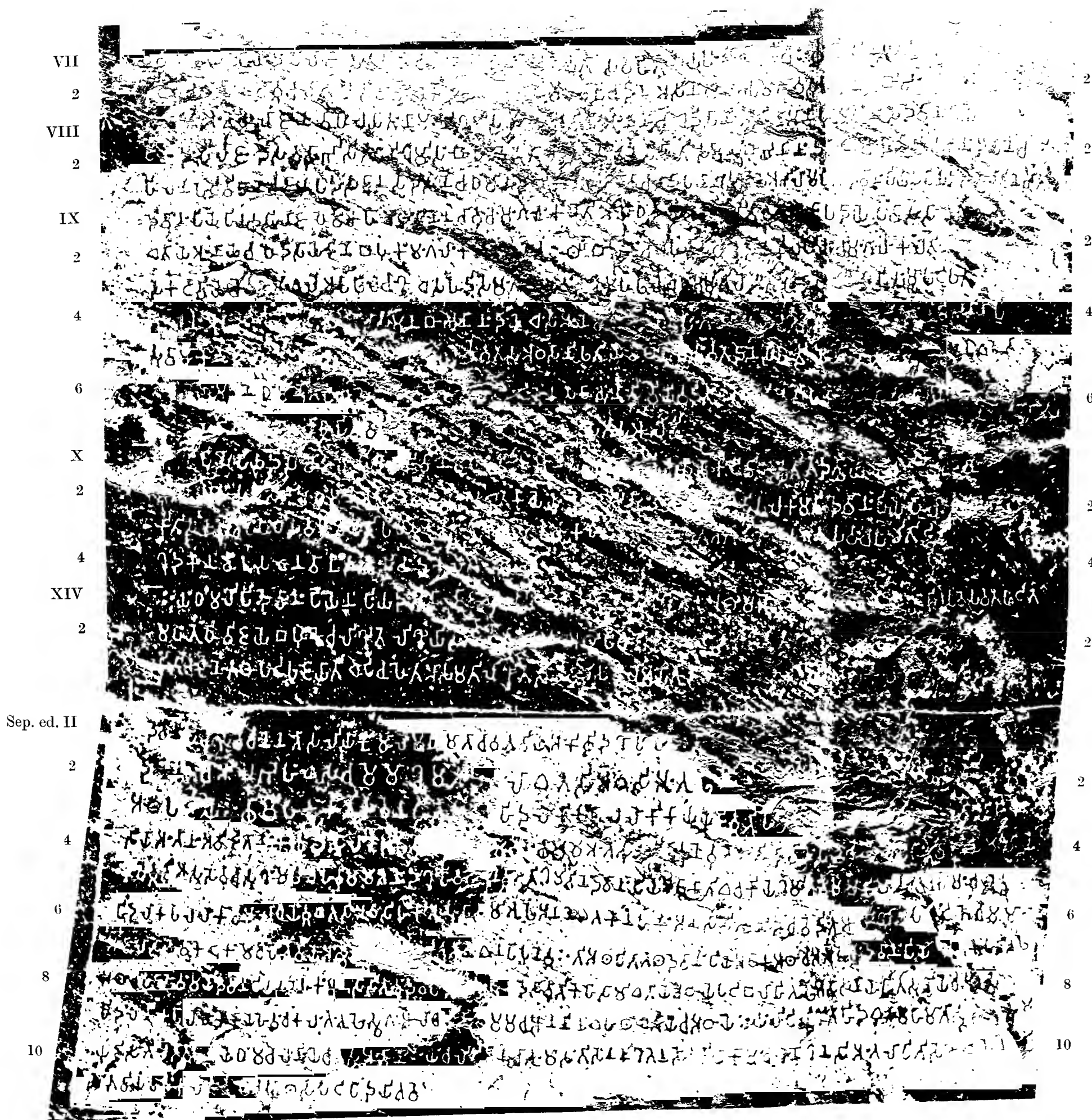
⁶ The neuter *tāni* is improperly used for the masculine *te*, which is the reading of the Jaugaḍa version.

⁷ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 384) translated: 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term *desāvutika* (Dhauḷi) or [*saka*]la-desā-āy[ut]ika (Jaugaḍa) see Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 28), who took *āyuti* = Skt. *āyuktin*, 'an official'. Cf. *āvuti* = Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the *Mahāmātras* whom Aśoka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī, and Takshaśilā; see the four last sections of the Dhauḷi separate edict I.

⁸ Cf. *chātumāsī* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict V, ll. 11, 16, 18.

⁹ Cf. the Dhauḷi separate edict I, V.

¹⁰ See above, p. 95, n. 9.



VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी खेपिंगलसि पवतसि देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना
लिखापिता (B) हिद नो किछि जीवं आलभितु पजोहितविये
2 (C) नो पि च समाजे कटविये (D) बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस द्रखति देवानंपिये
पियदसी लाजा (E) अथि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियस
3 पियद्रसिने लाजिने (F) पुलुवं महानससि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
अनुदिवसं बहूनि पानसतसहसानि आलभियिसु सूपठाये
4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता तिंनि येव पानानि आलंभियंति
दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो धुवं (H) एतानि पि चु तिंनि
पानानि
5 पछा नो आलभियिसंति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipī Khēpi[m̐]galasi¹ pavatasi Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasinā
lājina likhāpitā (B) hida no kichhi jāvaṃ ālabhi[t̐]u pajohitaviye
2 (C) no pi cha samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ samājasa² drakhati³
Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā (E) athi pi chu ekatiyā samājā sādhu-matā
Devānaṃpiyasa
3 Piyadrasine⁴ lājine (F) puluvaṃ mahā[nasa]si Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine
lājine anudivasam bah[ū]ni pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni ālabhiyisu sūpa[th̐]āye
4 (G) se aja adā iyaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā tiṃni yeva pānāni āla[m̐]bhiyaṃti⁵ duve
majūlā eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvaṃ (H) etāni pi chu tiṃni pānāni
5 pachhā no āla[bh̐]iyisaṃti

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the **Khēpiṅgala**⁶ mountain by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

¹ *Khapiṅgalasi* Bühler, but the *e* of *khe* is perfectly distinct.

² *samājasi* Bühler.

³ A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for *r*, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of *da*; *dakhati* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ *Piyadasine* Senart and Bühler. The curve at the bottom of *da* is probably intended for *r*.

⁵ *ālabhiyaṃti* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ The etymological meaning of this name is: '(which appears) brown in the air'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 92.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए वा पि अंता अथा
चोडा पंडिया सतियपुते १ अंतियोके नाम
- 2 योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन
पियदसिना लाजि चिकिसा च
- 3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) ओसधानि आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत
नथि सवत च अतत नथि
- 4 सवच हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेषु उदुपानानि खानापितानि
लुखानि च

- 1 (A) savata vijitasi Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi amtā athā Choḍā
Paṇḍiyā Satiyapu[t]e ī Antiyoke nāma
- 2 Yona-lājā [e] vā pi tasa Antiyokasa sāmamtā lājāne savata Devānāmpiyena
Piyadasinā lāji : [ch]ikisā cha
- 3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi
sava[ta] cha atata nathi
- 4 s[a]vatra¹ hālāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D) magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni
cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Satiyaputa**, the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka**, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoka**,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.²

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

¹ *sāvata* Senart, *savatu* Bühler.

² The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauli. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
आ च पादेसिके च
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने
सा मितसंथुतेस ..
- 3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु
यि
- 4 हेतुते च वियंजनते च
- 1 (A) Devā[na]m piye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me
iyam [ā] cha pād[e]sike cha
- 2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā aṇṇāye pi kaṃma[n]e
..... [s]ā mita-saṃthute[s] ...
- 3 nātisū ch[a] baṃbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]nālambhe sādhu
[y]i
- 4 hetute cha viyaṃjanate cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.
 (C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajuka*, and the *Prādēśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.
 (D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'
 (E) And the council (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल
- 3 दिवियानि लूपानि द्रसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससते
- 4 धंमानुसयिया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संप
- 5 (D) एस अंने च बहुविधे धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयि
- 6 पियदसिने लाजिने पवढयिसंति येव धंमचल
- 7 (H) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति
- 8 हीनि च मा अलोचयि

- 1 (A) a[t]ikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānālaṃbhe
- 2 (B) se aja **Devānāṃpiyasa Piyadasine lājine** dhamma-chalanena bhe[l]
- 3 divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu¹ munisānaṃ (C) ādise bahūhi vasa-sate
- 4 dhammānusathiyā anālaṃbhe pānānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisu [sampa]
- 5 (D) esa aṃne cha bahuvidhe dhamma-chalane vaḍhite (E) va[ḍhay]i
- 6 **Piyadasine lājine** pavaḍhayi[sam]m[t]i [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la]
- 7 (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i
- 8 [hī]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

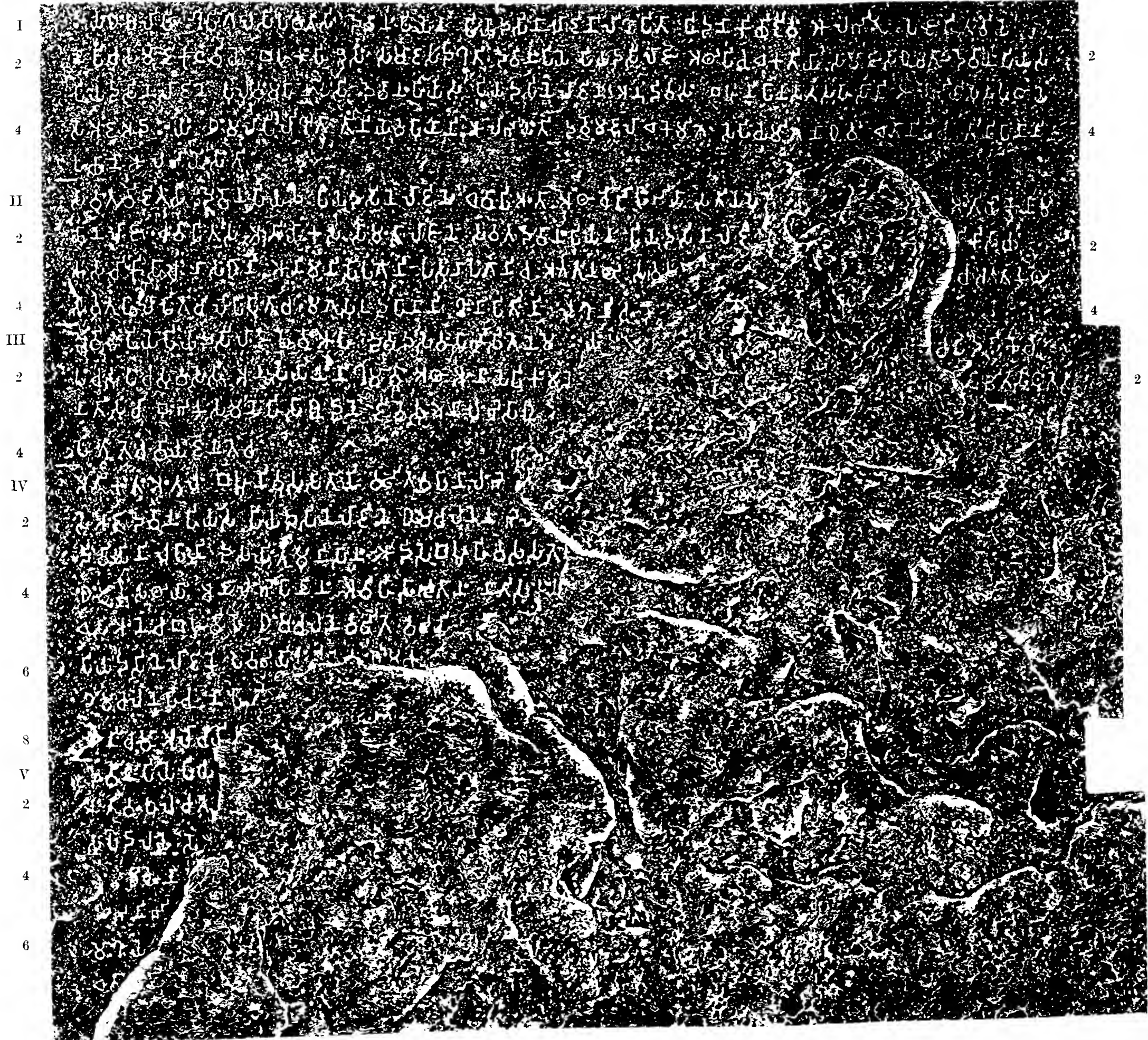
(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve² the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

¹ *dusayitu* Senart, *dasayitu* Bühler.

² See above, p. 31, n. 7.



FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद
 2 नती व पलं च ते
 3 सुपदालये (H) से झ
 4 धंमाधियाना
 5 .. भनिभि
 6 मोखाये
 7 ए वा
 8

- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piya[da]
 2 nat[ī]¹ va palam̐ cha te
 3 s[u]padālaye (H) se [a]
 4 [dha]m̐[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā²
 5 .. bhanibhi
 6 mokhāye
 7 e [v]ā
 8

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
 (C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult.
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 (F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 (G) For sin indeed steps fast.³
 (H) Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
 (I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas**, **Kambōchas**, and **Gandhālas**, among the **Laṭhikas** and **Pitēnikas**, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,

¹ *namti* Senart, *nati* Bühler.² *°thānā* Bühler.³ See above, p. 33, n. 3.

with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,¹ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).²

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) नंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
- 2 स मे अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च
सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठं प्रतिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस
- 3 कं (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं
वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि
विवादे व
- 4 लिसायं आनंतलियं पटिवेदतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G)
हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च
- 5 (I) मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च
अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि
पलकमामि हकं
- 6 नियं येहं ति हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू
ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु
- 7 ता मे पलकमंतु सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन
पलकमेन

- 1 (A) [na]m̐piye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no hūta-
puluve savaṃ kālāṃ aṭha-kaṃm[e] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D)
savaṃ kālāṃ
- 2 [sa m̐]e aṃte olodhanasi gabhāgālasī vachasi vinītas[i] uyānasi cha savata
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṃ praṭivedayaṃtu³ me ti (E) savata cha janasa

¹ See above, p. 33, n. 7.

² See above, p. 33, n. 8.

³ The *r* is expressed by a horizontal stroke before *pa*, which therefore looks like *pe*; *paṭi*^o Senart and Bühler.

- 3[ka]m̐ (F) am̐ pi cha kiñchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakam̐ vā sāvakaṃ
vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[t]i[yā]yike [ā]lopīte hoti tasi aṭhasi vivāde va
- 4 lisāy[am̐¹ ā]nam̐[ta]liyam̐ paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam̐
kālam̐ (G) hevam̐ me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭhānasi aṭha-
saṃtilan[ā]y[a] cha
- 5 (I) me sava-loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyaṃ mūle uṭhāne cha aṭha-
saṃtilanā cha (K) nathi hi k[am̐]matalā sava-loka-hiten[a] (L) am̐ cha kichhi
p[a]lakamāmi hakam̐
- 6 [n]iyam̐ yeham̐ ti hida cha kāni su[kha]yāmi palata cha svagam̐
ālādhayam̐ti ti (M) etāye aṭhāye i[ya]m̐ dhamma-lipī likhītā chila-ṭhitikā
hotu²
- 7 [t]ā³ me [pa]lakamam̐tu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[ya]m̐ am̐nata
agena palakamena

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within⁴ the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

¹ °sāya Senart and Bühler.

² hotū Bühler.

³ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable *po* is visible before *tā*.

⁴ The preposition *ante*, 'within', is used with the locative, just as *anto* in Pāli; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 39 b.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) दसी लाजा सवत इच्छति सवपासंडा वसे . . ति (B) सवे हि
ते समयं भावमुधी च इच्छति (C) मुनिसा च उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा
2 (D) सं व कछंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने धी
च नीचे बाढं

- 1 (A) da[sī]¹ lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]saṁdā va[s]e . . [t]i (B) [sav]e
hi te sa[yama]m bhāva-[su]dhī cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhaṁdā
uchāvuch[a]-lāgā
2 (D) [sa]m² va kachhamti (E) [v]i[pul]e [p]i chā³ [d]ā[ne]
[dhi] cha nīche [b]āḍham

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 विया अन्नानि च एदि मानि हुवंति नं (C) से
देवानंपिये
2 पिय दस ता (E) ततेस होति स
च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च धंमपलिपुछा िलामे
होति देवानंपियस
4 पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अ . . .

- 1 ⁴ [v]i[y]ā [a]mānāni cha e[d]i [m]āni huvaṁti nam (C) se
Devānāmpiyē
2 [Piya] [dasa]⁵ [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa] cha
dāne⁶ cha vuḍhānāni dasane cha
3 hilaṁna-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne [cha] [dha]mā-p[al]i[puchh]ā⁷
ilāme hoti De[v]ānāmpiyasa
4 Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a] . . .

¹ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before *dasī*.

² The same plate reads [va] *eka-desam*.

³ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a*][ti] *kaṁtani amitalani lājā*.

⁵ The same plate reads *Piyadasī [l]ājā dasa*.

⁶ *cha* looks almost like *chu*, and *dāne* like *dāno*.

⁷ -*pālī* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).¹

(C) But when **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed ten years, he went out to **Sambōdhi**.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा पजुपदाये पवाससि एताये
अंनाये च
- 2 हेदिसाये जने बहुकं च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव
खो मंगले
- 3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म (F) इयं चु सभटकसि
संम्यापटिपति गुलूनं अपचिति पानेसु सयमे
- 4 समनबाभनानं दाने एस अंने पित्तिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना
पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये
- 5 से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे च (K) से चु
खो मितेन
- 6 यं साधू इमेन सकिये स्वगे आलाधयितवे (L) किं हि इमेन
कटवियतला
- 7

- 1 (A) Devān[am]piye Piyadasī lā[jā] [pa]jupadāye pavāsasi etāye
amṇāye cha
- 2 hedisāye jane [ba]hu[kam] [cha ma]m[ga]m k[a]leti (D) se kaṭaviye
cheva kho maṅgale
- 3 (E) apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]ise ma (F) i[ya]m [chu]²
[sa-bha]takasi saṁmyā-paṭipati gulūnaṁ apachiti pānesu say[a]me
- 4 saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[naṁ d]ā[n]e [esa a]m[n]e [pi]tinā pi putena pi
bhātinā pi suvāmike[na] pi iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye

¹ With *huvamti nam* cf. *eteḥi na* in the Kārle and Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 7. 64, text l. 4; 8. 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jaina Prakṛit, *nam* is used as an enclitical particle, and in Śaurasēnī, according to the grammarians, in the sense of *nanu*. Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 150) derives it from Skt. *nūnam*.

² These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.

- 5[s]e dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha (K)
se chu kho mitena
6yam sād[h]ū imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kim hi imena
kaṭaviyatalā
7

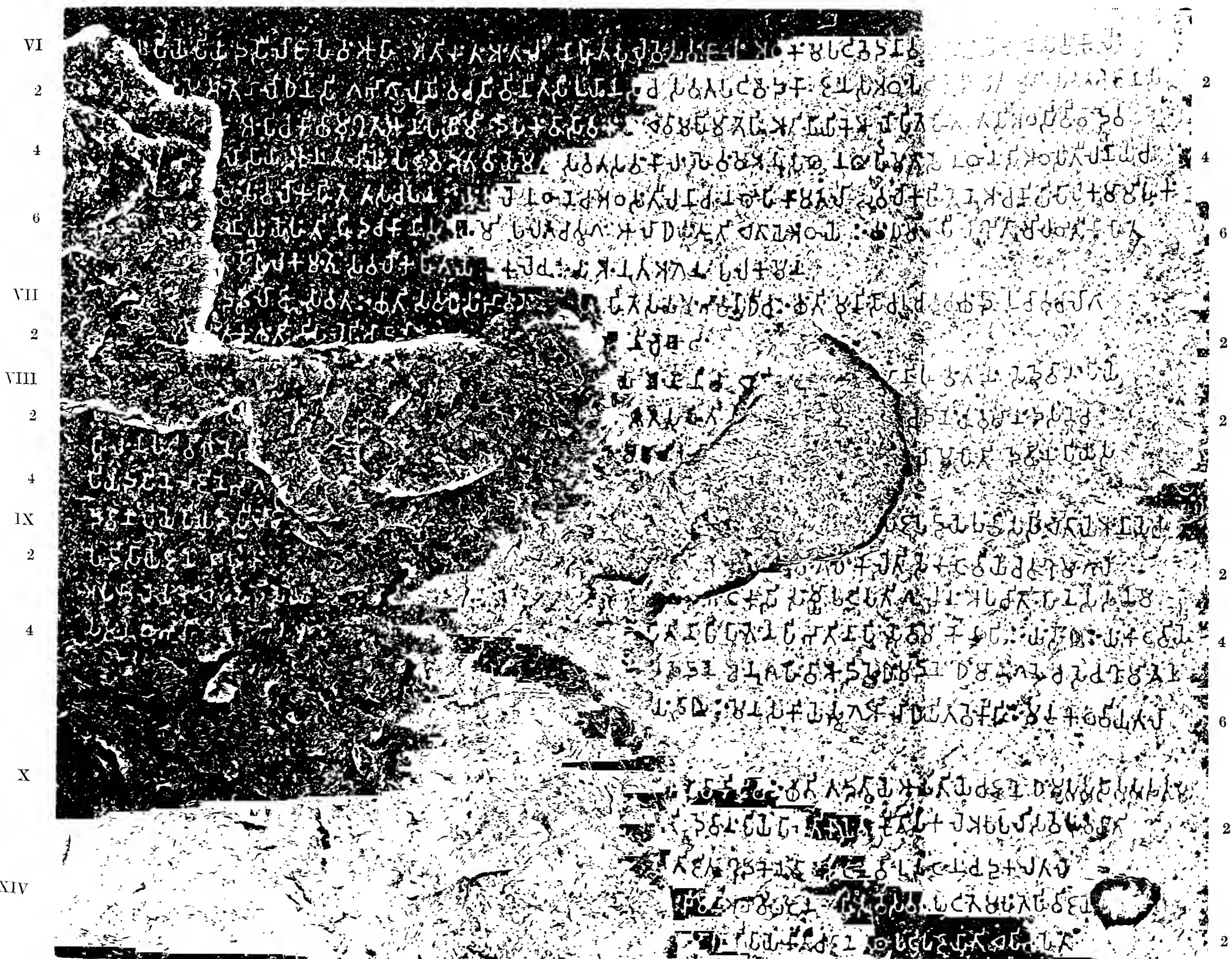
TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child,¹ (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men [are practising] many ceremonies.
(C) But women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.
(D) Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.
(E) But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.
(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.
(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other [such] (virtues) are called the practice of morality.
(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This [practice] should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.’
(I) And it has been said thus:—‘Gifts are meritorious.’
(J) But there is no [such] gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.
(K) Therefore a friend [a relative], and a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—‘This this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.’
(L) For what is more desirable than this, [viz.] the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) यसो वा किटी वा इच्छति तदत्वाये आयतिये च जने धंसुसूसं
सुसूसतु मे
2 ति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये वा किंति सकले अपपलिसवे
हुवेया ति
3 (D) लितिजितु खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले
1 (A) [ya]so vā ki[t]i vā ichh[a]ti tadatvāye ā[ya]tiye cha jane dhamma-
susūsam susūsatu me
2 [t]i Devānāmpiye pālatikāye vā ki[m]ti [sa]kale apa-palisave
[h]uveyā ti
3 (D) [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]ā u[s]aṭena vā (F) usaṭena chu dukalatale

¹ For *pajupadāye* see above, p. 38, n. 22.



TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort *Dēvānāmpriya* is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger

(E) difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [zeal] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) मङ्गमेन अथि विथटेन (B) नो हि सवे सवत घटिते (C)
महंते हि विजये
2 स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि
चु हेत
3

1 (A) [ma]jhome[na] ath[i] vithaṭena (B) [no] hi save savata ghaṭite
(C) mahante hi vijaye
2 [sa] mādhuliyāye kiṁt[i] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta
3

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) has been stated because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं
वतविया (C) अं किञ्चि दस्वामि हकं तं इच्छामि किंति कं कमन पटिपातयेहं
2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवालं अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E)
फे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सवमुना मे

- 3 पजा (G) अथ पजाये इहामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-
पाललोकिकेन हेमेव मे इह सवमुनिसेसु (H) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ
आवगमुके
- 4 इयं अठे (I) केचा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सवं (J) दखथ हि तुफे पि
सुविता पि (K) बहुक अठि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिकिलेसं पि
पापुनाति (L) तत होति अक-
- 5 स्मा ति तेन बधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इछितये
किंति मभं पटिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जानेहि नो पटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन
निदूलियेन
- 6 तुलाय अनावुतिय आलस्येन किलमथेन (O) हेवं इछितविये किंति मे एतानि
जातानि नो ह्येयू ति (P) सवस चु इयं मूले अनासुलोपे अतुलना च
(Q) नितियं एयं किलंते सिय
- 7 संचलितु उथाया संचलितथ्ये तु वटितविय पि एतविये पि नीतियं (R) एवे
दखेया आनंने णिभूपेतविये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि ति (S) एतं
संपटिपातयं-
- 8 तं महाफले होति असंपटिपति महापाये होति (T) विपटिपातयंतं नो
स्वगआलधि नो लाजाधि (U) दुआहले एतस कंसस स मे कुते मनो-
अतिलेके (V) एतं संपटिपजमीने मम
- 9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलाधयिसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं
सोतविया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतविया एककेन पि (Y)
मीने चघथ
- 10 तवे (Z) एताये च अठाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं
समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ ने पलिकि
. ये
- 11 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अचंडं अफलुसं
त पि कुमाले वि . . त मयि
लाते
- 12 वचनिक अद अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कंसं
यितु तं पि तथा कलंति अथा

- 1 (A) Dev[ā]naṃpiye he[va]m [ā]hā (B) Sam[ā]pāyam mahāmātā [na]gala-
viyohālaka he[vaṃ va]tav[i]y[ā] (C) aṃ kichhi dakhāmi ha[ka]m [taṃ] ichhām[i]
k]iṃt[i] kaṃ ¹ kamana ² pa]ṭipātayeham

¹ Senart and Bühler omit *kaṃ*. Cf. the Jaugada separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above,
p. 35, n. 12.

² [*kaṃ*]mana Bühler.

- 2 duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam a[m] tuphesu
anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[ya]m gachhema
[su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m] (F) sava-mu[n]ā me ¹
- 3 pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i] kim[t]i me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti
hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu ²
tu[phe e]tam [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e ³
- 4 [i]yam ath[e] (I) kechā eka-[muni]s[e] ⁴ pā[p]unāti ⁵ se pi desam no savam (J)
dakhattha hi [tuphe] pi ⁶ suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi ⁷ ye eti eka-munise
ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]sam [p]i ⁸ pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i] aka]-
- 5 sm[ā] ti ⁹ ten[a] badhana[m]ti[ka] ¹⁰ anye] ¹¹ cha [va]ge bahuke vedayati (M) tata
tuphe[hi] ichhi]taye kimti majham [pa]tipātayem[a] (N) imehi jāte[hi] ¹² no
[pa]tipa[ja]ti ¹³ i[s]ā[ya] ¹⁴ āsulopena [ni]thū[li]ye[na] ¹⁵
- 6 t[ul]āya ¹⁶ [a]nā[v]uti[ya] ¹⁷ āla[s]y[e]na ki]lamath[e]na (O) hevam ichhit[a]vi[y]e
kimti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni] n]o hveyū ¹⁸ ti (P) savasa chu ¹⁹ iyam mū[le]
a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e] atulanā cha (Q) nītiya[m] [e]y[am] k]il[am]t[e] [siya]
- 7 samchalitu uthāy[ā] ²⁰ samchalitavye tu v[a]ritaviya ²¹ [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yam (R)
eve dakh[e]yā ²² āna[m]ne ²³ nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye ²⁴ heva[m] hevam] cha
Devānam[p]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]m [sam]pātipā]ta[ya]m]-
- 8 tam mahā-phale hoti asampātipati mahāpāy[e] hoti (T) vipātipātayamta[m] no
svag[a]-ālādhi no lājādhi ²⁵ (U) du[ā]hale etasa [ka]m]masa sa me k[u]t[e]
ma]n[o]ati]le[ke] ²⁶ (V) [eta]m sam]pātipajamīne mama]
- 9 cha ānanyam esatha svagam cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (W) iyam chā ²⁷ li[p]i anutisam
sot[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā ²⁸ [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y)
m[i]ne ²⁹ ch[aghatha]
- 10 tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyam [li]khitā [l]ipī ena mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m]
sama[ya]m [eta]m yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena [muni]s[ā]nam [a] ne [pal]i[k]i ³⁰
. ye
- 11 [pa]mchasa pamchasa va[sesu] anu[s]ayānam ³¹ nikhāma[y]isāmi ³² mahāmātā[m]
achamda[m] aphal[usa]m ³³ ta ³⁴ pi kumāle [v]i ³⁵ . . ta
m[ayi] ³⁶ [lā]t[ē] ³⁷

¹ Read -munisā me ; -munise Senart and Bühler.

² cha Bühler.

³ āvā- Bühler ; -gamake Senart and Bühler.

⁴ -pulise Senart and Bühler.

⁵ pi manati Senart, pi [ma]nāti Bühler.

⁶ hi Bühler.

⁷ aṭhi Bühler.

⁸ ki Bühler.

⁹ Senart and Bühler omit ti.

¹⁰ baṁdha° Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ Bühler omitted this word.

¹² jātehi Bühler.

¹³ sam]pāti° Senart, sam]ti° Bühler.

¹⁴ isā[ye] Bühler.

¹⁵ nīthu° Senart, nīthu° Bühler.

¹⁶ tulāye Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ °tiye Senart and Bühler.

¹⁸ heyū Senart and Bühler.

¹⁹ cha Senart and Bühler.

²⁰ uthā[ye] Bühler.

²¹ vajita° Senart and Bühler.

²² dekheyi Senart and Bühler.

²³ amna ne Senart and Bühler.

²⁴ nijha° Senart and Bühler.

²⁵ [ma]ne- Bühler.

²⁷ cha Senart and Bühler.

²⁶ Read lājāladhi.

²⁹ mane Bühler.

³⁰ Restore akasmā baṁdhane palikilese.

²⁸ Read amtalā.

³² °sāmī Bühler.

³³ aphalaha Bühler.

³¹ °sam]yānam Senart and Bühler.

³⁴ Bühler adds . . vachanele ; perhaps sakhiṇālam]bham is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauli.

³⁵ vā Bühler.

³⁶ Restore nikhāmayisati.

³⁷ This is probably a remnant of Takhasilāte.

12 vachanik[a]¹ ada² [anusa]yānaṃ³ n[ikha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne ka[r̥ma]m
 [yitu taṃ pi tathā] kalaṃti [athā]

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā*, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(F) All men are my children.

(G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.

(I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances.⁴

(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment.⁵

(L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people⁶ (continue to) suffer.

(M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.

(O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

(P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).

(R) He who will pay attention to this,⁷ must exhort⁸ (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you): 'Such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

¹ *javachā*° Senart, *ājavachā*° Bühler; cf. *l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, B.

² *tada* Senart, *adā* Bühler.

³ °*saṃyānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ For *suṃvita* see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauḷi has the synonym *suṃvihita*.

⁵ Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 862) renders the Dhauḷi version of this section: 'There is also a single officer who hears of imprisonment or torture'; but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change *eti* in the Jaugaḍa version to *eta* (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb *pāpunāti* has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

⁶ For *vage* = *jane* see above, p. 40, n. 2.

⁷ As *eve dakh[e]yā* corresponds to *hevaṃmeva e da[kheya]* at Dhauḷi, it seems to represent *evaṃ e dakhēyā*.

⁸ For *nijhapeti* see above, p. 69, n. 4.

(S) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly?

(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.

(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of Tishya).

(Y) you will be able to

(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment]

(AA) I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge)¹ a *Mahāmātra* who is neither fierce nor harsh

(BB) also the prince (governor) [will send out]

(CC) from [Takshaśī]lā.

(DD) When, at the word [of the king],² they will set out on tour, (then), [without neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain³ whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचनिक वतविया (C) अं
किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किंति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस
अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E) सवमुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (F) अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू अथ
पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसु-
- 4 खेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु (G) सिया
अंतानं अविजिता-
- 5 नं किंछादे सु लाजा अफेसू ति (H) एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेयु लाजा
हेवं इछति अनुविगिन ह्येयू
- 6 ममियाये अस्वसेयु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो खं हेवं च पापुनेयु
खमिसति ने लाजा
- 7 ए सकिये खमितवे ममं निमित्तं च धमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोगं च
आलाधयेयू (I) एताये

¹ See above, p. 5, n. 4.

² See below, p. 117, n. 10.

³ The word *jānisamti* seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context; see the Dhauili version, CC.

- 8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं
च वेदि-
- 9 तु आ मम धिति पटिंना च अचल (J) स हेवं कटू कंमे चलितविये
अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति
अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं मये लाजिने (K) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छंदं च वेदित आ मम धिति
पटिंना चा अचल सकल-
- 12 देसाआयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितमुखाये
च तेसं हिद-
- 13 लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलाधयिसथ मम च
आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-
- 14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू
अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंमचलनाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुंमासं सोतविया तिसेन (P)
अंतला पि च सोतविया
- 16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया (R) हेवं च कलंतं चघथ संपटिपातयितवे

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyaṃ mahamatā l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]¹
vataviyā (C) aṃ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakaṃ taṃ i[chh]āmi hakaṃ k[iṃ]ti kaṃ
kamana
- 2 paṭipātayehaṃ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṃ (D) esa cha me mokhiya-ma[a]² duvāl[a]
etasa a[tha]sa a[r̥]i t[uph]esu anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-
- 3 sā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṃti me savenā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū
[a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṃ[ti] m[e] savena hita-su-
- 4 kh[e]na yujeyū³ ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]⁴ hevaṃmeva me ichha sava-
munisesu (G) siyā aṃtānaṃ [a]vijitā-
- 5 naṃ kiṃ-chhānde⁵ su lājā aphisū ti (H) etākā⁶ [vā] me ichha [a]mtesu pāpuneyu
lājā hevaṃ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]⁷
- 6 mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhaṃ[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate [n]o kha[m]⁸
hevaṃ cha pāpuneyu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne lājā
- 7 e s[a]kiye⁹ khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ cha dhamma[m]¹⁰ chaley[ū] ti hidalog[aṃ]
cha palalogaṃ cha ālādhayey[ū]¹¹ (I) etāye

¹ *laja*- Senart and Bühler.

² *-mate* Senart, *-mataṃ* Bühler.

³ Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yujeyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake.

⁴ *kena* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *-chhānde* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ Read *etākā*, as proposed by Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 867.

⁷ *heyu* Senart and Bühler.

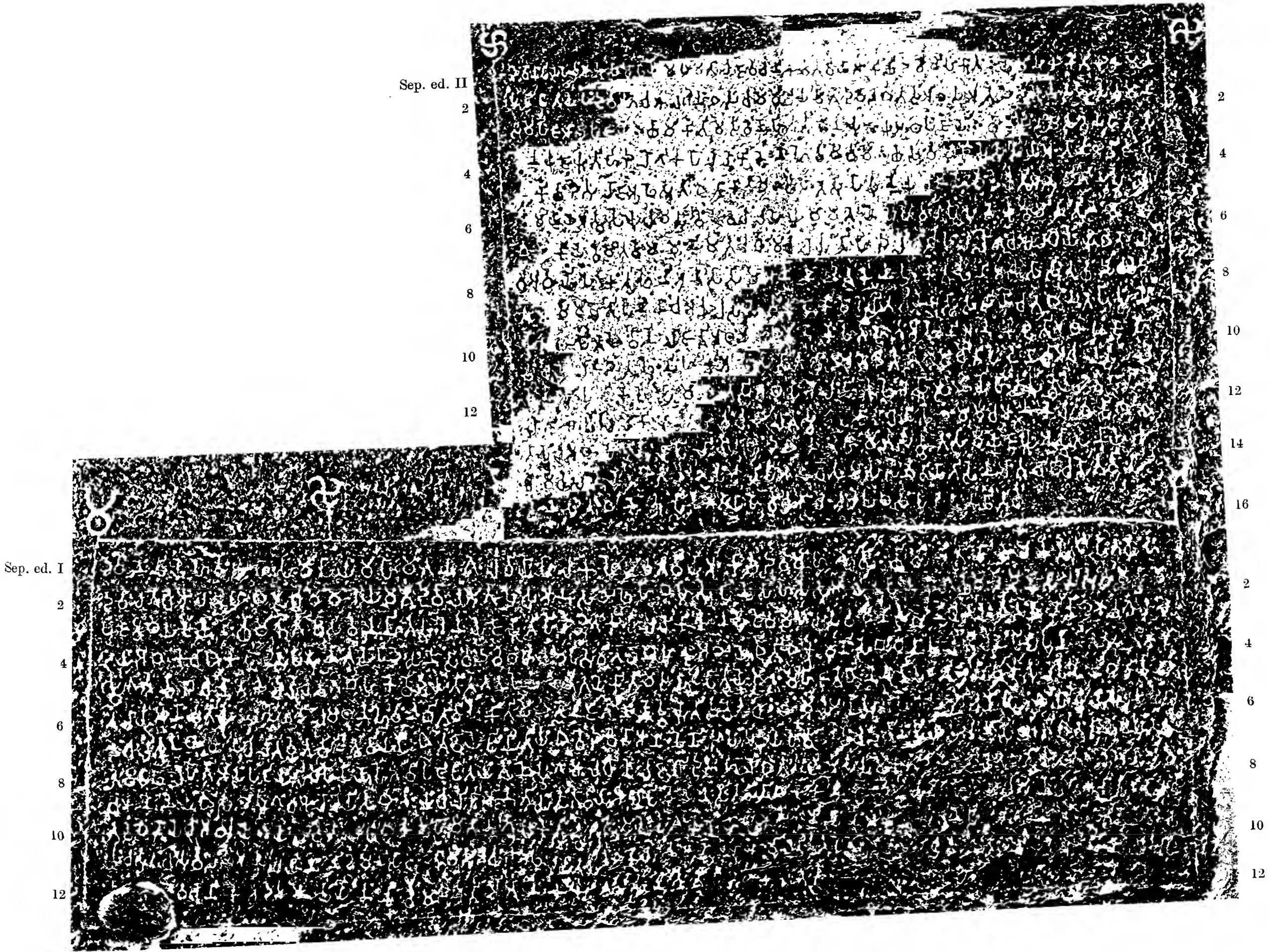
⁸ Read *dukhaṃ*.

⁹ *chha kiye* Senart, *chakiye* Bühler.

¹⁰ The Anusvāra of *maṃ* stands above the line; *dhamma* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ *oyeyu* Senart and Bühler.

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- 8 cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kaṁ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu
chhamāda[m̐ cha] vedi-
- 9 [t]u ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cha achala (J) sa hevaṁ [ka]ṭū¹ k[am̐]me [cha]litaviye
asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-
- 10 yu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṁ [n]e lājā ti atha [a]tānaṁ anukampat[i he]vaṁ a[ph]eni
anuka[m̐pa]ti athā pajā he-
- 11 vaṁ [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita² [chh]āmdaṁ³ [cha v]e[di]ta⁴
[ā⁵ ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m̐]nā chā achala [saka]la-
- 12 desā-āy[ut]ike⁶ hosāmī et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]laṁ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-
sukhāye [cha te]sa[m̐] hida-
- 13 logi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ svaga[m̐ cha ā]lādhayisa[tha]
mama cha āna[n]eyam̐ es[a]tha (N) e-
- 14 tāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m̐ lipī li[kh]i[ta⁷ hi]da e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvaraṁ⁸ samam̐⁹
yujeyū asvāsanāye cha
- 15 dhamma-chala[nā]ye [cha] am̐tā[nā]m̐ (O) iyaṁ cha lipī a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m̐]āsam̐
s[ota]viyā tisenā (P) am̐ta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā
- 16 (Q) khane sam̐taṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m̐] cha [ka]lam̐[ta]m̐ chaghatha
sam̐paṭipātayit[av]e

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā* have to be told (this) at the word of the king.¹⁰

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'

(H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

¹ *kaṭu* Senart and Bühler.

³ *chhamādaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Senart and Bühler omit *ā*.

⁷ *likhitā* Senart and Bühler.

² Read *°sāsitu*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁴ Read *veditu*; *vedāta* Senart, *vedit[u]* Bühler.

⁶ Read *desāyutike*.

⁸ *sasvaraṁ* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Read *samayan*.

¹⁰ The derivative *l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* seems to convey the same meaning as the two words *Devānāmpriyasa vachanena* at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauri, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura rock-inscriptions.

(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence,¹ in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here; (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.²

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

-
- 5 निखमिठ स
 6 (E) हेत इयं होति बंभ
 7 वुढानं दसने च हिरंनपटिविधाने च
 8 धंमानुसयि धंम
 9 .. ये रती होति दे
 10 ने भागे छं ..
-
- 5 nikhamiṭha Sa³
 6 (E) heta iyaṁ [ho]ti baṁ[bha]
 7 vuḍhānaṁ dasane⁴ [cha] hiraṁna-paṭividhāne cha
 8 [dha*]mmanusa[thi]⁵ dhamma
 9 .. ye [ra]ti⁶ hoti De
 10 n[ə] bhāge aṁ ..

¹ With *asvāsa*[n]iṣā cf. *visvaṁsayitave* on the Sārṇāth pillar, ll. 8 and 9.

² The two words *khane samtaṁ* are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

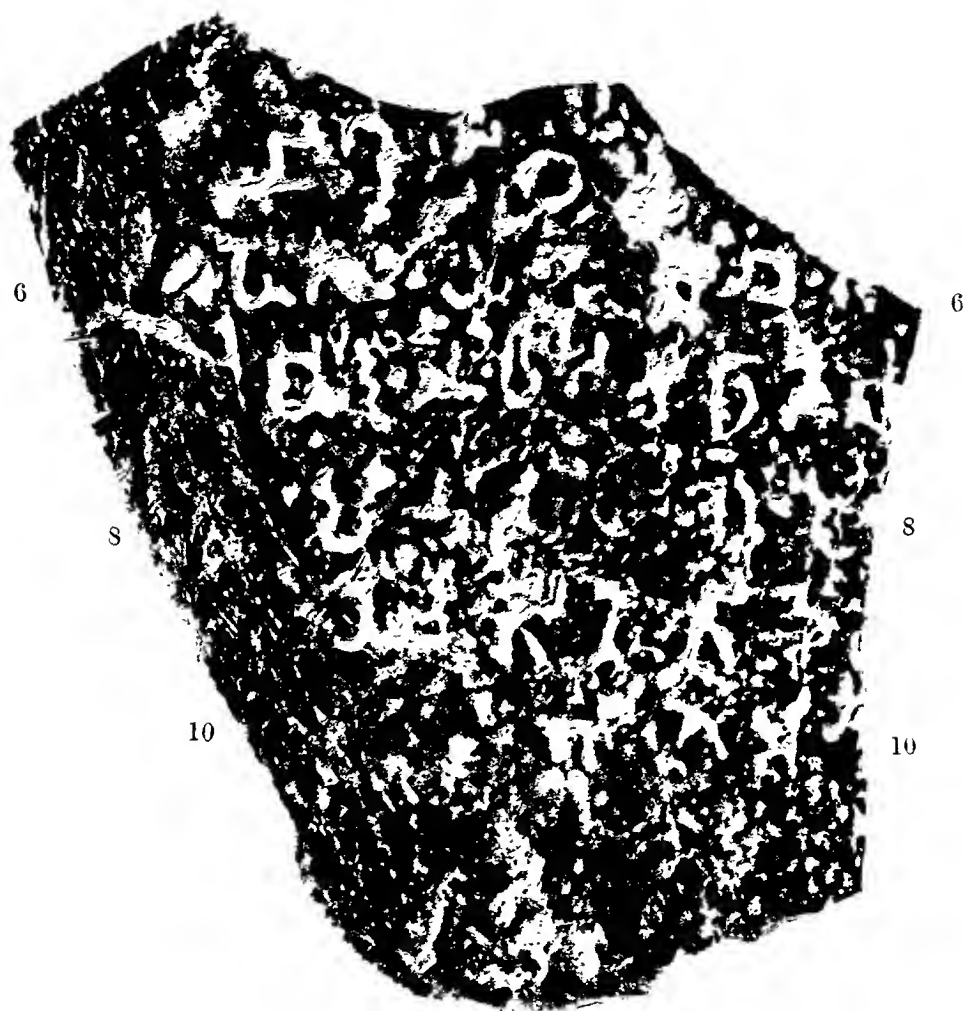
³ *nikhamiṭhā sam* Bhagvanlal Indrajī.

⁴ These two words are entered above the line.

⁵ °*sathi* Bh. I.

⁶ °*rati* Bh. I.

BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT



SCALE ONE-THIRD

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसति-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता
- 3 (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धंमकामताया
- 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसूयाया अगेन भयेना
- 5 अगेन उसाहेना (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 6 धंमापेखा धंमकामता चा सुवे सुवे वढिता वढीसति चेवा
- 7 (E) पुलिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा मभिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
- 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेवा अंत-
- 9 महामाता पि (G) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
- 10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiyē Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-
- 2 vasa-abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā
- 3 (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā
- 4 agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]yāyā agena bhayenā
- 5 agena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
- 6 dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhīsati chevā
- 7 (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā anuvīdhīyaṃtī
- 8 saṃpaṭipādayaṃtī chā alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemevā aṇṇa-
- 9 mahāmātā pi (G) esa ¹ hi ² vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne
- 10 dhammena sukhiyanā dhammena gotī ti

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) ³ is difficult to secure

¹ esā Bühler.

² pi Senart and Bühler; hi is quite distinct on the inked estampages.

³ With the base *pālata*, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb *paratra*, cf. *pāratrika* at Girnār (= *pālāntikya* at Kālsī, and *pālātika* elsewhere).

without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day¹ and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents² also, both the high ones³ and the low ones,⁴ and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up⁵ fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the *Mahāmātras* of the borderers⁶ also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.⁷ to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure⁸ according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech)⁹ according to morality.

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 10 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
 11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
 12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपद-
 13 चतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
 14 दाखिमाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
 15 अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-
 16 यितिका च होतू ती ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कछती ति

- 10 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja¹⁰
 11 hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhuṃ kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave¹¹ bahu kayāne
 12 dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me¹² bahuvīdhe diṃne (E) dupada-

¹ For *suve suve* = Skt. *śvab śvab* (literally: 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *suve*.

² I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of *pulisa*; see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.

³ *ukasa* (= *utkarsha*) is used in the sense of *utkrishṭa*.

⁴ This meaning of *gevayā* is evident from the context. Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived *gevaya* (for **gēvaka*) from the root *gēv*, to which the *Dhātupāṭha* attributes the meaning of *sēv*, 'to serve'. For the change of *k* to *y* cf. *supadālaya*, above, p. 33, n. 3. But the existence of the root *gēv* is far from certain; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

⁵ For *samādapeti* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *samādiyati*.

⁶ Cf. the separate edict II at Dhāuli (M) and at Jaugada (N).

⁷ For this meaning of *yā iyaṃ* see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pāli expression *yad idam*.

⁸ Cf. the pillar-edict IV, E, and VII, V.

⁹ Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.

¹⁰ *lājā* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*.

¹² A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of *me*.

- 13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahē kaṭe ā pāna-
 14 dākhināye (F) arnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
 15 aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajāntu chilaṃ-
 16 thitikā cha hotū ti ti¹ (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajīsati se sukaṭaṃ kachhatī² ti

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?³
 (C) (It includes) few sins,⁴ many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.
 (D) The gift of spiritual insight⁵ also has been bestowed by me in many ways.
 (E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.⁶
 (F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.⁷
 (G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration.
 (H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.⁸

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) कयानंमेव देखति इयं मे
 18 कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
 19 नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि
 20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्या
 21 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे
 22 हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये

¹ The remaining versions read *hotū ti*. Three verses of Manu in which *iti* is doubled are quoted in Böhrtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also *kiti t[i]* at Kālsī, XII, D.

² An apparent Anusvāra after *ka* is probably accidental.

³ Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 667) explained *kiyaṃ* = Skt. *kiyān*.

⁴ *āsina* is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term *aṇhaya* which is derived from *ā + snu*; see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 16. 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23. 267 f. The corresponding Pāli term is *āsava*, which is Sanskritized by *āsrava* or *āsra*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 822 f.; *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f.; ZDMG, 72. 149. With the compound *apāsina* cf. *apa-vyayātā*, *apa-phalaṃ*, and *apa-parisra* in the Gīrnār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

⁵ Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Itivuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three *chakkhūni* are *maṃsa-chakkhu*, *diḍḍha-chakkhu*, and *paññā-chakkhu*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 62.

⁶ For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict V, D.

⁸ Cf. the same edict, E.

- 17 (A) **Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja** hevaṃ ahā (B) **kayānaṃmeva** dekhati iyaṃ me
 18 **kayāne kaṭe ti** (C) **no mina pāpaṃ d[e]khati** iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā āsinave
 19 **nāmā ti** (D) **dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā** (E) **hevaṃ chu kho esa** dekhiye (F) **imāni**
 20 **āsinava-gāmīni nāma** atha chaṇḍīye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā
 21 **kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ** (G) **esa bāḍha** dekhiye (H) **iyaṃ me**
 22 **hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye**

TRANSLATION

- (A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.
 (B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.'
 (C) They do not at all¹ regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.'²
 (D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.
 (E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:
 (F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful.³ Let me not⁴ ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'
- (G) The following ought to be specially regarded:
 (H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)⁵ to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा** (B) **सङ्खीसतिवस-**
 2 **अभिसित्तेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता** (C) **लज्जूका मे**
 3 **बहूमु पानसतसहसेमु जनसि आयता** (D) **तेसं ये अभिहाले वा**
 4 **दंडे वा अतपत्तिये मे कटे किंति लज्जूका अस्वथ अभीता**

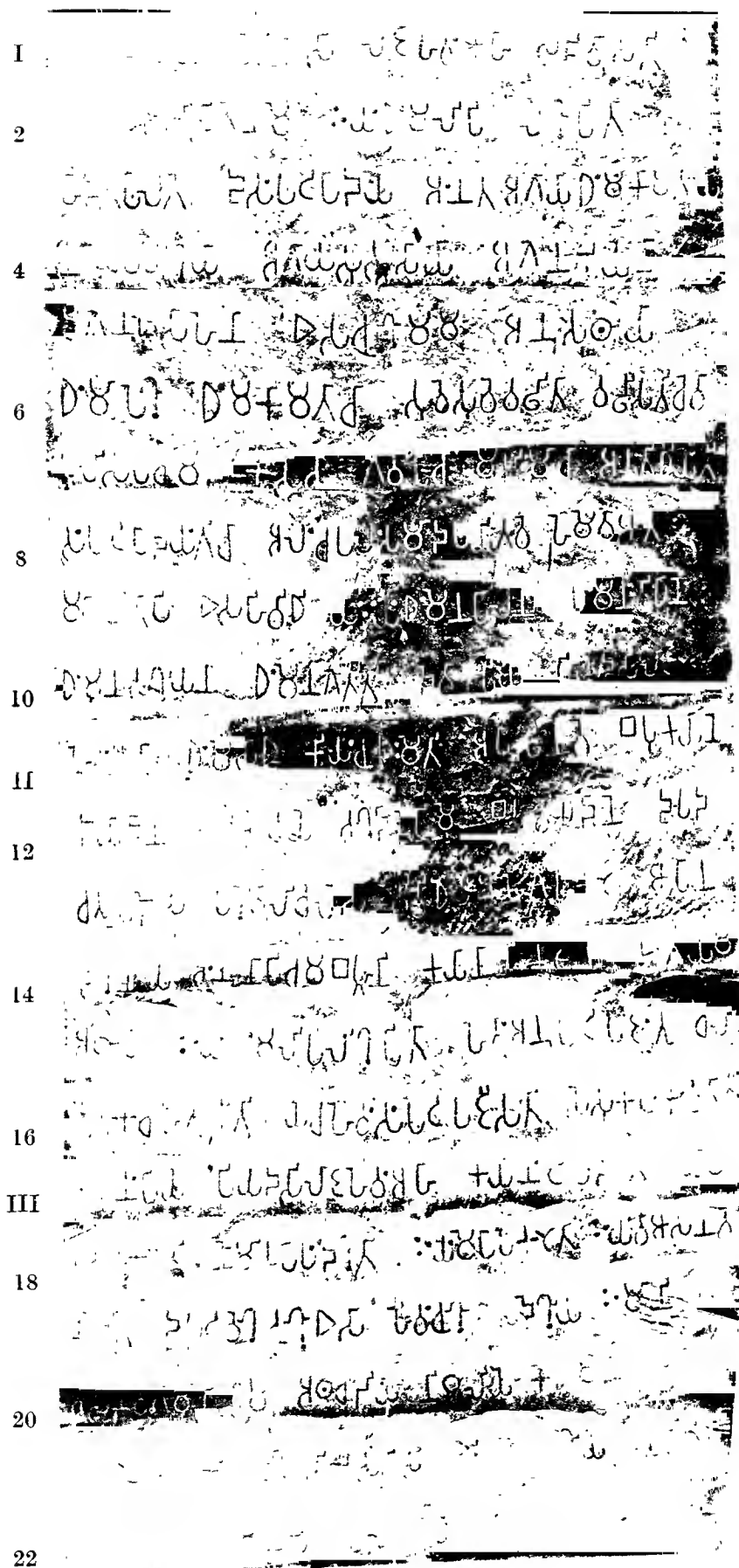
¹ Michelson (IF, 23. 236 f.) dissolves *nomina* into *no amina*, and identifies *amina* with the Pāli *aminā*, to which he attributes the meaning 'also'; but this word rather means 'hereby'. Bühler (EI, 2. 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking *no mina* = Skt. *na manāk*. For the change of *a* to *i* cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 101-103.

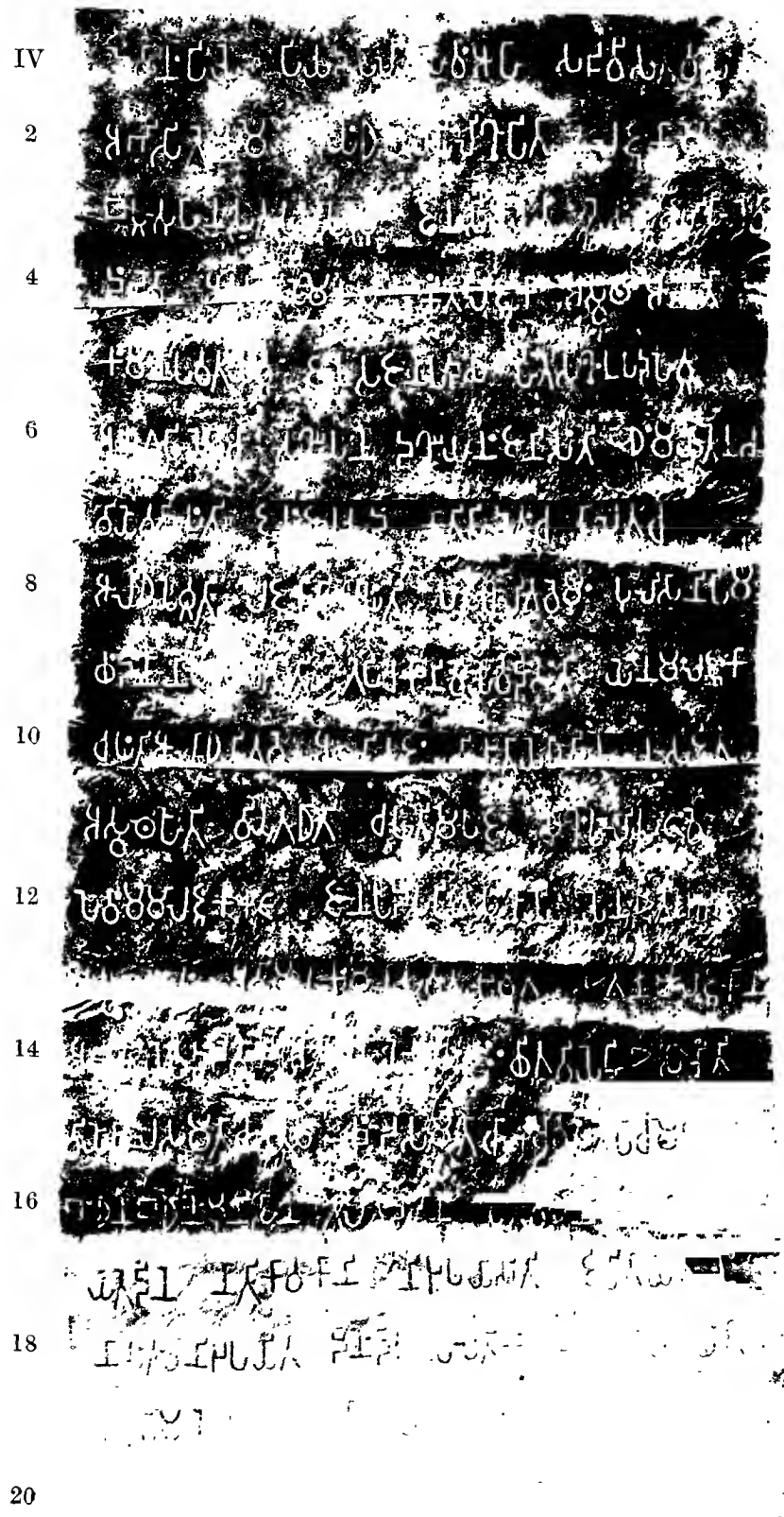
² For *āsinava* see above, p. 121, n. 4.

³ With the compound *āsinava-gāmin* cf. *āva-gamuka* in the first separate edict at Dhauḷi (G) and Jaugaḍa (H).

⁴ See Michelson, IF, 23. 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking *mā* to be the accusative of the pronoun *mad*, we may add that, if *mā* were the object of *palibhasayisaṃ*, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. *ātmānam*.

⁵ Michelson (IF, 23. 237 f.) connects *mana* with Skt. *manāk*, and Bühler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb *mana* does occur in the *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that *iyaṃmana* represents Skt. *idam anyat*. For the Sandhi cf. *kayānaṃmeva* in line 17; *hevaṃmeva* (or *°vā*) in the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauḷi separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, F; *sukhaṃmeva* in the Dhauḷi separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 6.





- 5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू
 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च
 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च
 8 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे
 9 छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूका
 10 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
 11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे
 12 हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीता
 13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं
 14 अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एसा किंति
 15 वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (L) अव इते पि च मे आवुति
 16 बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे
 17 योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं
 18 नासंतं वा निरूपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति
 19 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च
 20 वढति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi l[ā]ja hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-
 2 abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me
 3 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasī āyatā (D) tesāṃ ye abhihāle vā
 4 daṇḍe vā ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūkā asvatha abhītā
 5 kaṃmāni pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū
 6 anugahinevu chā (E) sukhīyana-dukkhīyanaṃ jānisaṃti dhamma-yutena cha
 7 viyovadisānti janāṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidatāṃ cha pālataṃ cha
 8 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi me
 9 chharāmaṇnāni paṭichalisaṃti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisānti yena maṃ lajūkā
 10 chaghaṃti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu
 11 asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me paṇaṃ sukhaṃ palihaṭave
 12 hevaṃ mamā lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhītā
 13 asvatha saṃtaṃ avimaṇā kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ
 14 abh[i]hāle¹ va daṇḍe vā ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye [h]i esā kiṃti
 15 viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā chā (L) ava ite pi cha me āvuti
 16 baṇdhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīl[i]ta-daṇḍānaṃ² pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni
 17 yote diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti jivitāye tānaṃ
 18 nāsaṃtaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ dāhaṃti pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhaṃti
 19 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
 20 vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane saṃyame dāna-savibhāge ti

¹ abhihāle Bühler.² tīlita- Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) My *Lajūkas*¹ are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.²

(D) I have ordered that either rewards³ or punishments are left to their discretion,⁴ in order that the *Lajūkas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).

(E) They will know how to cause pleasure⁵ and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,⁶ in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

• (F) The *Lajūkas* also must obey me.⁷

(G) They will also obey the agents⁸ who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),⁹ in order that the *Lajūkas* may be able to please me.¹⁰

(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent¹¹ nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajūkas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.¹²

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed,¹³ for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajūkas*.

¹ For *Lajūka* or *Rājūka* see above, p. 5, n. 2.

² For *āyata* cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.

³ In the *Śātaṅga* the word *abhihāra* has the meaning of 'a present, an offering'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 539 f., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 f.

⁴ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990 f.), *ata-patiya* is an adjective formed of *ātman* + *pati* with the affix *-ya*, which seems to stand for *-ka*; see Franke, VOJ, 9. 347. Cf. *nilathiya* in the Kālī rock-edict IX, C, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindēi pillar, C.

⁵ Cf. *sukhiyanā* in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and *sukhāyanā*, VII, V.

⁶ Bühler translated *dharmma-yutena* by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar-edict VII, N, *dharmma-yu[ta]ni* is an adjective qualifying *janani*, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits *dhama-yute[na]* at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives *dhrama-yutasa* and *dhrama-yutasi* in the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [*dharmma*]-*yutānam* at Girnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 185) and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992) understand the word *dharmma-yukta* to be the collective designation of certain officials.

⁷ Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 96) compared *laghamti* with Skt. *arhanti*.

⁸ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.) has shown that *pulisāni* is the accusative of *pulisā*, which occurs in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

⁹ For *kāni* see above, p. 35, n. 12.

¹⁰ For *chaghati* = Skt. *śakshyati* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

¹¹ Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 99) first identified *viyata* with Skt. *vyakta*, which, according to the *Amarakōśa*, has also the meaning of *prājñā*, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit; see Böhtlingk's *Abridged Dictionary*, s.v. व्यक्त, and Aśvaghōsha's *Saundarananda*, II, 38.

¹² I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1009 f.) in making this section end here.

¹³ *saṃtām* is a nominative singular absolute. See Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz.) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

(L) And my order¹ (reaches) even so far² (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed,³ (and) who have been condemned to death.

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade⁴ those (*Lajūkas*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them),⁵ they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).⁶

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,⁷ they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथा
- 3 सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे
- 4 जतूका अंबाकपीलिका दळी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 5 गंगापुपुटे संकुजमछे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले
- 6 संडके ओकपिडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
- 7 सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियती (C) f

¹ With *āvuti* = *āyukti* (Senart) cf. *-āvutike* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 8 = *-āy[ut]ike* at Jaugaḍa, II, l. 12; *vishava* at Sārṇāth (l. 10), Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, and *viśava* at Kālsī = *vi[sa]ya* at Gīrnār, XIII, R; *supadarave* at Mānsehrā = *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa, V, G; *sochave* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 28 = *sochaye* in edict II, l. 12.

² Senart (IA, 18. 9) translated *ava ite* (= Skt. *yāvad itaḥ*) by 'from this day'. I follow Bühler's rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare *āva-gamu[k]e* in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugaḍa (H). Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares *ava* with Avestan *yavaṭ*, and *āvā*, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian *yāvā*.

³ With *tilita-daṇḍa* cf. *tīritam* (*kāryam*), Manu, IX, 233, and *atha-saṁtīraṇā* at Gīrnār, VI, ll. 9, 10.

⁴ Literally: 'will induce to meditate or consider'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes *na machchuno nijjhapaṇaṁ karonti* from the *Jātaka*. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 146, last line: पुष्पशीलाः समयानुबद्धा वा दोषनिष्कयं [बन्धनस्थानां] ददुः.

⁵ Three other versions read: 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained *nāsaṁtām* as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of *nāthi* (Skt. *nāstī*).

⁶ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

⁷ Bühler (EI, 2. 254, n. 28) took *niruddhē 'pi kālē* in the sense of *nirōdha-kālē 'pi*, 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: 'even in limited time', and Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 123): 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. *niruddho*.

- 8 एऊका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय पतके .
 9 पि च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 10 नो ज्ञापेतविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो ज्ञापेतविये
 11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसायं पुनमासियं
 12 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा
 13 अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येवा दिवसानि
 14 नागवनसि केवढभोगसि यानि अनानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि
 15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
 16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये
 17 अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
 18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा
 19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 20 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-
 2 abhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā
 3 suke sālikā alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe
 4 jatūkā ambā-kapīlikā daḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
 5 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭ[a]-sayake paṃna-sase simale
 6 saṃḍake okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote
 7 save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyatī² (C) i³
 8 [e]lakā⁴ chā sūkālī chā gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhi[y . p . ta]ke⁵
 9 pi cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve
 10 no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anaṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no jhāpetaviye
 11 (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummasīsū tisāyaṃ puṇnamāsīyaṃ
 12 tiṃni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭipadāy[e] dhuvāye chā
 13 anuposathaṃ machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā⁶ divasāni
 14 nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni
 15 no haṃtavīyāni (J) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ tisāye
 16 punāvasune tīsu chātummasīsū sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye
 17 ajake eḍake sūkale e vā pi aṃne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye
 18 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummasīye chātummasī-pakhāye asvasā gonasā
 19 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye
 20 aṃtalikāye paṃnavīsati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

¹ *daḍi* Bühler ; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1088. Three other versions read *duḷi*, and the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar *duḍi*.

² *khādiyatī* Bühler.

³ Three other versions read *ajakā nāni*.

⁵ Restore *avadhiyā potake*.

⁴ *eḍakā* Bühler.

⁶ *yeva* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.¹ parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandīmukha*, the *gelāṭa*, bats, queen-ants,² terrapins,³ boneless fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *Gaṅgā-puṇḍaka*, skate-fish,⁴ tortoises⁵ and porcupines, squirrels (?),⁶ the *śṛimara*,⁷ bulls set at liberty,⁸ iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,⁹ white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats],¹⁰ ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

¹ *seyathā* = Pāli *seyyathā* and Skt. *tadyathā*.

² Michelson (IF, 23. 266 f.) dissolves *ambākapilikā* into **ambāka* (an adjective formed of *ambā*) and **pilikā* (for *pīpilikā* by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into *ambā* and *kapilikā* = Pāli *kipillika*. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads *ambā-kipilikā*. Skt. *pīpilikā* has been changed to *kapilikā*, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 59.

³ Monmohan Chakravarti (*Memoirs*, ASB, I. 368) takes *d[u]ḥi* in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.

⁴ With *saṅkuja* Senart (IA, 18. 75) compares Skt. *saṅkuchi* or *sāṅkuchi*, which may be derived from *saṅkuch*, 'to contract'.

⁵ The identification of *kaphaṭa* with Skt. *kamaṭha* is due to Senart; see IA, 18. 75.

⁶ This doubtful explanation of *parṇa-śaśa* was proposed by Bühler; see EI, 2. 260.

⁷ This animal is mentioned in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 100, l. 12.

⁸ C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37. 211) remarks that this translation of *saṇḍaka* is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull'; but matters may have been different in Aśoka's time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta* (v. 45) to king Rantidēva who, according to the *Mahābhārata* (7. 67, 5; 12. 29, 123; 13. 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charmanvatī. According to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 1, 2, 21), Yājñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita* it is stated that a heifer (*vatsatārī*) was slaughtered by Vālmiki in honour of Vasishṭha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, *gōghna* means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Pāraskara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Āpastamba (*Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage; cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the *śūlagava* or 'spit-ox' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 83 f. The Buddhist *Suttas* mention beef-butchers; see Neumann's translation of the *Dīghanikāya*, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also *Memoirs*, ASB, I. 373; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, article 'cow' by Jacobi.

⁹ According to Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 58, n. 6, *palasata* (=Vēdic *parasvat*) is the original of Pāli *palāsāda*, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form *palāsāda* occurs in the *Jātaka*, V, p. 406, v. 267, and *palasata* *ibid.*, VI, p. 277, v. 1205; see Kern's *Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers* (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

¹⁰ For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9. 343), who wanted to join *ajakānāni* into one word, and to consider it a Prākṛit form of *ajakā*. Just as the nom. plur. neut. *nāni* is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. *ajakā*, and with the nom. sing. neut. *she* in the Queen's edict, l. 4, *kāni* is combined with the nom. sing. masc. *potake* in l. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.

(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmasīs¹ (and) on the Tishyā full-moon² during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.³

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park⁴ (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight,⁵ on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmasīs, (and) on festivals,⁶ bulls⁷ must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmasīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmasī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).⁸

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) दुवादस-
- 2 वसअभिसित्तेन मे धम्मलिपि लिखापिता लोकसा
- 3 हितसुखाये से तं अपहटा तं तं धम्मवट्ठि पापोवा
- 4 (C) हेवं लोकसा हितसुखे त्ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं
- 5 नातिसु हेवं पत्तियासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु

¹ i.e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter); see Bühler, EI, 2. 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauri (N) and Jaugada (O).

² *tisā* (i.e. *tishyā*), instead of which three other versions read *tisi* (i.e. **tishī*), is the full-moon of the month Taisha or Pausha; see EI, 2. 264.

³ With the words *dhuvāye chā anuposatham* cf. *anuposatham cha dhuvāye* on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 8.

⁴ For *nāga-vana* see the *Dhammapada*, verse 324, and the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 50.

⁵ In the compound *aṭhami-pakha* the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Bühler, EI, 2. 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34. 434.

⁶ According to the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are meant; see below, n. 8.

⁷ For *goṇa*, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. *gō*, 'an ox', see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 393.

⁸ The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407: [विजिगीषुर्नवमवाय लभं] कारयेत्सर्वबन्धनमोक्षं चातुर्मासेष्वर्धमासिकमघातं पौर्णमासीषु च चातुरात्रिकं राजदेशनचवेष्टेकरात्रिकं योनिबालवधं पुंस्त्वोपघातं च प्रतिषेधयेत्; '[having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmasīyas during half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'

V

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VI

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VII

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Scale One-Sixth

- 6 किमं कानि सुखं अवहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा
 7 सवनिक्कायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता
 8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचूपगमने
 9 से मे मोख्यमते (G) सदुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे
 10 इयं धम्मलिपि लिखायिता

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) dūvāḍasa-
 2 vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā
 3 hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭā taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpovā
 4 (C) hevaṃ lokasā hita-[sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ
 5 nātisu hevaṃ patiyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu
 6 kimāṃ kāni sukhaṃ avahāmi ti tatha cha vidahāmi (D) hemevā
 7 sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi¹ (E) sava-pāsaṃdā pi me pūjitā
 8 vividhāya pūjāyā (F) e chu iyaṃ at[a]nā² pachūpagamane
 9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saduvisati-vasa-abhisitena me
 10 iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing³ those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.

(C) (Thinking): 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)', I am directing my attention not only⁴ to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that⁵ I may lead them⁶ to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.⁷

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.⁸

¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

² *atunā* Bühler; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13. 310.

³ Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 92 f.) explained *apahaṭā* by *a-prahartā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9. 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: *apahaṭā* may correspond as well to **a-prahṛitvā* (Skt. *a-prahṛitya*), and *pra-hṛi* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-tvā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular *nijhapayitā* in the pillar-edict IV, M.

⁴ With *atha iyaṃ* cf. *yathayidam*, 'just as', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

⁵ *kimāṃ* (or *kinmāṃ* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kinṇi*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kim*, as Pāli *sudam* of Skt. *svid*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18. 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34. 430. Bühler (EI, 2. 269) preferred to derive it from **kimva = kimiva*.

⁶ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.

(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty),¹ viz.² visiting (the people) personally.³

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिकंतं
 12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथं जने
 13 धंमवढिया वढेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया
 14 वढिया (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे
 15 हुथा (E) अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने
 16 अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया
 17 धंमवढिया वढिया (F) से किनसु जने अनुपटिपजेया
 18 (G) किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति (H) किनसु कानि
 19 अभ्युंनामयेहं धंमवढिया ति (I) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं
 20 आहा (J) एस मे हुथा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
 21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 धंमवढिया च बाढं वढिसति (M) एताये मे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि
 धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य णिसा पि बहुने जनसि
 आयता ए ते पलियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (N) लजूका पि बहुकेसु
 पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ
 23 जनं धंमयुतं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने
 धंमथंभानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम कटे (Q) देवानंपिये
 पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि
 छायोपगानि होसंति पसुमुनिसानं अंबावडिक्का लोपापिता (S) अढ-
 कोसिक्कानि पि मे उदुपानानि
 24 खानापापितानि निंसिढया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत
 तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं (U) ल एस पटीभोगे

¹ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, P.

² Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

³ Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and *atana āgācha* on the Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar pillars. Senart (IA, 18. 107 f.) translated *atanā pachūpagamane* by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)', and Bühler (EI, 2. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

- नाम (V) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके (W) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
- 25 एस कटे (X) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिणानं च सव डेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
- 27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च सवसि च मे ओलीधनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी हिद चेव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति
- 28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकस हेवं वढिसति ति (FF) देवानंपिये प स लाजा हेवं आहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपने तं च अनुविधियंति (HH) तेन वढिता च
- 29 वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटी-पतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनवलाकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया (II) देवानंपिय यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवढि वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निरुतिया च
- 30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे निरुतिया व भुये (LL) धंमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु बहुक धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निरुतिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भुतानं
- 31 अनालंभाये पानानं (OO) से एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलधे होति (QQ) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिबि लिखापापिता ति (RR) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (SS) इयं
- 32 धंमलिबि अत अथि सिलाथंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिलठितिके सिया

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) ye atikaṃtaṃ
 12 aṃtalaṃ lājāne husu hevaṃ ichhisu kathaṃ jane
 13 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā
 14 vaḍhithā (C) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (D) esa me
 15 huthā (E) atikaṃtaṃ cha aṃtaṃl[a]ṃ¹ hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne kathaṃ jane
 16 anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā
 17 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍhithā (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]ṭipajeyā²
 18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni
 19 abhyuṃnāmayehaṃ dhamma-vaḍhiyā ti (I) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā
 hevaṃ
 20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini
 21 anus[ā]sāmi (L) etaṃ jane sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyuṃnamisati

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 dhamma-vaḍhiyā cha bādhaṃ vaḍhisat[i] (M) etāye me aṭhāye dhamma-sāvanāni
 sāvāpitāni dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni [ya] [is]ā³ pi bahunē
 janasi āyatā e te⁴ paliyovadisanti pi pavithalisanti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu
 pāna-sata-sahasasu āyatā te pi me ānapitā hevaṃ cha hevaṃ cha paliyovadātha
 23 janaṃ dhamma-yu[ta]ṃ (O) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (P) etameva me
 anuvekhamāne dhamma-thaṃbhāni kaṭāni dhamma-mahāmātā kaṭā dham[ma]
 . ā . . . e⁵ kaṭe (Q) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (R) magesu pi
 me nigohāni lopāpitāni chhāyopagāni hosanti pasu-munisānaṃ ambā-vaḍikya
 lopāpitā (S) aḍha-[kos]ikyāni pi me udupānāni
 24 khānāpāpitāni nimsi[dha]yā⁶ cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata
 k[ā]lāpitāni paṭibhogāye p[a]su-munisānaṃ (U) [la]⁷ esa paṭibhoge nāma
 (V) vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi pi lājhi mamayā cha sukhayite loke
 (W) imaṃ chu dhammānupaṭipatī anupaṭipajantu ti etadathā me
 25 esa kaṭe (X) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (Y) dhamma-mahāmātā pi me
 te bahuvidhesu athesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajitānaṃ cheva gihithānaṃ
 cha sava [d]esu⁸ pi cha viyāpaṭāse (Z) saṃghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime
 viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti hemeva bābhanesu ā[j]ivikesu pi me kaṭe
 26 ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti nigamthesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti nānā-
 pāsāṃdesu pi⁹ me [ka]te ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ
 tesu tesu [te] mātā¹⁰ (AA) dhamma-mahāmātā chu me etesu cheva
 viyā[pa]ṭā savesu cha aṃnesu pāsāṃdesu (BB) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā
 hevaṃ āhā

¹ Read *aṃtalaṃ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.² The *pa* of *°pajeyā* is inserted above the line.³ Restore *yathā pulisā*.⁴ *ete* (in one word) Senart and Bühler.⁵ Restore *dhamma-sāvane*.⁶ *nimsiḍhiyā* Bühler.⁷ Restore *lahuke chu*.⁸ Restore *sava-pāsāṃdesu*.⁹ *pi* looks almost like *ghi*.¹⁰ Restore *te te mahāmātā*. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13. 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.

- 27 (CC) ete cha amne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭāse mama cheva devinaṃ cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvīdhena ā[kā]lena tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi¹ hida cheva disāsu cha (DD) dālakānaṃ pi cha me kaṭe amnānaṃ cha devī-kumālānaṃ ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭā hohanṭi ti
- 28 dhammāpadānaṭhāye dhammānupaṭipatiye (EE) esa hi dhammāpadāne dhamma-paṭipati cha yā iyaṃ dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[v]e cha lokasa hevaṃ vaḍhisati ti (FF) Devānaṃpiye [P s .² l]ājā hevaṃ āhā (GG) yāni hi [k]ānichi mamīyā sādhaṇāni kaṭāni taṃ loka anūp[a]ṭipamne taṃ cha anuvīdhiyaṃti (HH) tena vaḍhitā cha
- 29 vaḍhisanti cha mātā-piṭ[i]su sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo-mahālakānaṃ anupaṭipatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dāsa-bhaṭakesu sampaṭipatiyā (II) Devānaṃp[iy . . . ya]dasi³ lājā hevaṃ āhā (JJ) munisānaṃ chu yā iyaṃ dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhamma-niyamena cha nijhatiyā [cha]
- 30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dhamma-niyame nijhatiyā va bhuye (LL) dhamma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyaṃ kaṭe imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni (MM) amnāni pi chu bahu[k] . . .⁴ dhamma-niyamāni yāni me kaṭāni (NN) nijhatiyā va chu bhuye munisānaṃ dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā avihimsāye bhutānaṃ
- 31 anālambhāye pānānaṃ (OO) se etāye a[th]āye⁵ iyaṃ kaṭe putā-papotike chaṃdama-suliyike hotu ti tathā cha anupaṭipajamtu ti (PP) hevaṃ hi anupaṭipajamtaṃ hi[da]ta-[pāla]te āladhe hoti (QQ) satavisati-vasābhis[i]tena me iyaṃ dhamma-libi likhāpāpitā ti (RR) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye⁶ āhā (SS) iyaṃ
- 32 dhamma-libi ata athi silā-thambhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that⁷ men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

(C) Concerning this,⁸ king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(D) The following occurred to me.

(E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

¹ Bühler (EI, 2. 274, note k) restored *paṭipādayamti*, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was *paṭivedayamti*; cf. *paṭivedayamti* in the Jaugaḍa rock-edict VI, D.

² Restore *Piyadasi*.

³ Restore *°piye Piyadasi*.

⁴ Restore *bahukāni*.

⁵ *aṭhāye* Bühler.

⁶ The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the *de* of *Devānaṃpiye*, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word *a[th]āye* in section OO. This double *kākapāda* or caret (cf. Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

⁷ Franke (GN, 1895. 537) attributes to *katham* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

⁸ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XI, D.

- (F) How¹ then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?
- (G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?
- (H) How could I elevate² them³ by the promotion of morality?
- (I) Concerning this, king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.
- (J) The following occurred to me.
- (K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,⁴ (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).
- (L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.
- (M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine)⁵ too, who are occupied⁶ with many⁷ people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.
- (N) The *Lajūkas*⁸ also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner⁹ exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.
- (O) **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.
- (P) Having in view this very (matter),¹⁰ I have set up pillars of morality,¹¹ appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.
- (Q) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.
- (R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men,¹² (and) mango-groves¹³ were caused to be planted.

¹ Senart (IA, 18. 302) explains *kinasu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēna-svit*; cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *assu*. For *su* = *svit* see above, p. 99, n. 14.

² With the optative *°nāmayehaṃ* cf. [*pa*][*ti*][*pāday*]*ehaṃ* and *ālabhehaṃ* in the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and *yehaṃ* in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

³ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁴ Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to *sāvāpayāmi*, cf. *iyāṃ sāvāṇe sāvāpīte* at Brahmagiri (l. 5), for which the Śiddhāpura edict (l. 11) reads [*iya*]*ṃ sāvāṇe sāvīte*, and the Rūpnāth edict (l. 3) *sāvāṇe kaṭe*. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the *dharmasāvanāni* to which Aśoka is alluding here.

⁵ See above, p. 120, n. 2.

⁶ See above, p. 95, n. 4.

⁷ With the locative *bahune* Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared *punāvasune* in the pillar-edict V, ll. 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

⁸ See above, p. 124, n. 1.

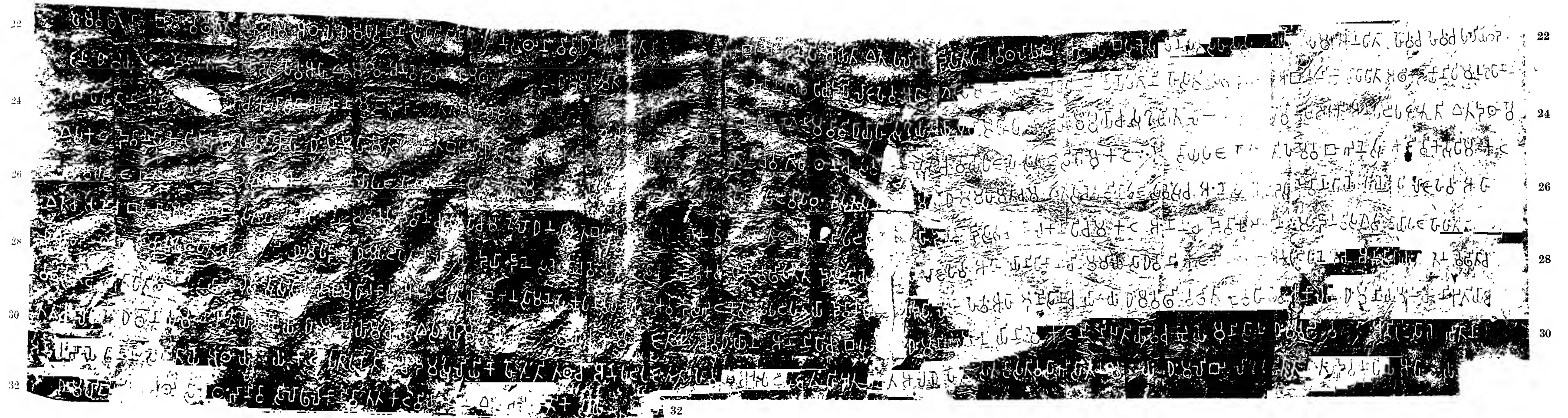
⁹ Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, l. 12.

¹⁰ *anuvēkhamāṇe* is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

¹¹ As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

¹² Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

¹³ In *ambā-vaḍikā* and *aḍha-[kos]ikā* (below, section S) the *k* of the two affixes *-kā* and *-ika* is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*, as frequently at Kālsī; see there *nātikā*, *pālāntikā*, &c. The form *ambā-vaḍikā* occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, *ambā* (for the Sanskrit masculine *āmra*), seems to be used as feminine; cf. *ābikā-bhātī* (= **āmrikā-bhṛitī*) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, *vaḍikā*, is the regular Prākṛit equivalent of Skt. **vṛitīkā* (= *vṛitī*, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, *vāṭikā*, presupposes the form **vartikā*; cf. Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, p. 168.



(S) And (at intervals) of eight *kōs*¹ wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water)² were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places³ were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence].⁴

(V) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose:⁵ that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(Y) Those⁶ my *Mahāmātras* of morality too are occupied⁷ with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects.

¹ Fleet (JRAS, 1906. 401 ff.) showed that *aḍha* here represents Skt. *asṭan*, and not *ardha*. According to Hiuen-Tsiang, Bāṇa, and Kauṭilya (JRAS, 1912. 239), one *yōjana* = eight *kōs* = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

² Bühler read *nimsidhiyā*, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with *nishidiyā* (from Skt. *nishidati*) in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also *Arahata-nisidiyā-samīpe* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, l. 15. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 852) compares with it the Ardhamāgadhi *sedhi* = Skt. **ślishti*. As *sedhi* is synonymous with Skt. *śrēṇi*, he attributes to *nimsidhiyā* the sense of Skt. *nīśrayaṇī*, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is *nimsi[ḍha]yā*, which would correspond to Skt. **niśliṣṭakā*. For the change of *śl* to *ms* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74, and for *ḍh* = original *shṭ* cf. *aḍha* = *asṭa*- at the beginning of section S.

³ With *āpāna* cf. *prapā* in the Nāsik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8. 78), and in the Palitānā plates of Simhāditya (EI, 11. 18, text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, *The Northern Barrier of India* (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hindūs brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands; he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hindū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Aśoka's pillar-edict. The Hindūs are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindī *bahaṅgī*, Dravidian *kāvāḍi*) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 57; 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7; 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

⁴ A similar phrase occurs in the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

⁵ For *athā* = *athāya* see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edicts Skt. *artha* is generally represented by *aṭha*, the form *atha* (with dental *th*) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of *etadathā* (IF, 23. 248 f.) appears to me 'too bold', as he confesses himself.

⁶ The pronoun *te* seems to refer to section P, above.

⁷ Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) has pointed out that *vijāpaṭāse*, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prākṛit equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in *-āsah*. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.

(Z) Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves¹ with the affairs of the *Samgha*; ² likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājīvikas; ³ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas; ⁴ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).⁵

(AA) But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers)⁶ are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity⁷ both here⁸ and in the provinces.

(DD) And others⁹ were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,¹⁰ in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.¹¹ compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

¹ Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *ime* by 'others'.

² i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

³ For the Ājīvika sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

⁴ i. e. the Jaina monks.

⁵ As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-mahāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

⁶ As at Shāhbāzgarhī (XIII, 8) and Mānsehrā (XIII, 9), *mukha* corresponds to Skt. *mukhya*. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. *mukha*, because in *mukhya* (= Skt. *maukhya*, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group *khy* is not assimilated. But Skt. *mukha* is always neuter, and the masculine *mukha* seems to be a fiction of the Kōśas. Thomas renders *bahukā mukhā* by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915. 99.

⁷ Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained *tuthāyatan[ā]ni* by *tushty-āyatanāni*, 'sources of contentment', i. e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take *āyatana* as a synonym of *pātra* or *tīrtha*, and follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be *tushṭa* in the sense of *tushṭi*.

⁸ viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

⁹ Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. the Kālsī edict V, M, where Aśoka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

¹¹ See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before *yā iyaṃ* we may have to supply *dhamme*, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 854.

(II) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.¹

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable.²

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine),³ and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,⁴ (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years.

(RR) Concerning this, Dēvānāmpriya says.⁵

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that⁶ this may be of long duration.

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 नं धमेन विधाने

2 धमे

1 [naṁ] dhammen[a] v[i]dh[āne]

2 dha[me]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आ . . (B) धमे साधु कियं मे ति

2 (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाना पि मे

¹ Literally: 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works *nidhyapti* has the meaning 'reflection'.

² See the pillar-edict V.

³ Cf. *puta-papotiḥ chaṁdama-sūriyike* on the Sāmchī pillar, C, *ā-chaṁdama-shūliyam* in the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20. 364 f.), and *ā-chandrārkaṁ* in Sanskrit inscriptions.

⁴ See above, p. 97, n. 3.

⁵ This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO; see above, p. 133, n. 6.

⁶ *ena* is used in the same way in the Dhauī separate edict I, Y, and II, I and M.

- 3 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनु-
 4 गहे कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि
 5 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता
 6 अनुपटिपजंतू चिलंथितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च
 7 सति से सुकटं कच्छती ति

- 1 (A) De[vā]n[a]m̐piye Piyadasi lāja¹ [hevaṃ ā] . . (B) dh[am̐]me s[ā]dh[u] k[iya]m̐
 [m]e ti
 2 (C) a[pā]sinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā² [pi me]
 3 bahuvidhe diṃne (E) du[pa]da-ch[a]tu[pa]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu]-
 4 gahe kaṭe ā pāna-dākhināye (F) a[m̐]nāni pi cha me bah[ūni kayānāni]
 5 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dham̐ma-lipi li[khāpitā]
 6 anupaṭipajantū chil[am̐-th]itikā cha hot[ū] ti (H) ye [cha]
 7 [sa]ti se sukaṭam̐ ka[chha]ti ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

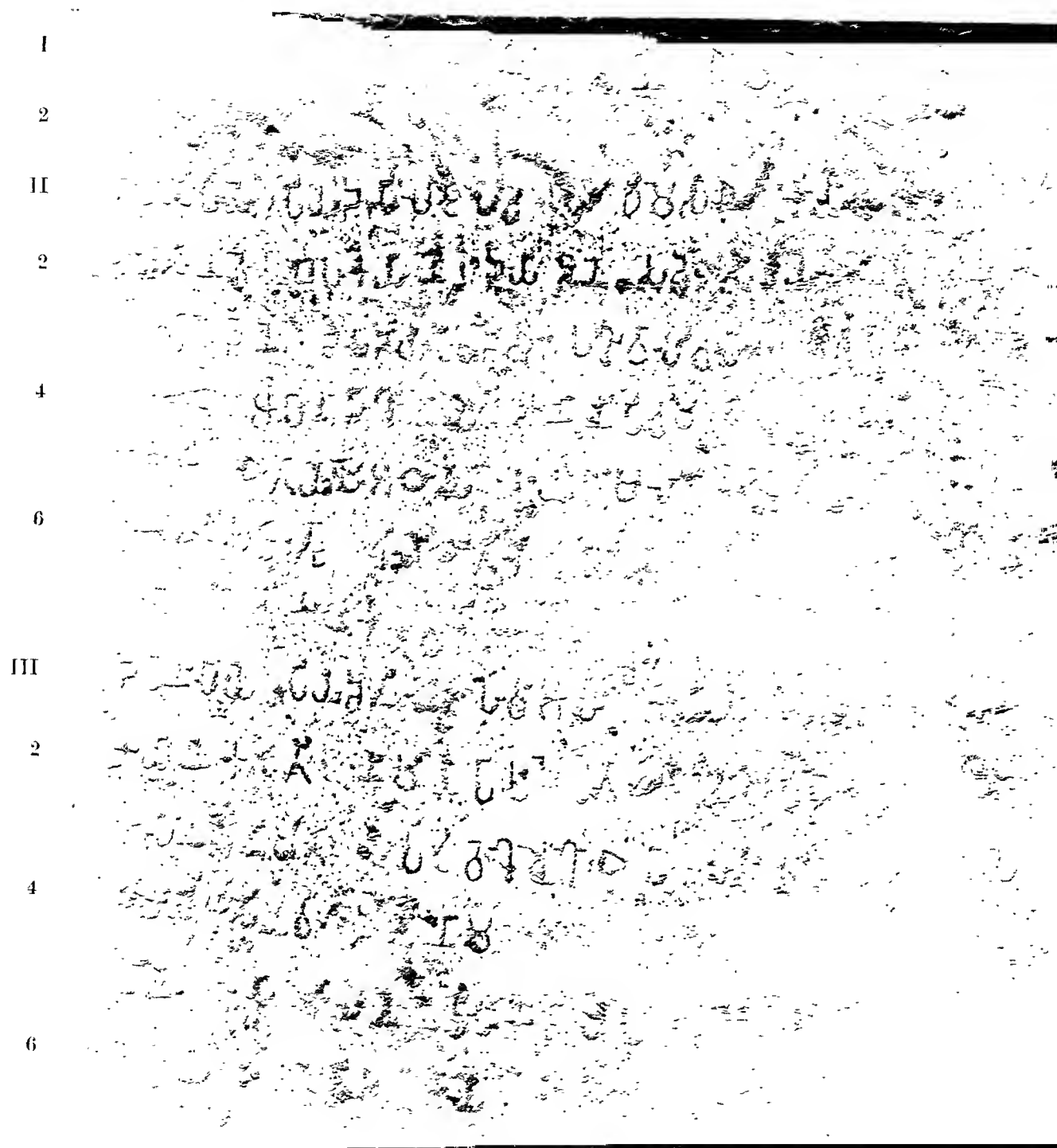
- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) कयानंमेव दे
 2 कयाने कटे ती (C) नो मिना पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व
 3 आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
 4 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे
 5 माने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) बाढं
 6 देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये

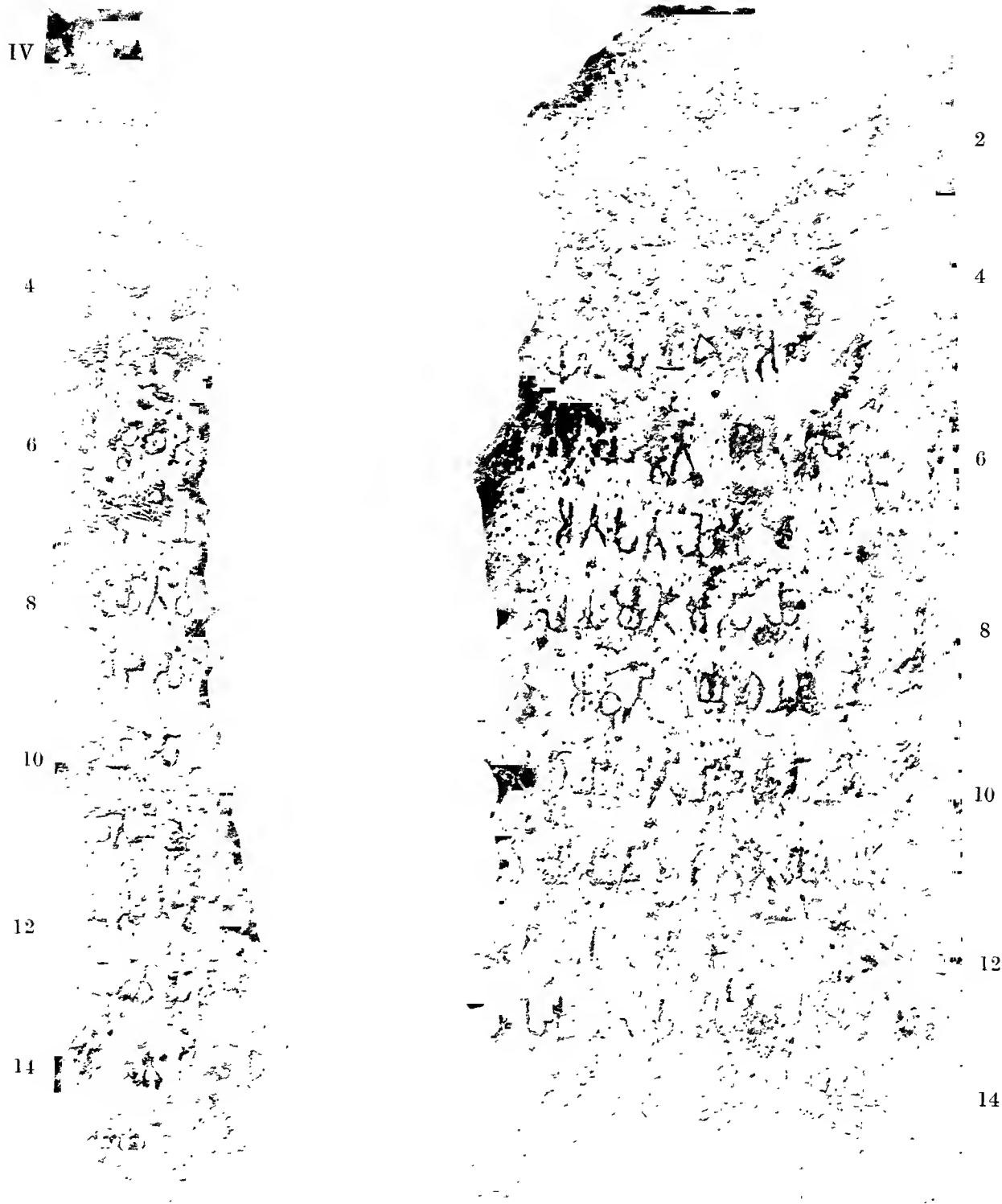
- 1 (A) Devānam̐piye Piyadasi lāja³ hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānam̐m[eva de]
 2 kayāne kaṭe tī⁴ (C) no min[ā] pāpaṃ dekhati iyaṃ me pāp[e⁵ kaṭe ti iyaṃ va]
 3 āsinave nāmā ti (D) [du]paṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chu kho [esa⁶ de]khiye
 4 (F) imāni āsinav[a-gāmīni] nāma atha chaṇḍ[i]ye ni[ṭhū]li[y]e k[o]dhe
 5 māne isyā kālanena [va] hakaṃ mā palibha[sa]yi[sa]m̐ (G) bā[ḍham̐]
 6 dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me [hi]dat[i]kāye iyaṃ me pālatikāye

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1
 2 क चघंति आलाधयितवे
 3 तु अस्वये होति
 4 विय लिहटवे हेवं ममा
 5 लजूक ये (J) येन एते अभीता

¹ lāja Bühler.³ lāja Bühler.⁶ . . sā Bühler.² -[dā]nam̐ Bühler.⁴ ti Bühler.⁵ pāpaṃ Bühler.





SCALE ONE-FOURTH

- 6 अस्वथ सं पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे
 7 लजृकानं अतपतिये कटे
 8 (K) इच्छितवि हालसमता च सिया
 9 दंडसम मे आवुति बंधनबधानं
 10 मुनिसानं वधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे
 11 योते दिने (M) पयिसंति जीविताये तानं
 12 नासंतं वा नि ति पालतिकं
 13 उपवासं वा क हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि
 14 पालतं आलाधये वढति विविधे धम्मचलने
 15 संयमे दान

- 1
 2 [ka]¹ chaghamti [ā]lādha[y]i[tave]
 3. tu asvathe² [ho]ti
 4 vi[ya] [l]i[ha]tave hev[am mam]ā
 5 [la]jūk[a]³ ye (J) yen[a] ete a[bh]itā
 6 asvatha sam [pa]vataye[v]ū ti [e]te[na] me
 7 [la]jū[kā]n[am] ata-patiye ka[t]e
 8 (K) ichhitavi [h]āla-samatā ch[a] siyā
 9 daṇḍa-sa[ma] [me] āvuti [ba]m̐dhana-[badh]ānam
 10 munisā[na]m vadhānam tim̐ni di[va]sāni [m]e
 11 y[o]te diṇne (M) payisa[m̐]ti j[i]v[i]tāye tāna[m̐]
 12 nāsam̐taṁ [v]ā ni ti pālatikaṁ
 13 u[pa]vāsaṁ vā k[a] hevaṁ niludhasi pi [k]ālasī
 14 pā[la]taṁ ālādha[ye] vaḍhati vividhe dham̐ma-chal[a]ne
 15 sam̐yame dā[na]

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 पोतके पि च कानि
 2 के (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 3 तविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो
 4 ऋपेतविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातंमासीसु
 5 तिसायं पुंनमासियं तिनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं
 6 पटिपदा ध्रुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि
 7 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवढभोगसि
 8 यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनि कायानि नो हंतवियानी

¹ [lajūkā] Bühler.² asva[the] Bühler.³ lajūk[ā] Bühler.

- 9 (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
 10 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने
 11 नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए वा पि
 12 अने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने
 13 चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा लखने
 14 नो विये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 15 अंतलिक्काये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 [potake¹ pi cha] k[ā]n[i]
 2 ke (D) [vadh]i-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse saji[ve]
 3 ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]ṇaṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no
 4 [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye (G) jī[v]ena j[iv]e no pusi[ta]viye (H) tisu chātammāsīsu²
 5 [t]isāya[m] pu[m]na[m]mā[si]ya[m] tiṇni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṇṇaḍasaṃ
 6 p[a]ṭipadā dh[r]uvāye³ cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhiye no pi
 7 viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi
 8 y[ā]ni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]ntaviyānī⁴
 9 (J) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye⁵ [chā]vudasāye paṇ[na]ḍasāye tisāye
 10 punāvasune tisu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone
 11 no nilakhitavi[y]e ajake eḷake⁶ sūkale e vā pi
 12 am[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]
 13 chātummāsiye chātu[m]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane
 14 no [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye
 15 a[m]talikāye paṇnavīsati baṇdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

-
 1 पूगमने से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडु
 2 णिसतेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लि
 1 ūpagamane se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍu
 2 isitena me iyaṃ dhamma-li[pi] li

¹ On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 124), portions of the preceding word *avadhiyā* are also visible.

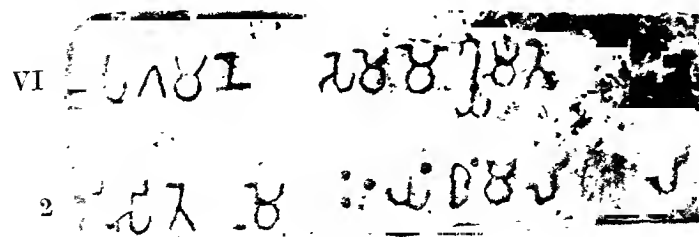
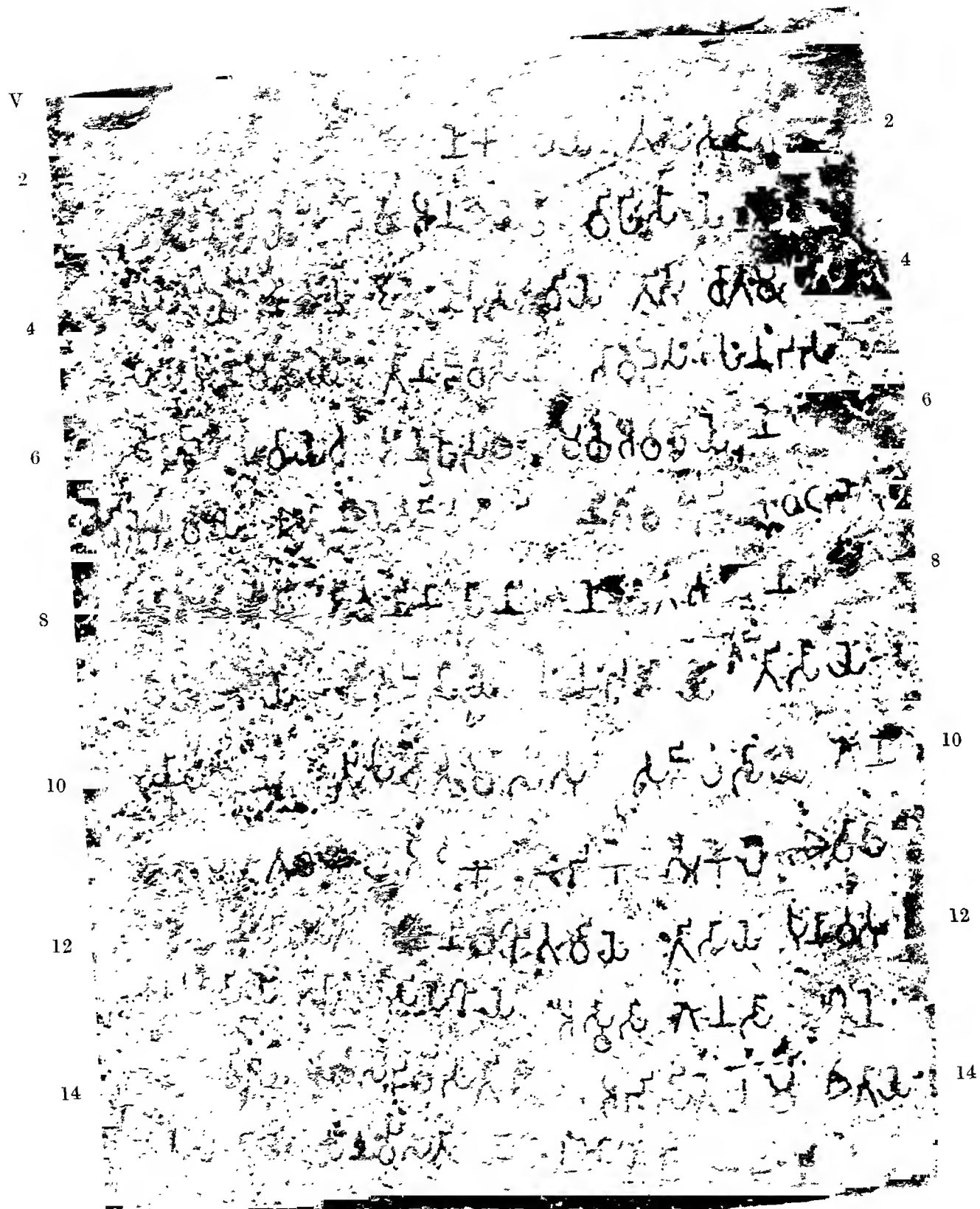
² Read *chātum*.

³ *dhuvāye* Bühler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.

⁴ *yāni* Bühler.

⁵ *aṭham[i]*- Bühler.

⁶ *eḷake* Bühler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.



III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि
- 2 लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धम्मकामताय अगाय पलीखाय
- 3 अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धम्मापेख
- 4 धम्मकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्सा च गेवया च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति
- 5 संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन
- 6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-li[p]i
- 2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāy[a]
- 3 agāya susūsāya aghena bhayena aghena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha ¹
- 4 dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍḍhita ² vaḍḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majjhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti
- 5 saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇṇta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana
- 6 dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukh[i]yana dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे
- 2 सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे

¹ *dhammāpekha* Bühler.² *vaḍḍhitā* Bühler.

- 3 आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
अठाये इयं धमलिपि लिखापित हेवं
4 अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं
कछति ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache
2 socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvīdhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-
vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe
3 ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) a[m]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
aṭhāye iyaṃ dhama-līpi likhāpita hevaṃ
4 anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se
sukataṃ kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
(F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये
3 निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं
देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa
dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāminī nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye
3 niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bāḍham
dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक
अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च
वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च
4 पालतं च आलाधयेवु (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि
पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं

[illegible]

- 5 लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पंजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति
6 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं
अछिमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व
7 दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय
दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं
8 मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका
व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व
9 निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति (N) इछा हि मे हेवं
निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति
10 (O) जनस च वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसंविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu
2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va d[a]ṃḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka
asvatha abhīta kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṃ jānisanti
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha
4 pālataṃ cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi
me chhamdamaṇāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ
5 lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pamjam¹ sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti
6 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā
saṃtaṃ achhimana² kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ abhihāle va
7 daṃḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya
daṃḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ
8 munisā[na]m tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ timni divasāni me yote diṃne (M)
nātikā va kāni nijhapayisanti jīvītāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va
9 nijhapayī[ta]ve dānaṃ dāhamti pālatakaṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhamti (N) ichhā hi me
hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti
10 (O) janasa cha va[ḍha]ti vividhe dha[m]ma-chalane sayame dāna-saṃvibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे इमानि
पि जातानि अवधानि
2 कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक
3 अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके

¹ Read *pajam*.² Read *avimana*.

- 4 पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे
 5 ये पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च
 गभिनी व पायमीना व
 6 अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 नो रूपयितविये (F) दावे
 7 अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो रूपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H)
 तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं
 8 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
 महे अवध्ये नो पि
 9 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि
 पि जीवनिक्कायानि
 10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु
 चातुंमासीसु
 11 सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एठके सूकले ए वा पि अंने
 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
 12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोणस लखने
 नो कटविये
 13 (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे एताये अंतलिक्काये पंनवीसति बंधन-
 मोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa me
 imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni
 2 kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka
 3 aṃbā-kapilika duḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe
 kaphaṭa-seyake
 4 paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save
 chatupade
 5 ye paṭipogaṃ² no eti no cha khādiy[a]ti (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkālī cha
 gabhinī va pāyamīnā va
 6 avadhya potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve
 no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve
 7 anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu
 chātummasīsū tisyāṃ
 8 puṃnamāsiyāṃ tiṃni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ³ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha
 anuposathaṃ machhe avadhye no pi
 9 viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi
 jīva-nik[ā]yāni

¹ *duḍi* Bühler ; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.

² Read *paṭibhogam*.

³ *paṃnaḷasaṃ* Bühler.

- 10 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudāsāye paṁnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune
tisu chātummāsīsu
- 11 sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake¹ sūkale e vā pi aṁne nilakhiyati no
nilakhitaviye
- 12 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane
no kaṭaviye
- 13 (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitasa me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavisati baṁdhana-
mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि
लिखापित लोकस
- 2 हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति
पटिवेखामि
- 3 अथा इयं नातिमु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति
तथा च विदहामि
- 4 (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) संवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय
पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
- 5 से मे मुख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित
- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[ḍa]sa-vasābhisitena me
dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa
- 2 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa
hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi
- 3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsānnesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kimmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ
āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi
- 4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsāṇḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya
pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane
- 5 se me mukhya-mute² (G) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिततपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय
- 2 अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु
खो मम

¹ eḷake Bühler.² See above, p. 35, n. 10.

- 4 अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा
पि मे
- 5 उकसा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं
समादपयितवे
- 6 (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन
विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन
- 7 धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ
- 2 dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-
kāmatāya
- 3 agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu
kho mama
- 4 anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
(E) pulisā pi me
- 5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ
chapalaṃ samādapayitave
- 6 (F) hemeva aṇṇa-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena
vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana
- 7 dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
- 2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखि-
वालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे
बहूनि कयानानि
- 4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु
चिलंथितीका च होतू ति
- 5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiya¹ chu dhamme
ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne
- 2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvīdhe diṇṇe (E) dupada-
chatupadesu pakhi-
- 3 vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) aṇṇāni pi cha me bahūni
kayānāni

¹ *kiyam* Bühler.

- 4 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajamtu
chilam-thitika cha hotu ti
5 (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampaṭipajisati se sukataṁ kachhati

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं
2 देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस
(E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
3 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्य
कालनेन व हकं
4 मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे
पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṁ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ
2 dekhamti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho
esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye
3 (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni¹ nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya
kālanena va hakaṁ
4 mā palibhasayisaṁ ti (G) esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hidatikāye iyaṁmana
me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसित्तेन मे इयं
धम्मलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे
2 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये
मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ
3 अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु च
(E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं
4 जानिसंति धंमयुत्तेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च
आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति
5 पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि
च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे

¹ āsinave Bühler.

- 6 (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति
मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति
- 7 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं
अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति
- 8 एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एस
किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च
- 9 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं
तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि
- 10 निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं
उपवासं व कच्छंति (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं
- 11 निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च वढति विविधे
धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me
- 2 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va daṇḍe va
ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka asvatha
- 3 abhīta kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū
anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukkhīyanaṃ
- 4 jānisaṃti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisānti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha
pālatam cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti
- 5 paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhamdaṃnāni paṭichalisaṃti (H) te pi
cha kāni viyovadisānti yena maṃ lajūka chaghaṃti ālādhayitave
- 6 (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me
paṇaṃ sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti
- 7 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā
saṃtaṃ avimana kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti
- 8 etena me lajūkānaṃ [a]bhihāle va daṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa
kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā cha
- 9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīlita-daṇḍānaṃ
pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni me [yo]te diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni
- 10 nijhapayisaṃti jīvitāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va nijhapayi[tav]e dānaṃ dāhaṃti
pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhaṃti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ
- 11 niludhasi pi [kālas]i pālatam ālādhayevū t[i] (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe
dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

1 2 4 6 11 2 4 III 2 4 IV 2 4 6 8 10

1. ...
 2. ...
 4. ...
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 IV. ...
 2. ...
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 6. ...
 8. ...
 10. ...

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे
इमानि पि
- 2 जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथा सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे
3 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
4 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे
5 पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति
6 (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके
च कानि
- 7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो शपयितविये (F)
दावे अनठाये व
- 8 विहिसाये व नो शपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु
चातुंमासीसु तिसियं
- 9 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
मछे अवध्ये
- 10 नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि
अंनानि पि
- 11 जीवनिकायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनळसाये
तिसाये पुनावसुने
- 12 तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए
वा पि अंने
- 13 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-
पखाये अस्वस गोणस
- 14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पंनवीसति
- 15 बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitasa me
imāni pi
- 2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse
- 3 naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka ambā-kapilika duḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
- 4 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake
okapiṃḍe

¹ *duḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.

- 5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati
 6 (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va pāyaminā va avadhya potake cha kāni
 7 āsammasike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anañhāye va
 8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu chātummāsīsu tisiyam
 9 punnamāsīyam timni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ¹ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhye
 10 no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi
 11 jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṃnaḷasāye² tisāye punāvasune
 12 tisu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake³ sūkale e vā pi amne
 13 nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
 14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye paṃnavīsati
 15 baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाळसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित
 लिखापित
 2 लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस
 3 हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु
 4 किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि
 5 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
 6 से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित
 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvā[la]s[a-va]sābhisitena⁴ me dhamma-lipi likhāpita
 2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lokasa
 3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi athā iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu
 4 kiṃmaṃ kāni sukhaṃ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi
 5 (E) sava-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjita vividhiāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ atana pachūpa-gamane
 6 se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvīsati-va[s]ābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

¹ paṃnaḷasaṃ Bühler.² paṃnaḷasāye Bühler.³ eḍake Bühler.⁴ duvāḍasa- Bühler.

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

A.—North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते
- 2 दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन
- 3 (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च
- 4 गेवया च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि
- 5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva¹ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate
- 2 dusam̐paṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya aḡena bhayena aḡena usāhena
- 3 (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
- 4 gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti sam̐paṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇṭa-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
- 5 yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[m]m[e]na sukhīyana dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे
 - 2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
 - 3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam̐ chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me

¹ hevaṃ Bühler.

- 2 bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakḥināye (F) aṃnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni
 3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhaṃma-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chilaṃ-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये
 3 कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमेन मे पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
 2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye
 3 kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) esa bāḍhaṃ dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च
 4 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक
 5 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति हेवं मम लजूक कट
 6 जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे
 7 (K) इद्धितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं

- 8 तिंनि दिवसानि मे ~~दी~~ते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये
तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कच्छंति
- 9 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस
च वढति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu
- 2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale¹ va daṃḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka
asvatha abhīta kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
- 3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṃ jānisaṃti
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisāṃti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha
pālataṃ cha
- 4 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi me
chhamāṇāni paṭichalisaṃti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisāṃti yena maṃ
lajūka
- 5 chaghaṃti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe. hoti
viyata dhāti chaghati me paṇaṃ sukhaṃ palihāṭave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka
kaṭa
- 6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā saṃtaṃ avimāna kaṃmāni
pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ abhihāle va daṃḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe
- 7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa ki[m]ti² viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṃḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā
ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ
pata-vadhānaṃ
- 8, tiṃni divasāni me [y]ote diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti jīvītāye tānaṃ
nāsaṃtaṃ va nijhapayitave dānaṃ dāhaṃti pālatakaṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhaṃti
- 9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि
पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथ
- 2 सुके सालिक अलुने चक्वाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि
अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 3 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते
सेतकपोते
- 4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि
एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

¹ Read *abhihāle*.² *kīti* Bühler.

- 5 पायमीना व अश्वध पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये
(E) तुसे सजीवे नो आपयितविये
- 6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो आपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो
पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं पुनमासियं
- 7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे अश्वधे नो
पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नागवनसि केवढभोगसि यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो
हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये
- 9 पनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये
अजके एळके सूकाले
- 10 ए वा पि अने नोलखियति नो नोलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये
चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-[va]sābhisitena me
imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha
- 2 suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka aṃbā-kapilika duḷi
anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
- 3 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake
okaṇimḍe palasate seta-kapote
- 4 gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogaṃ no eti na cha khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni
eḷakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va
- 5 pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye
(E) tuse sajiṃve no jhāpayitaviye
- 6 (F) dāve anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye
(H) tīsu chātumma[s]īsu tisyaṃ puṃnamāsiyaṃ
- 7 tiṃni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ
machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva
- 8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtavīyāni
(J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ
- 9 paṃnaḍasaṃ tisāye puṃnāvasune tīsu chātummaśīsu sudivasāye gone no
nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake sūkale
- 10 e vā pi aṃne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye puṃnāvasune chātummaśīye
chātummaśī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 11 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me etāye aṃtalikāye
paṃnavīsati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु किंमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं
- 4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvāḍasa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa
- 2 taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lok[a]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsānnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu kiṃmaṃ kāni
- 3 sukhaṃ āvahāmī ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsāṇḍa pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ
- 4 atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvisat[i]-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये
- 2 अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 3 धंमापेखा धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढिता वढिसति चेवा (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्सा च गेवया च मभिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च
- 4 अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusampaṭipāda[y]e
- 2 añnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā agena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

- 3 dhammāpekhā dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati ch[e]vā (E) pulisā
pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhiyaṃti sampatipādayaṃti cha
4 alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) hemmeva¹ amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
yā [i]yaṃ dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyanā
dhammena [gut]i [ti² cha]³

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे
2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ
पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलठितीका
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne
pi me
2 bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu⁴ pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe
kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni⁵ kayānāni kaṭāni
3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chila-
ṭhitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampatipajisati se sukaṭam kachhatī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने
कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखति इयं मे पापके कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
नामा ति

.....

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānameva dekhati iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpakam dekhati iyaṃ me pāpake kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā
āsinave nāmā ti

.....

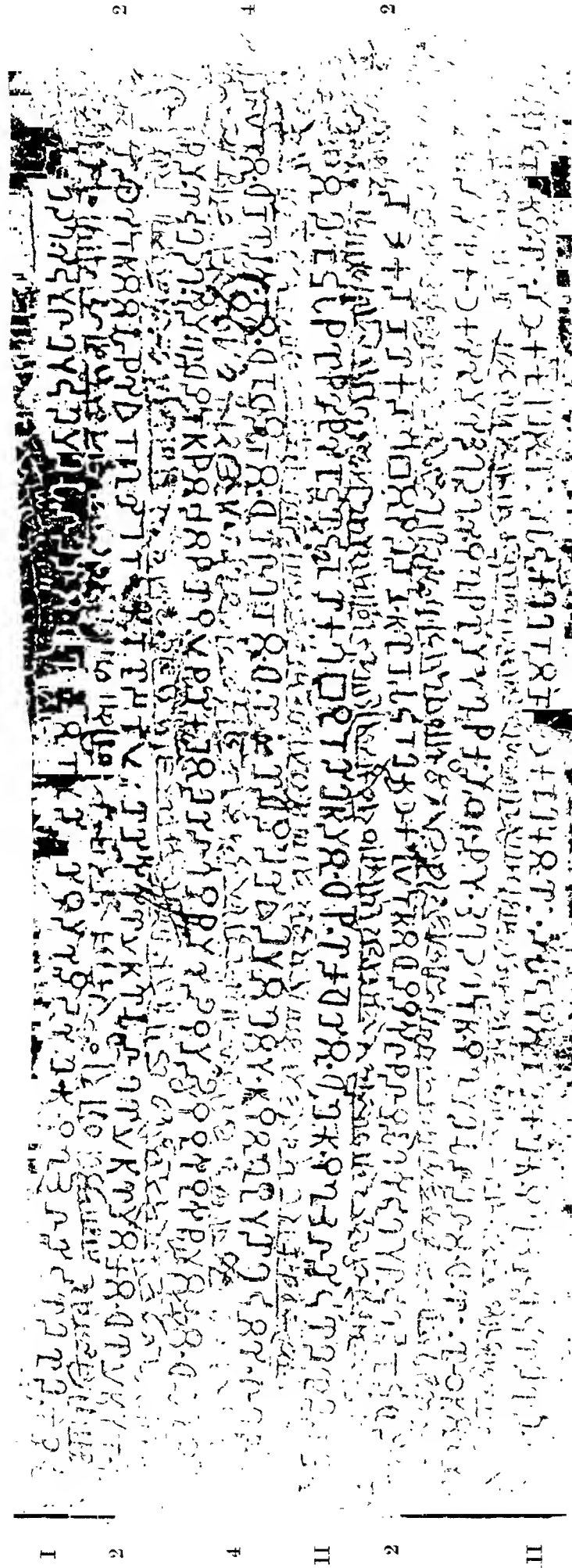
¹ *hemmeva* Bühler.

² As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 310, note), the vowel *i* is attached before, not after the *t*.

³ *chu* Bühler.

⁴ The apparent Anusvāra after *da* of *dupada-* is probably accidental.

⁵ *bahuni* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि
 एस किंति
- 2 लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवुति
 बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि योते दिंने
- 3 (M) का व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निरूपयिता
 दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा कछंति
- 4 (N) हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवु (O) जनस च
 वढति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे

- 1 [kānaṃ abhihāle vā daṇḍe vā ata-pa]t[i]y[e kate] (K) [i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]
 h[i e]s[a] k[iṃ]t[i] ¹
- 2 la-sama[t]ā cha ² siyā da[m]ḍa-samatā cha (L) āva ³ ite pi cha me āvuti
 baṇḍhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīlīta-daṇḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni
 yote diṃne
- 3 (M) [k]ā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti jīvītāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ
 dāhaṃti pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ vā [ka]chha[m]ti
- 4 (N) [h]i me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayev[u] (O) janasa cha
 vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) पिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे
 इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके
- 2 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूका अंबाकिपिलिका दुडी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट के पंनससे सिमले संड ..
- 3 तकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो
 ना पायमी ..
- 4 सजीवे नो भाप ..
- 5 नि चावुदसं पंचद ..
- 6 नि ..
- 7
- 8 लखने नो कटविये (L) या ..

¹ Bühler omitted this line.² chā Bühler.³ ava Bühler.

- 1 (A) [p]iye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālīkā alune chaka[v]āke
2 [naṃdi]m[u]khe gelāṭe jatūk[ā]¹ ambā-kipilikā duḍi² anaṭhika-machhe³
vedaveyake Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa k[e] p[a]mna-
sase simale saṃḍa . .
3 [ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭ[i]bhogaṃ [no]
. nā [p]ā[ya]mī . .
4 sajiṃve no jhā[pa]
5 [n]i chā[v]u[da]saṃ [pa]mcha[da]
6 [n]i
7
8 [lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā

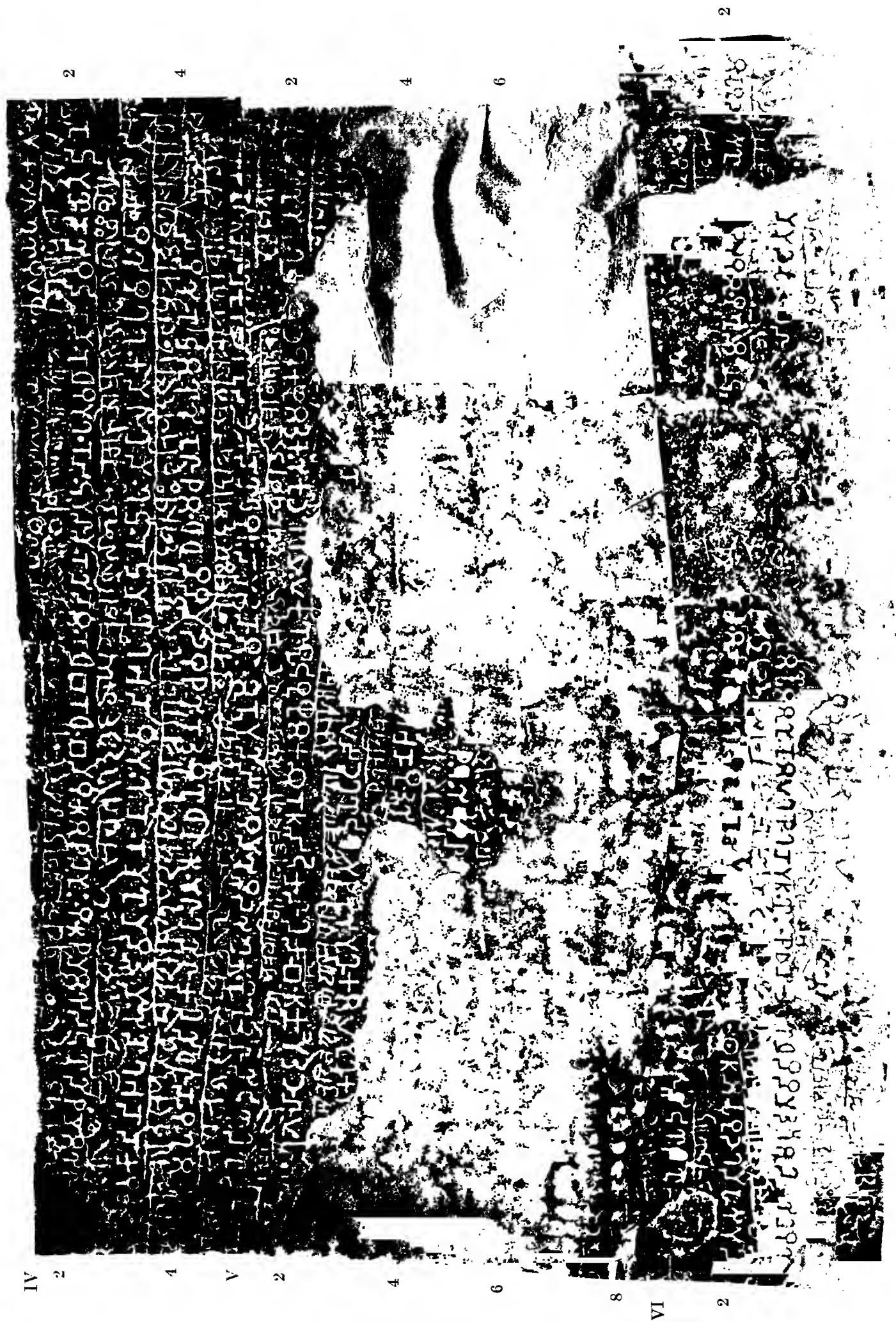
SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) पिये पियदसी ला तं ढि पा
(C) हेवं लोकस
2 हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं वं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु
किमं कानि विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव . . कायेसु
पटिवेखामि
3 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचुपगमने
से मे मुख्यमुते (G) लिपी लिखापिता ति
1 (A) [p]iye [P]iyada[s]ī l[ā] t[am] [dh]i [pā]
(C) heva[m] lokasa]
2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha [iya]m [va]m [paty]āsa[m]ne[su heva]m
apaka[th]e[su] kimam [k]ā[ni] [v]i[dah]āmi (D) heva[m]meva [sa]va
. . . [k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi
3 (E) [sa]va-pāsamḍā pi me pūjitā vividhāya [pū]jāyā (F) e chu iy[a]m atanā
pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) lipī⁴ likhāpitā ti

B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

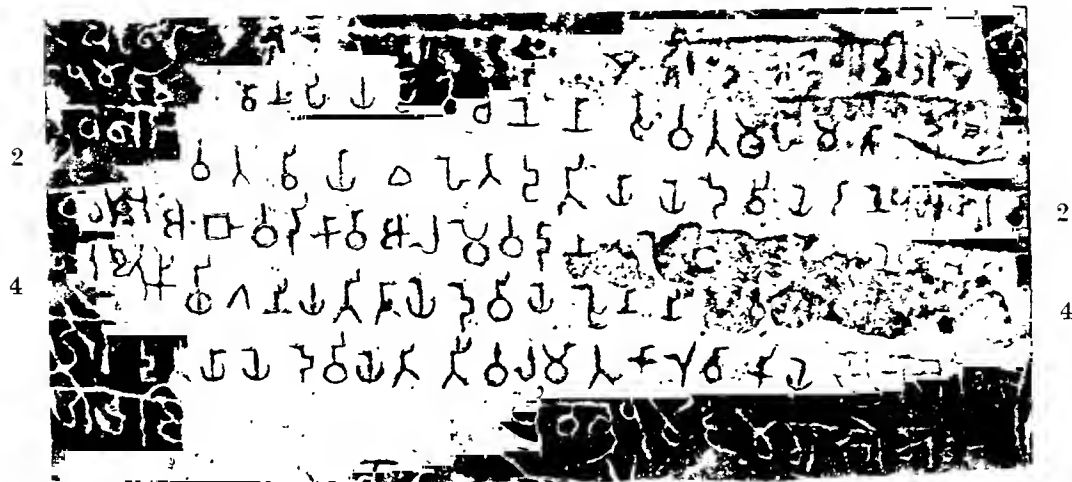
- 1 (A) देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
2 वतविया (B) ए हेता दुत्तियाये देवीये दाने
3 अंबावडिका वा आलमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अने
4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये षे नानि (C) हेवं . . न . .
5 दुत्तियाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये

¹ jatūke Bühler.² daḍi Bühler.³ anathika- Bühler.⁴ lipi Bühler.

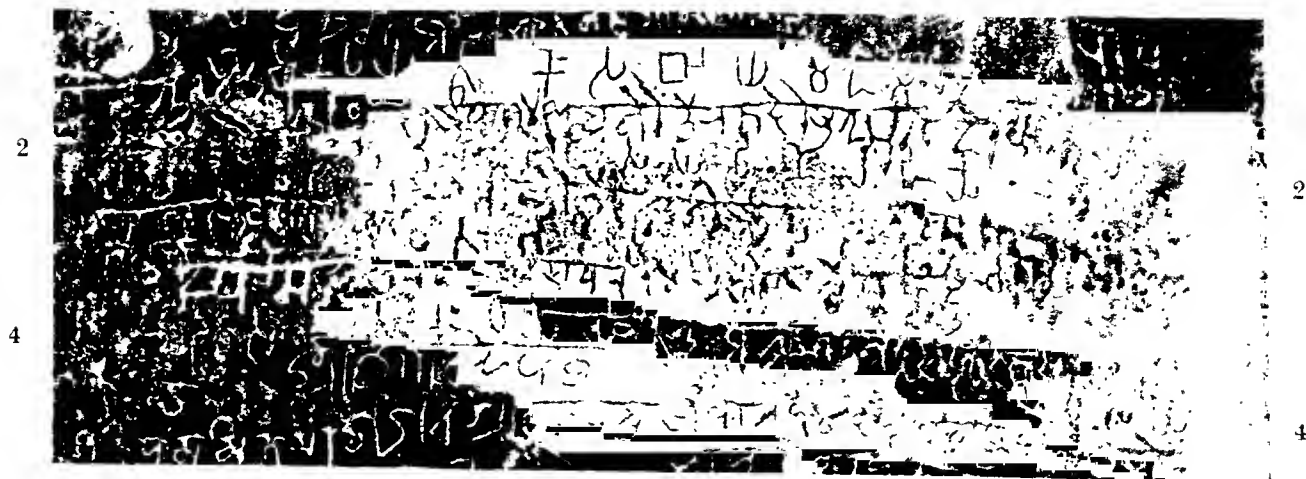


SCALE ONE-FIFTH

QUEEN'S EDICT



KAUSAMBI EDICT



- 1 (A) **Devānāmpiyashā** v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā¹
 2 vataviyā (B) e hetā² dutiyāye devīye dāne
 3 ambā-vaḍikā vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va³ e vā pi a]mne
 4 kīchhi ganīyati tāye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vaṁ . . [na] . .⁴
 5 dutiyāye deviye ti **Tivala**-mātu **Kāluvākiye**

TRANSLATION

✓ (A) At the word of **Dēvānāmpriya**, the *Mahāmātras* everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-groves,⁵ or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these⁶ (shall) be registered⁷ (in the name) of that queen.

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of **Tivala**,⁸ the **Kāluvāki**.⁹

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये आनपयति (B) कोसंबियं महामात
 2 समगे कटे (D) संघसि नो लहिये
 3 संघं भाखति भिक्षु वा भिक्षुनि वा से पि चा
 4 ओदातानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावाससि आवासयिये

- 1 (A) [**Devānam***[p]iyē ānapayati (B) **Kosambiyam**¹⁰ mahām[ā]ta¹¹
 2 [sa]ma[ge ka]t[e] (D) sa[m]gh[a]si no¹² l[a]hiye¹³
 3 [saṁgham bhā]khati¹⁴ bhikh[u] v[ā]¹⁵ bhikh[u]ni¹⁶ vā [se pi] chā¹⁷
 4 [o*]dāt[ā]ni¹⁸ dusāni [sa]naṁdhāpayitu a[nāvā]sas[i]¹⁹ āv[ā]sayiy[e]²⁰

¹ *mahāmatā* Senart and Bühler.

² *heta* Senart and Bühler.

³ *vā* Bühler.

⁴ Restore perhaps *vinati* (= Skt. *viññapti*); see JRAS, 1911. 1113.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.

⁶ For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 127, n. 10.

⁷ With *ganīyati* cf. *gaṇana* or *gaṇanā* in the rock-edict III, E.

⁸ Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that *Tivara* occurs (a thousand years after Aśoka) as the name of a king of Kōsala; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 293, and EI, 7. 103.

⁹ As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vedic *gōtra* of the Kārus.

¹⁰ *biya* Bühler and Boyer.

¹¹ *mahamāta* Bühler and Boyer.

¹² *na* Bühler and Boyer.

¹³ *chi ye* Bühler.

¹⁴ *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

¹⁵ *va* Bühler.

¹⁶ *bhi[khu]ni* Bühler.

¹⁷ [*pa*]chā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add *o* at the end of the line.

¹⁸ The syllable *dā* is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 125.

¹⁹ *āna[pe]sa* Bühler, *ānāvasasi* Boyer.

²⁰ *avā* Boyer.

TRANSLATION

- (A) [Dēvānām]priya commands (thus).
 (B) The *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī¹
 (C) is made united.²
 (D) should not be received³ into the *Samgha*.
 (E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the *Samgha*,⁴ should be caused to put on white robes⁵ and to reside⁶ in a non-residence.⁷

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

- 1
 2 . . या भेत . . (C) . . घे मगे कटे
 3 भिखुनं च भिखुनीनं चा ति पुतप-
 4 पोतिके चंदमसूरियिके (D) ये संघं
 5 भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-
 6 नि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावा-
 7 ससि वासापेतविये (E) इछा हि मे किं-
 8 ति संघे समगे चिलथितीके सिया ति
 1
 2 . . [y]ā⁸ bhe[ta] . .⁹ (C) . . [gh]e¹⁰ mage¹¹ kaṭe
 3 [bhi*]khūna[m] cha¹² bhi[khun]īna[m] ch[ā]¹³ ti [p]uta-pa-

¹ This ancient city (*Kausāmbī* in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kōsam; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 2, and EI, II. 141.

² Cf. the Sāmchī pillar, C.

³ *lahiye* may be derived from the root *labh*; cf. the gerundive *āvāsayaṇi* in l. 4 of this inscription, and in l. 5 of the Sārṇāth pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 10. 121) connects *lahiye* with the root *rah*.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) has identified *bhākhati* with Skt. *bhāṅkshyati*.

⁵ Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōṣa's *Samantapāsādikā*, in which Aśoka is stated to have given white robes (*setakāni vatthāni*) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (4th ed., 2. 139) agrees, and cf. *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 53, and *Mahāvamsa*, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.

⁶ *āvāsayaṇi* is a gerundive formed from the causative *āvāsayaṭi*, and corresponds to Skt. *āvāśya*. Senart (CR, 1907. 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.

⁷ i.e. a residence unfit for members of the *Samgha*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) quoted Buddhaghōṣa's explanation of the term *anāvāsa*; see SBE, 17. 388, n. 1.

⁸ *y[an]* Bühler.

⁹ *bhe[da]* Boyer. Restore perhaps *bhetave*, as on the Sārṇāth pillar, l. 3.

¹⁰ The syllable *ghe* is almost certain; restore *saṃghe*.

¹¹ Restore *samage*, as in l. 8.

¹² *[vā]* Bühler.

¹³ *[vā]* Bühler, *cha* Boyer.

SAMCHI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



SCALE ONE-THIRD

- 4 [po*]tike chaṁ[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke¹ (D) ye saṁghaṁ
 5 bh[ā]khati² bhikhu³ vā bhikhuni vā odātā-
 6 ni dus[ān]i sanāṁ[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]-
 7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e] (E) ichhā hi me kiṁ-
 8 ti saṁghe samage⁴ chila-thitike siyā ti

TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A)
 (B) [cannot] be divided.⁵
 (C) The *Samgha* both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine).⁶
 (D) The monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.⁷
 (E) For my desire is that the *Samgha* may be united⁸ (and) of long duration.

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवा
 2 ए ल
 3 पाट ये केनपि संघे भेतवे (D) ए चुं खो
 4 भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भाखति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनंधापयिया
 आनावाससि
 5 आवासयिये (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनिसंघसि च विन-
 पयितविये
 6 (F) हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (G) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति
 संसलनसि निखिता
 7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ (H) ते पि च उपासका
 अनुपोसथं यावु
 8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये

¹ See JRAS, 1911. 167 f.

² *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

³ *bhikhū* Boyer.

⁴ *saṁghasa mage* Bühler and Boyer; see JRAS, 1911. 168.

⁵ Cf. the Sarnāth pillar, C.

⁶ Cf. *putā-papotike chaṁdama-suliyike hotu ti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 31. Other instances of the Prākṛit affix *-ika* are *vadhanike* and *vejayike* in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Koṇḍamudi plates. See EI, I. 6, text l. 9; 6. 87, text l. 5 f.; 6. 317, text, l. 8 f.

⁷ With this section cf. above, p. 160, n. 4, 5, 7.

⁸ Cf. *samaggo hi saṁgho phāsu viharati* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *sukhā saṁghassa sāmaggī samaggānaṁ tapo sukho* in the *Dhammapada*, verse 194; *saṁgho samaggo hutvāna taddākāsi uposathaṁ* in the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 274.

- 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (I) आवते च तुफाकं
आहाले
10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा

- 1 (A) Devā¹
2 e l
3 Pāṭa² ye³ kenapi saṃghe bhetave (D) e chuṃ kho
4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṃghaṃ bh[ākha]t[i]⁴ s[e] odātāni dus[ān]i
[sa]ṃnaṃdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi⁵
5 āvāsaiye (E) hevaṃ iyaṃ sāsane bhikhu-saṃghasi cha bhikhuni-saṃghasi cha
viṃnapayitaviye
6 (F) hevaṃ Devānaṃpiye āhā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipī tūphākāntikaṃ huvāti
saṃsalanasi nikhitā
7 ikaṃ cha lipiṃ hedisameva upāsakānaṃtikaṃ nikhipātha (H) te pi cha upāsakā
anuposathaṃ yāvu
8 etameva sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave anuposathaṃ cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte
posathāye
9 yāti etameva sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave ājānitave cha (I) āvate cha tūphākāṃ
āhāle
10 savata vivāsaiyātha tūphe etena viyaṃjanena (J) hemeva savesu koṭa-vishavesu⁶
etena
11 viyaṃjanena vivāsāpayāthā

TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) Dēvā[nāṃpriya]
(B) Pāṭa[liputra]⁷
(C) the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by any one.⁸
(D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, should be
caused to put on⁹ white robes and to reside¹⁰ in a non-residence.¹¹

¹ These are the two first syllables of the title *Devānaṃpiya*.

² These are probably the two first syllables of the name *Pāṭaliputa*.

³ Boyer ingeniously restores *na sakiye*.

⁴ The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read *bhikhati*, and Boyer *bhokhati*.

⁵ The Sāmchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *anāvāsasi*.

⁶ Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from *sa*, and is probably meant for *sha*.

⁷ This is the ancient name of the city of Paṭnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It is mentioned also in the Gīrnār edict V, M. The Sārnāth edict was probably addressed by the king to the *Mahāmātras* at Pāṭaliputra, as the Kauśāmbī edict to the *Mahāmātras* at Kauśāmbī.

⁸ With *saṃghe bhetave* cf. *saṃghaṃ bhindati*, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bhindati*; *saṃghaṃ bhinditvā* in the *Jātaka*, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6; *saṃaggassa saṃghassa bhedāya* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *Buddha-vachanaṃ bhindimsu* in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 54.

⁹ [sa]ṃnaṃdhāpayiyā, instead of which the Sāmchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *saṃnaṃdhāpayitu*, corresponds to Skt. *saṃnāhya*; cf. Senart, CR, 1907. 28.

¹⁰ For *āvāsaiye* see above, p. 160, n. 6.

¹¹ See above, p. 160, n. 7.

[illegible]

(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Samgha* of monks and to the *Samgha* of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks **Dēvānāmpriya** :

(G) Let one copy of this (edict)¹ remain² with you³ deposited⁴ in (your) office;⁵ and⁶ deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*)⁷ in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict;⁸ and invariably on every fast-day,⁹ every *Mahāmātra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it).¹⁰

(I) And as far as your district¹¹ (extends), dispatch ye (an officer)¹² everywhere according to the letter of this (edict).¹³

¹ Literally: 'one writing of this description.'

² Senart (CR, 1907. 30) explains *huvāti* as a subjunctive.

³ As remarked by Vogel (EI, 8. 170), *tuphākāntikāṃ* stands for *tuphākāṃ amītikāṃ*, and *upāsakānāmītikāṃ* in l. 7 for *upāsakānām amītikāṃ*. Cf. E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 64, and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 71.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *ni-kship* by 'inscribing'. Cf. the *Raghuvaṃśa*, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains *nikshēpita* by *lēkhita*, and *nikkhitta-vanṇam* in the *Śākuntala*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word *nikhitā* is placed after *sāmsalanasi*, and *nikhipātha* in the next sentence after *upāsakānāmītikāṃ*, it is more natural to take *ni-kship* in the sense of 'depositing'.

⁵ Senart (CR, 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering *sāmsalana* (= Skt. *sāmsaraṇa*) the designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

⁶ As remarked by Senart (CR, 1907. 30), the double *cha* in *hedisā cha ikā līṭi* and *ikāṃ cha līṭiṃ hedisameva* co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the *cha* after *te pi* corresponds to the *cha* after *anuposathaṃ* in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

⁷ In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the *Āṭaka* (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial *u* of Skt. *upavasatha* has been dropped. Cf. *posaha* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 141, and the artificial form *pōshadha* (Böhtlingk's two dictionaries, s. v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

⁸ With *visvaṃsayitave* cf. *asvāsa[n]iyā* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, section J.

⁹ Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

¹⁰ Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sārnchī and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the *Mahāmātras* and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pāṭaliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

¹¹ Kern pointed out that *āhāla* (spelt *ahāla* at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term *āhāra*, 'a district'; see EI, 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words *tuphākāṃ āhāle* are contrasted with *savesu koṭa-vishavesu* in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word *āhāra*, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, 10. Appendix), p. 214, s. v.

¹² As Thomas states (JA (10), 15. 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of *vivasati* is *vip̐pavasati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. The verb *vivāsayaṭi* (*vivaseti* in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and *vivāsāpayati* in section J a double causative, of *vivasati*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *vivāsayaṭi* by 'making known'; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915. 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from *vivasetaviye* at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauḷi, Z-CC; Jaugaḍa, AA-DD), viz. *mahāmātram*.

¹³ Literally: 'by this letter'. The word *vyañjana* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of

(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts.¹

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिसितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्यमुनी ति
- 3 (B) सिला विगडभी चा कालापित सिलाथमे च उसपापिते
- 4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुंमिनिगामे उबलिके कटे
- 5 अठभागिये च

- 1 (A) Devāna[pi]yena Piyadasina lājina vīsati-vasābhisitena
- 2 atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunī ti
- 3 (B) silā vigadabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite
- 4 hida Bhagavañ jāte ti (C) Lummini-gāme ubalike kaṭe
- 5 aṭha-bhāgiye cha

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here.²

(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?)³ and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.⁴

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (*attha*); see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *vyañjanam*. In the rock-edict III, E, it is coupled with *hetu*, 'reason'. A number of Pāli sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67. 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907. 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i. e. he takes the instrumentals *etena vyañjanena* in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 59.

¹ This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāi) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, M.

² In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1876. 241), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: 'āgamissanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhuniyo upāsaka-upāsikāyo idha Tathāgato jāto ti.' In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from *hida* to *ti* with section A, while Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 486) joined them to B.

³ This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word *vigadabhī*; see IA, 43. 19 f. The syllable *-bhī* might certainly represent Skt. *-bhṛit*; but, that *vigada* means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 20. 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 477, 823) joined *bhīchā* into one word, and explained it by Skt. **bhittikā*, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 49, 219, *vigada* is an Ardhamāgadhī form of Skt. *vikṛita*, *silā-vigada bhīchā* might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43. 17) remarks, the change of **bhittikā* to *bhīchā* 'is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākṛit dialects.'

⁴ With the words *hida Bhagavañ jāte* cf. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 389: 'asmin mahārāja pradēśe Bhagavāñ jātaḥ.'

(C) (He) made the village of Lummini¹ free of taxes,² and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).³

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन
 2 बुधस कोनाकमनस शुवे दुतियं वद्धिते
 3 (B) साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते
 4 पापिते

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bh]i[si]t[e]n[a]
 2 Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyam vaddhite
 3 (B) sābhisitena⁴ cha atana āgācha mahīyite
 4 pāpīte⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the Buddha Kōnākamana⁶ to the double (of its original size).⁷

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

¹ In the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43. 18. The word Lummini survives in the modern designation Rummindēi; see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.

² For *ubalika* = Skt. **udbalika* see Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73, n. 2; Bühler, EI, 5. 5; Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 478 f.; Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f.; and Thomas (id. 1909. 466 f.), who quotes the similar term *uchchhulka* from the *Kauṭīliya*.

³ The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 390) reports that Aśoka spent at Lumbini-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Bühler (EI, 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68. 721 f.) took *aṭha* = Skt. *artha* and translated *aṭha-bhāgiya* by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 479 f.) explained *aṭha-bhāga* by Skt. *ashta-bhāga*, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the *Kauṭīliya* (p. 116, l. 2 from bottom) *chaturtha-paṇcha-bhāgika* is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 391 f.) in believing that *-bhāgiya* must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of Lummini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix *-iya* (= Skt. *-ika*) see above, p. 124, n. 4.

⁴ Bühler restored *visati-vasābhisitena*, as on the Rummindēi pillar, l. 1.

⁵ Bühler restored *silā-thabhe cha usapāpīte* on the strength of l. 3 of the same inscription.

⁶ This mythical Buddha is called Kōṇāgamana by the Southern Buddhists (*Konāgamana* at Bharaut; IA, 21. 229, No. 30), and Kanakamuni or Kōnākamuni by the Northern ones; see Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

⁷ With *dutiyam vaddhite* cf. *diyaḍhiyam vaddhisati* (or *vaddhisiti*) at Sahasrām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered *dutiyam* by 'for the second time'.

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि अढतियानि व य सुमि प्रकास
सके (C) नो चु बाढि पकते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं
सघ उपेते
- 2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते
दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता
पापोतवे खुदकेन
- 3 पि पकममिनेना सकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (H) एतिय अठाय च
सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय
पकरा व
- 4 किति चिरठितिके सिया (I) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति
अपलधियेना दियढिय वढिसत (J) इय च अठे पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत
(K) हथ च अयि
- 5 सालाठभे सिलाठभसि लाखापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक
तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) व्युठेना सावने कटे (N) २००
५० ६ स-
- 6 त विवासा त

- 1 (A) Devānampiye heva[m] āhā (B) sāti[ra]kekāni¹ adhati[y]āni va² ya sumi
prakāsa [Sa]k[e]³ (C) no chu bādhi pakate (D) sātileke chu chhavachhare⁴
ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[e]te
- 2 bādhi ch[a]⁵ pakate (E) yā⁶ [i]māya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni
m[i]s[ā] kaṭā (F) pakamasi⁷ hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatatā p[ā]potave
khudakena⁸

¹ sāti[le]kāni Senart and Bühler ; read sātirekāni.

² This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Bairāt, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions.

³ The first *akshara* of *prakāsa* looks like *pā* ; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read *pākā* (which he considered a mistake for *hakā*, i. e. *hakam*) [*sava*]ke. The reading [Sa]k[e] was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads Bu[dha]-Śake.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for *savachhare* ; see IA, 37. 23, and JRAS, 1910. 145 f.

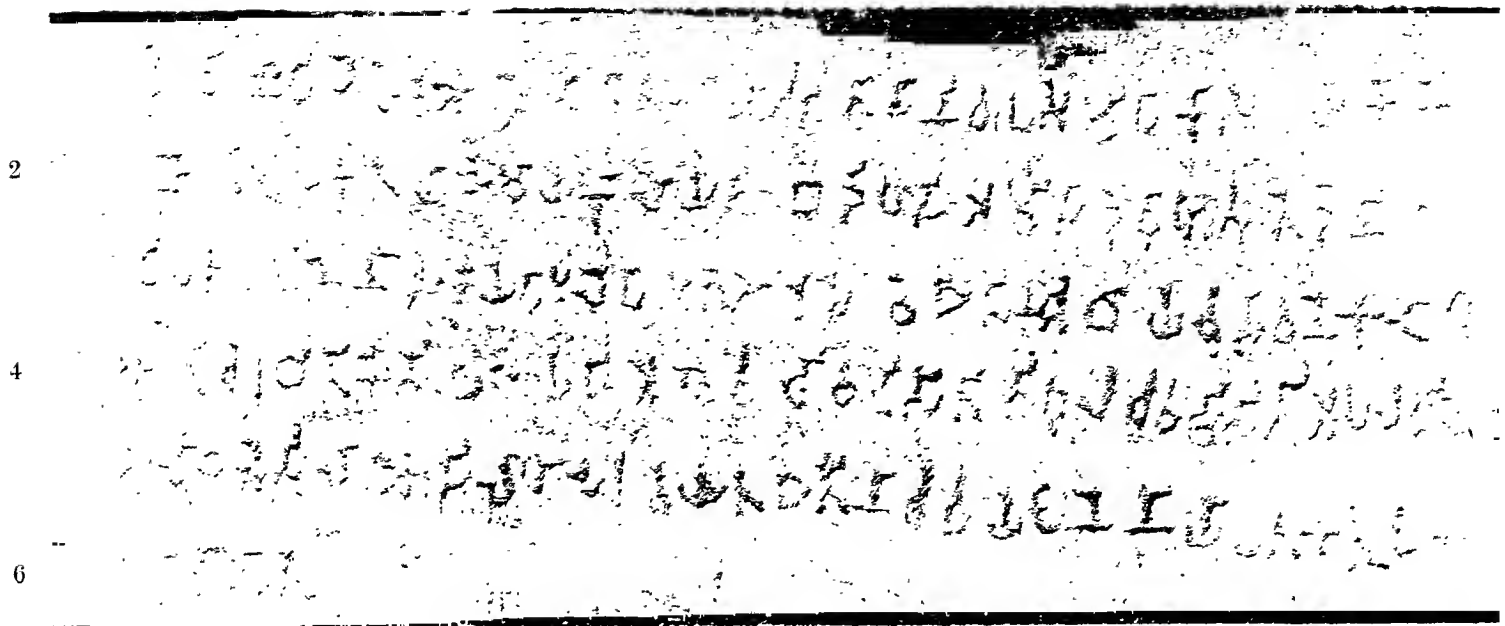
⁵ chu Bühler.

⁶ y[i] Bühler.

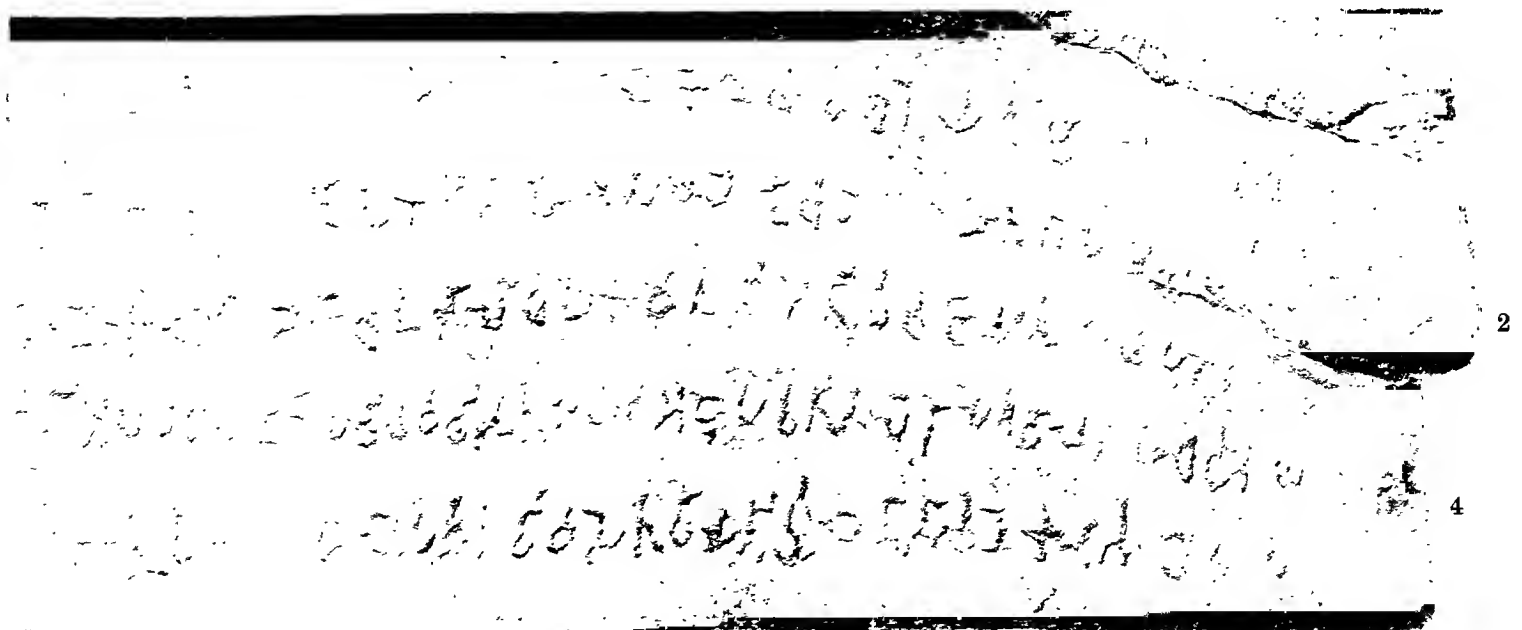
⁷ Three other versions of this edict read *pakamasa*.

⁸ Senart and Bühler add the two syllables *hi ka*. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.

LEFT HALF



RIGHT HALF



- 3 pi pa[ka]mam[i]nenā¹ sakiye pipule² pā³ svage ārodheve⁴ (H) etiya aṭhāya cha
sāvane kaṭe kh[u]dakā cha uḍālā cha pakamatu⁵ ti atā pi cha jānamtu iya⁶
paka[rā⁷ va]
- 4 kiti chira-ṭhitike siyā (I) iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti apaladhiyenā
diyadhiya vaḍhisata⁸ (J) iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u] lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha⁹
cha athi
- 5 sālā-ṭh[abh]e¹⁰ silā-ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya¹¹ ta¹² (L) etinā cha vayajanenā
yāvataka tupaka¹³ ahāle savara¹⁴ vivasetavā[ya]¹⁵ ti (M) vy[u]ṭthenā sāvane
kaṭe (N) 200 50 6 sa-
- 6 ta vivāsā ta¹⁶

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.

(B) Two and a half years¹⁷ and somewhat more (have passed) since I am
openly a *Śākya*.¹⁸

(C) But (I had)¹⁹ not been very zealous.²⁰

(D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited²¹ the
*Samgha*²² and have been very zealous.

¹ *parumaminena* Bühler.

² Read *vipule*.

³ Read *pi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁴ *ārodhave* Bühler; read *ārādhe[ta*]ve*.

⁵ *pakamamtu* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *iyam* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ Senart proposes to read *pakame*; cf. the *Siddāpura* and *Sahasrām* rock-inscriptions.

⁸ Read *vaḍhisiti*.

⁹ Bühler and Senart correct *hidha*. Instead of it, the context seems to require *yata* (= Skt. *yatra*); but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.

¹⁰ Read *silā*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; *-ṭhubhe* Bühler.

¹¹ Read *likhā*.

¹² Read *ti*.

¹³ Read perhaps *tuphākam*, as on the *Sārṇāth* pillar, l. 9.

¹⁴ Read *savata*, as on the *Sārṇāth* pillar, l. 10.

¹⁵ *°viya* Senart, *°vā[ya]* Bühler; read *vivāsetaviye* and cf. *vivāsayātha* at *Sārṇāth*, l. 10.

¹⁶ Read *ti*.

¹⁷ As was first remarked by Oldenberg (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xxxviii, note, and ZDMG, 35. 474, note), *adhatiya* is the Pāli *adḍhatiya*, 'two and a half'.

¹⁸ Instead of this, the *Sahasrām*, *Bairāt*, and *Siddāpura* versions read *upāsake*, 'a lay-worshipper', but the *Maski* version reads *Bu[dha]-Śake*. On the *Rummindē* pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet *Śākyamuni*. *Varāhamihira* uses the tribal name *Śākya* in the sense of 'a Buddhist'; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s.v. In the *Kauṭīliya* the word *Śākya* has the same meaning; see Shama Sastri's Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me, the *Munich MS.* reads *शक्याजीवकादीन्*, which is meant for *शक्याजीवकादीन्*; the *editio princeps* (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has *शक्याः । जीवकादीन्*.

¹⁹ The word *husam* is inserted in the *Mysore* versions.

²⁰ The *Mysore* versions add 'for one year'. Thomas (JA (10), 15. 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17. 121 f.) take *pakamati* in the sense of 'travelling about'. But the various readings of the *Sahasrām* and *Bairāt* edicts suggest that *pakamati* has to be understood as a synonym of *palakamati*, 'to exert one's self, to be zealous'; see Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā* (*Rūpnāth*) or *palakamamīnenā* (*Sahasrām*) corresponds to *dhama-yute[na]*, 'devoted to morality', at *Maski*, E.

²¹ Bühler translated *up[e]te* by 'entered'; see IA, 6. 156, and EI, 3. 140. I adopt Senart's very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition; see IA, 20. 234.

²² i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men)¹ in Jambudvīpa,² have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).³

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank⁴ (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.⁵

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,⁶ (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers⁷ may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter⁸ will (be made by me to) progress,⁹ and will (be made to) progress considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.¹⁰

¹ Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 124 f.) first showed that *misā* represents Skt. *miśrāḥ*; but his translation of *devā* by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word *deva* is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title *Devānaṃpriya*, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word *rājā* is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911. 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7. 438 ff.) still upholds Bühler's view that *misā* stands for Skt. *mṛishā*, which is represented by *musā* in Pāli, in Ardhamāgadhi (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds *misam-deva* and *ammisam-deva* at Sahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamāgadhi form *musam*,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound *misibhūtā* at Maski would offend against the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final *ā* of indeclinables to *ī* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words *misā devehi*, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by 'ont été (réduits à apparaître comme) faussement (mis au nombre) des dieux', and to consider the instrumental *devehi* an ablative partitive (?).

² i. e. in India.

³ As I have shown in JRAS, 1913. 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word *devā* corresponds to *divyāni rūpāni* in the Gīrnār edict IV, B.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri version suggests, *mahatātā* corresponds to Skt. *mahātmatvāt*.

⁵ Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

⁶ Fleet (JRAS, 1909. 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15. 510) were of opinion that the few following words: 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśoka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by *etiya athāya*, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.

⁷ According to the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

⁸ i. e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

⁹ With *vaḍhi*[*m**] *vaḍhisiti* cf. *dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

¹⁰ Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.

(J) And cause ye this matter¹ to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.²

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,³ it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.⁴

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation)⁵ (you) must dispatch (an officer)⁶ everywhere, as far as your district⁷ (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.⁸

(N) 256 (nights)⁹ (had then been) spent on tour.¹⁰

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानापिये हेवं आ ियानि सवखलानि । अं उपासके
सुमि । (C) न चु बाढं पलकंते
- 2 (D) सवखले साधिके । अं ते (E) एतेन च अंतलेन । जंबुदीपसि ।
अमिसंदेवा । संत

¹ Instead of the nominative *iya cha aṭhe* we should have expected the accusative *ima cha aṭham*, as at Sahasrām, l. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture *lekhāpetaviye ti* for *lekhāpeta vālata*; but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

² Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (*vāratah*); see JRAS, 1911. 1116.

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, SS.

⁵ See above, p. 163, n. 13.

⁶ See above, p. 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911. 1106) translated *vivaseti* by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict; see JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

⁷ Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms *vyūṭha* and *vivāsa*, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15. 512 ff. The instrumental *vy[u]thenā*, which depends on *sāvane kaṭe*, must refer to Aśōka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*tupaka*, l. 5); see JRAS, 1909. 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37. 22) in supplying *mayā*.

⁹ The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15. 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word *lāti* = Skt. *rātri*, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word *sata*, 'a hundred', see Thomas, ibid., p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911. 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word *lāti* at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 1301 ff., 1911. 1091 ff., and 1913. 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41. 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 225 f., and *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 22. 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916. 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7. 434 f.), who takes *lāti* = Skt. *rati*, as at Kālsī, VIII, F.

¹⁰ In JRAS, 1910. 1309, I interpreted the word *vivāsā*, which corresponds to *vivūthā* at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.

- 3 मुनिसा मिसंदेव कटा । (F) पल इयं फले (G) नो यं
महतता व चकिये पावतवे । खुदकेन पि पल-
- 4 कममीनेना विपुले पि सुअग .. किये आला वे । (H) से एताये
अठाये इयं सावाने । खुदका च उडाला चा प-
- 5 लकमंतु अंता पि च जानंतु । चिलठितीके च पलाकमे होतु । (I) इयं च अठे
वढिसति । विपुलं पि च वढिसति
- 6 दियादियं अवलधियेना दियदियं वढिसति । (J) इयं च सवने विवुथेन (K) दुवे
सपंना लाति-
- 7 सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च अठं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य ..
वा अ-
- 8 थि हेता सिलाथंभा तत पि लिखापयथ ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiyē he[vaṃ] [[ā]]¹ [[iyāni savachhalā]][ni | a]m
upāsake sumi । (C) na chu bādham [palaka]m[t]e
- 2 (D) sav[a]chhale² sādhi[ke] [[i am]] [[te]] (E) [ete][[na cha aṃta]]lena ।
Jambudīpasi । aṃmisaṃ-[de]vā³ । saṃta⁴
- 3 munisā [m]isaṃ-deva [[kaṭā | (F) pala]] [[iyaṃ phale (G) [n]o]]
[[yaṃ]] mahatata va chakiye pāv[a]t[ve] । khudakena pi pala-
- 4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]ag ... [k]iye⁵ [ā][lā] [[ve]] [i] (H) se etāye
aṭh[ā]ye iyaṃ sāvāne⁶ । khudakā cha uḍālā chā pa-
- 5 [la]kamaṃtu aṃtā pi ch[a] jānaṃtu । chila-ṭhiṭ[ike]⁷ cha p[a][ā]kame⁸ hotu । (I)
iya[m] cha [aṭhe] vadhisati । vipulaṃ pi cha vadhisati
- 6 diyāḍhiyaṃ aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]dhiyaṃ vadhisati । (J) iyaṃ [[cha savane]]
[v]ivuthena (K) duve sapannā lāti-
- 7 satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6 (L) ima cha aṭhaṃ pavatesu [l][[ikhā]][pa]yāthā (M)
ya . .⁹ [vā] a-
- 8 th[i] hetā silā-thaṃ[bh]ā tata pi¹⁰ [likhāpayatha t]i

¹ The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

² The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *vim* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22. 299), the group *ḍva*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 147), it is already impossible because the *ḍa* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *saḍvachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chhavachhare* at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.

³ Read *amisaṃ*-.

⁴ *saṃ[tā]* Bühler.

⁵ Restore *suage chakiye*.

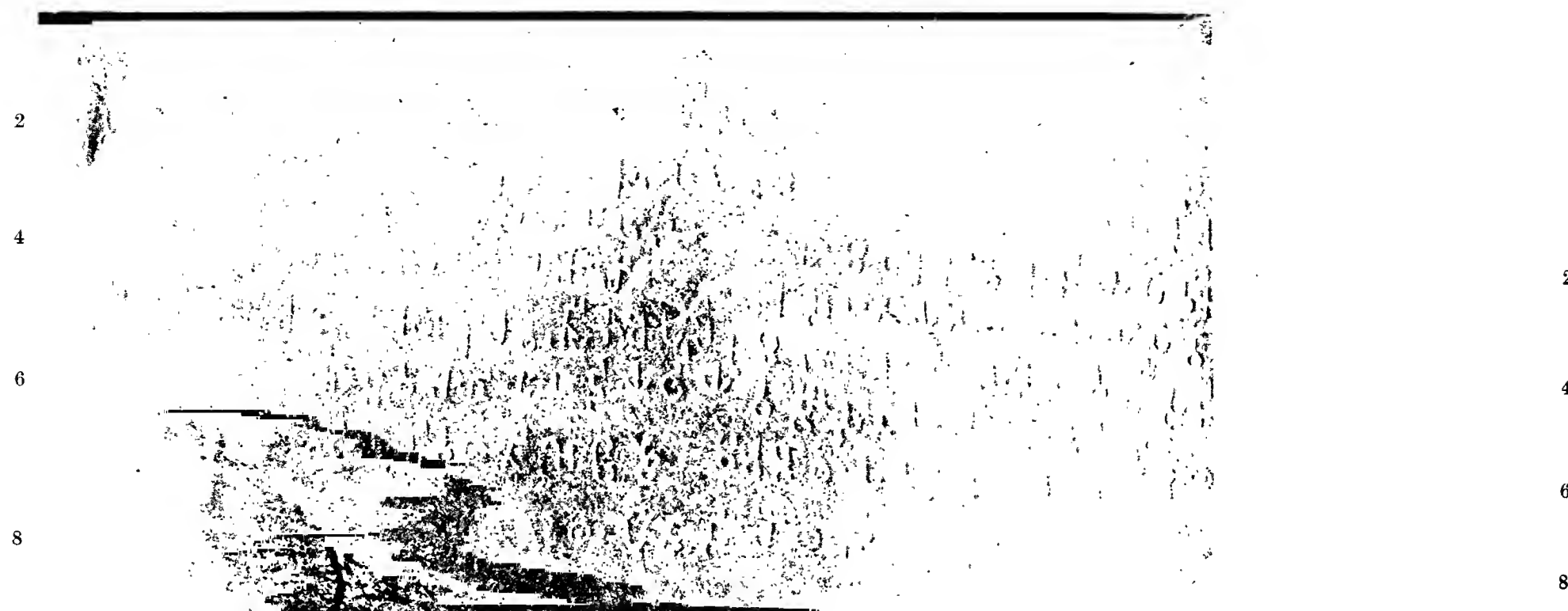
⁶ Read *sāvane*.

⁷ *-[ṭh]iṭik*. Bühler.

⁸ *palakame* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Restore *yata*.

¹⁰ The syllable *pi* was entered above the line.



FROM MR. BEGLAR'S PHOTOGRAPH



FROM AN INKED ESTAMPAGE

TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) **Dēvānāmpriya** [speaks] thus.
 (B) years since I am a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).
 (C) But (I had) not been very zealous.
 (D) **A year and somewhat more** (has passed) since
 (E) And men in **Jambudvīpa**, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.
 (F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].
 (G) cannot¹ be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.
 (H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.
 (I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.
 (J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour.
 (K) **Two hundred and fifty-six nights** (had then been) **spent on tour**,²—(in figures) **256**.³
 (L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.
 (M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानांप्रिये आहा (B) साति
 2 वसानि य हकं उपासके (C) नो चु बाढं
 3 अं ममया सधे उपयाते बाढ च
 4 जंबुदिपसि अमिसा न देवेहि मि कमस एस . . ले
 5 (G) नो हि एसे महतनेव चकिये कममिनेना
 6 विपुले पि अगे चक्ये आलाधेतवे (H) का च उडाला चा
 पलकमतु ति

¹ For *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*, see above, p. 97, n. 4.

² Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520, note) compares the word *vivuthā* (corresponding to *vivāsā* at Rūpnāth) with *vyushṭam*, a division of time which is mentioned in the *Kaṭṭilīya*, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of *νυχθήμερον*, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśoka's time both *vivutha* and *vivāsa* apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.

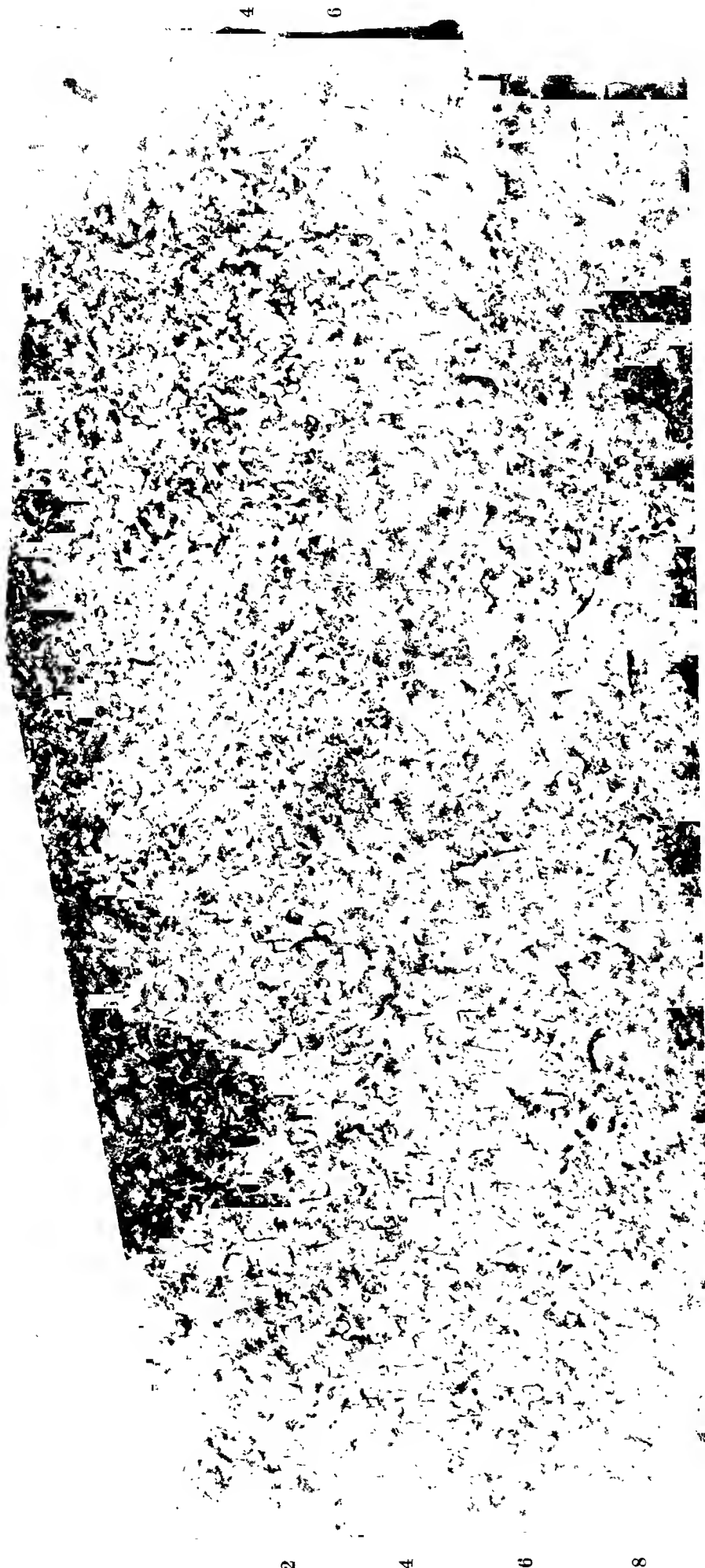
³ The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520), who discovered in it the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that *pannā* is a recognized Prākṛit form of *pañchāśat*, and that expressions like *dvē śatpañchāśe rātri-śatē* are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. *ekam rattim vipparvasati*, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 581.

- 7 अंता पि च जानंतु ति चिलठित लं पि वढिसति
 8 दियदियं वढिसति
- 1 (A) Devānāṃpiye āh[ā] (B) s[ā]ti
 2 vasān[i] ya hakaṃ¹ upāsake (C) [no chu] bādham
 3 aṃ mamayā saghe² [u]payāte [bā]dha cha
 4 Jambudipasi³ amisā⁴ na devehi [m]i [ka]masa esa . . l[e]
 5 (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva chakiye kamaminenā
 6 vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e (H) kā cha [u]d[ā]lā chā⁵
 [pala]kamatū [t]i
 7 [aṃ]tā pi cha jānaṃtu ti [ch]ila-ṭhit laṃ pi vaḍhisati
 8 diyadhiyaṃ vaḍhi[s]a[ti]

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपावाधतं च फासु-
 विहालतं चा
 2 (B) विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च
 (C) ए केचि भंते
 3 भगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया
 हेवं सधंमे
 4 चिलठितिके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमानि भंते धंम-
 पलियायानि विनयसमुकसे
 5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिने ए चा
 लाघुलो-
 6 वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि
 इछामि
 7 किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं मुनेयु चा उपधालयेयू चा
 8 (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखापयामि
 अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतु ति
- 1 (A) Pr[i]yadas[i]⁶ l[ā]jā Māgadhe⁷ saṃghaṃ abhivāde[tū]naṃ⁸ āhā ap[ā]bādhatam
 cha phāsu-vihālatam chā.
 2 (B) vidite v[e] bhaṃte āvatake h[a]mā Budhasi dhammasi saṃghasi ti gālave⁹
 chaṃ prasāde¹⁰ cha (C) e kechi¹¹ bhaṃte

¹ haka Bühler.² sa[m]ghe Bühler.³ dipasi Bühler.⁴ The syllable *mi* was entered above the line.⁵ cha Bühler.⁶ Piya^o Senart.⁷ Māgadham Senart; but the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.⁸ abhivādanam Senart; but see JRAS, 1909. 727.⁹ galave Senart.¹⁰ pasāde Senart.¹¹ kemchi Senart.



SCALE ONE-NINTH

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 8
 2
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 8

1. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
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 6. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠
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SCALE ONE-FOURTH

- 3 bhagavatā **Budhe[na]** bhāsīte sarve¹ se subhāsīte vā (D) e chu kho bhaṁte
hamiyāye diseyā hevaṁ sadhamme
4 chil[a-ṭhi]tike hosatī ti alahāmi hakam ta[m] v[ā]tave² (E) imāni bhaṁt[e dha]mma-
paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase
5 Aliya-vasāni³ Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatissa-pasine e chā
Lāghulo-
6 vāde musā-vādam adhigichya⁴ bhagavatā **Budhena** bhāsīte etāni⁵ bhaṁte
dhamma-paliyāyāni ichhāmi
7 kintī bahuke bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye⁶ ch[ā] abhikhinaṁ sun[e]yu⁷ chā
upadhā[a]yeyū⁸ chā
8 (F) hevaṁmevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā (G) eteni⁹ bhaṁte imaṁ likhā[pa]yāmi
abhipretam¹⁰ me jānamtū¹¹ ti

TRANSLATION

✓ (A) The **Māgadha** king **Priyadarsin**,¹² having saluted the *Samgha*,¹³ hopes they are both well and comfortable.¹⁴

(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the **Buddha**, the *Dharma*,¹⁵ (and) the *Samgha*.¹⁶

(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed **Buddha**, all that is quite well spoken.

(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me¹⁷ (to be referred to by the words of the scripture): 'thus the true *Dharma* will be of long duration',¹⁸ that I feel bound to declare.

(E) The following expositions of the *Dharma*, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the *Vinaya-samukasa*, (2) the *Aliya-vasas*,¹⁹ (3) the *Anāgata-bhayas*, (4) the *Muni-gāthās*, (5) the *Moneya-sūta*,

¹ *save* Senart.

² *vatave* Senart.

³ *-vasāni* Senart.

⁴ This word is quite distinct, and the reading *adhigichya* proposed by Michelson (IF, 27. 194 f.) is impossible.

⁵ *etāna* Senart.

⁶ *bhakhuniye* Senart.

⁷ *sunayu* Senart.

⁸ *upādhāleyeyu* Senart.

⁹ Read *etenā*.

¹⁰ *abhihetam* Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *aparakaraṇamhi* in the Girnār edict XII, l. 3.

¹¹ *ma jānamta* Senart.

¹² Cf. e.g. *rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro* in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (passim); *rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu* at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1875. 49); and *rājā Pasenajī Kosalo* in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21. 232, No. 58).

¹³ i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

¹⁴ Literally: 'pronounces both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*: '*appābādham appātāṇkam lahuṭṭhānam balaṁ phāsu-vihāram pucchha*', and see Neumann's translations of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (2. 617, note) and *Dīgha-nikāya* (2. 216, n. 3).

¹⁵ i.e. the Buddhist doctrine.

¹⁶ These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *ratanam*.

¹⁷ Kern (IA, 5. 257) explained *diseyā* as the optative of the Pāli *dissati* = Skt. *drīṣyatē*; cf. JRAS, 1909. 728.

¹⁸ As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901. 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

¹⁹ *vasa* is a defective spelling for *vaṁsa*; see IA, 41. 39.

(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Lāghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood,¹—I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस असोकस अदति-
- 2 .. नि वषानि । अं सुमि बुधशके (C) तिरे
- 3 .. मि संघं उपगते उठ मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु-
- 4 सि ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे खुद-
- 5 केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतवे (F) न हेवं दखितविये उडा-
- 6 लके व इम अधिगछेया ति (G) खुदके च उडालके च वत-
- 7 विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके से अ तिके च वढि-
- 8 सिति चा दियदियं हेवं ति

- 1 (A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa Asok[a]sa² [a]dh[a]t[i]-
- 2 .. ni³ vashā[ni] । aṁ⁴ sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake⁵ (C) [t]ire
- 3 .. [m]i⁶ [s]aṁgha[m] u[pa]gate [uṭh] m[i] u[pa]gate⁷ (D) pure Jambu-
- 4 s[i]⁸ ye amisā devā husu] te [dā]n[i] misibhūtā (E) iya a[the khu]da-

¹ For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xl, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, II. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, *Vinaya-samukasa*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (*Buddhist Bibliography*, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmaranda Kosambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4-6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

² Senart fills up this break by *vachanena adhiḥkāni*. As the instrumental *vachanena* would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading *sāvane* (or *sāsane*) (B) *adhiḥkāni*.

³ Restore *adhatiyāni*.

⁴ *vasāni* [ya]m aṁ Krishna Sastri.

⁵ *bum[pā]śake* K.S. The point after *bu* does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter *pā* appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between *upāsake* and *Budhupāsake*. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write *upāsake*, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura. On second thoughts he changed *upā* to *Budha* and added *Śake*, which corresponds to [Sa]k[e] at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the *dha* of *Budha* is due to its having been corrected from *pā*.

⁶ Restore *sātireke aṁ sumi* and, before these three words, perhaps *saṁvachhare*.

⁷ Restore perhaps *uṭhānaṁ cha sumi upagate*, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: *bādhaṁ cha me pakānte*. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore *bādhaṁ cha sumi upagate*.

⁸ Restore *Jambudīpasi*. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH

- 5 ke[na pi]¹ dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevaṃ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-
 6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha uḍ]ālake cha vata-
 7 viyā hevaṃ ve kalamāṃ bha[dak]e [se a]² t[i]k[e]³ cha va[ḍhi]-
 8 siti chā diya[ḍhi]yaṃ he[vaṃ] ti⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a *Buddha-Śākya*.⁵

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the *Samgha* and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in *Jambudvīpa*, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.⁶

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीते अयपुत्तस महामाताणं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं
 वतविया हेवं च वतविया (B) देवाणंपिये आणपयति
 2 (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं सके (D) नो तु खो बाढं
 प्रकंते हुसं एकं सवच्छरं (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवच्छरं
 3 यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना
 मुनिसा जंबुदीपसि
 4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सक्के महात्तेनेव पापोतवे
 कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि
 5 पकमि खेण विपुले स्वगे सक्के आराधेतवे (I) एतायठाय इयं सावणे
 सावापिते
 6 महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अंता च मै जानेयु चिरठितीके
 च इयं

¹ h[ī] K. S.

² [the ti] K. S.

³ Restore perhaps *se aṭṭhe chira-ṭhitike*.

⁴ *diyaḍhiya h[e]sati* K. S.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

⁶ Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to *pra-kram* or *parā-kram* and to *dharma-yukta*; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

⁷ For the nominative singular absolute *kalamāṃ* see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, *ve* (= Skt. *vah*), is originally an oblique case of the plural.

- 7 पक (J) इयं च अठे वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अवरधिया
दियदियं
8 वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) से हेवं
देवाणंपिये
9 आह (N) मातापितिसु सुसूसितविये हेमेव गरुसु प्राणेषु द्रक्षितव्यं सचं
10 वतवियं से इमे धम्मगुणा पवतितविया (O) हेमेव अंतेवासिना
11 आचरिये अपचायितविये जातिकेसु च कं य . . रहं पवतितविये
12 (P) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीघावुसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस कटिविये
13 (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकरेण

- 1 (A) [S]uv[a]m̐nagiriṭe¹ ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ cha vachan[e]na Isilasi
mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā hevaṃ cha vataviyā (B) Devāṇāmpīye
āṇapayati
2 (C) adhikāni adhātīyāni v[a]sāni ya hakaṃ sa[ke]² (D) no tu kho
bāḍhaṃ prakāṇte³ husaṃ . ekāṃ savachharaṃ (E) sātīreke tu kho
saṃvachharaṃ⁴
3 yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayīte bāḍhaṃ cha me pakāṇte (F) iminā chu kālena amisā
samānā munisā Jambudīpasi
4 mī[s]ā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṃ phale (H) no hiyaṃ sakye mahātpeneva
pāpotave kāmaṃ tu kho khudakena pi
5 paka[m]i⁵ ṇeṇa⁵ vipule svage sakye ārādhetaṃ (I) e[t]āyaṭhāya iyaṃ sāvaṇe
sāvāpīte
6⁶ mahāt[p]ā cha imaṃ pakame[yu t]i aṃtā cha mai⁷ jāneyu chira-
ṭhīṭike cha iyaṃ
7 [paka]⁸ (J) iyaṃ cha aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipulaṃ pi cha vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā
diyaḍhiyaṃ
8 [vaḍh]isiti (K) iyaṃ cha sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevaṃ
Devāṇāmpīye
9 āha (N) mātā-pitisu susūs[i]taviye hemeva garu[su]⁹ prāṇesu drahyitavyaṃ
sachāṃ
10 vataviyaṃ se ime dhamma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (O) hemeva aṃtevāsīnā
11 āchariye apachāyitaviye nātikesu cha [ka]ṃ¹⁰ ya¹¹ rahaṃ pavatitaviye

¹ This word looks almost like *Suverīṇa*^o, but the Śiddāpura version reads *Suvam̐na*^o distinctly.

² Restore *upāsake*, as at Śiddāpura.

⁴ Read *saṃvachhare*; *sa[m̐]vachhar[a]m̐* Bühler.

⁵ *paka[mam̐]ṇeṇa* Bühler; read *pakamam̐ṇeṇa* and cf. the Sahasrām edict, l. 3 f.

⁶ The Śiddāpura version reads *yathā khu[dakā cha]*.

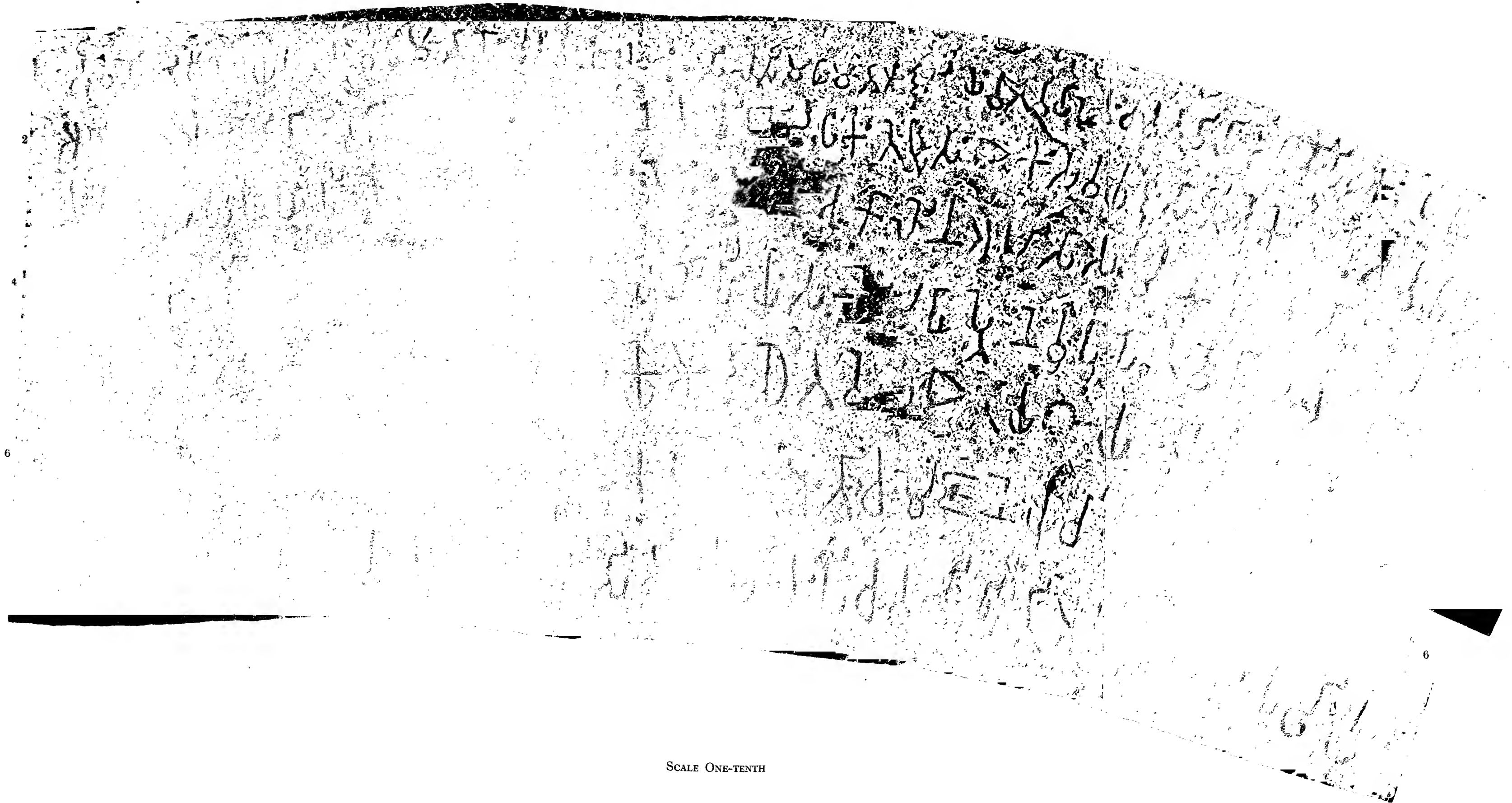
⁷ Read *me*.

⁸ The Śiddāpura version reads *pakame hoti* (*hotu* at Sahasrām).

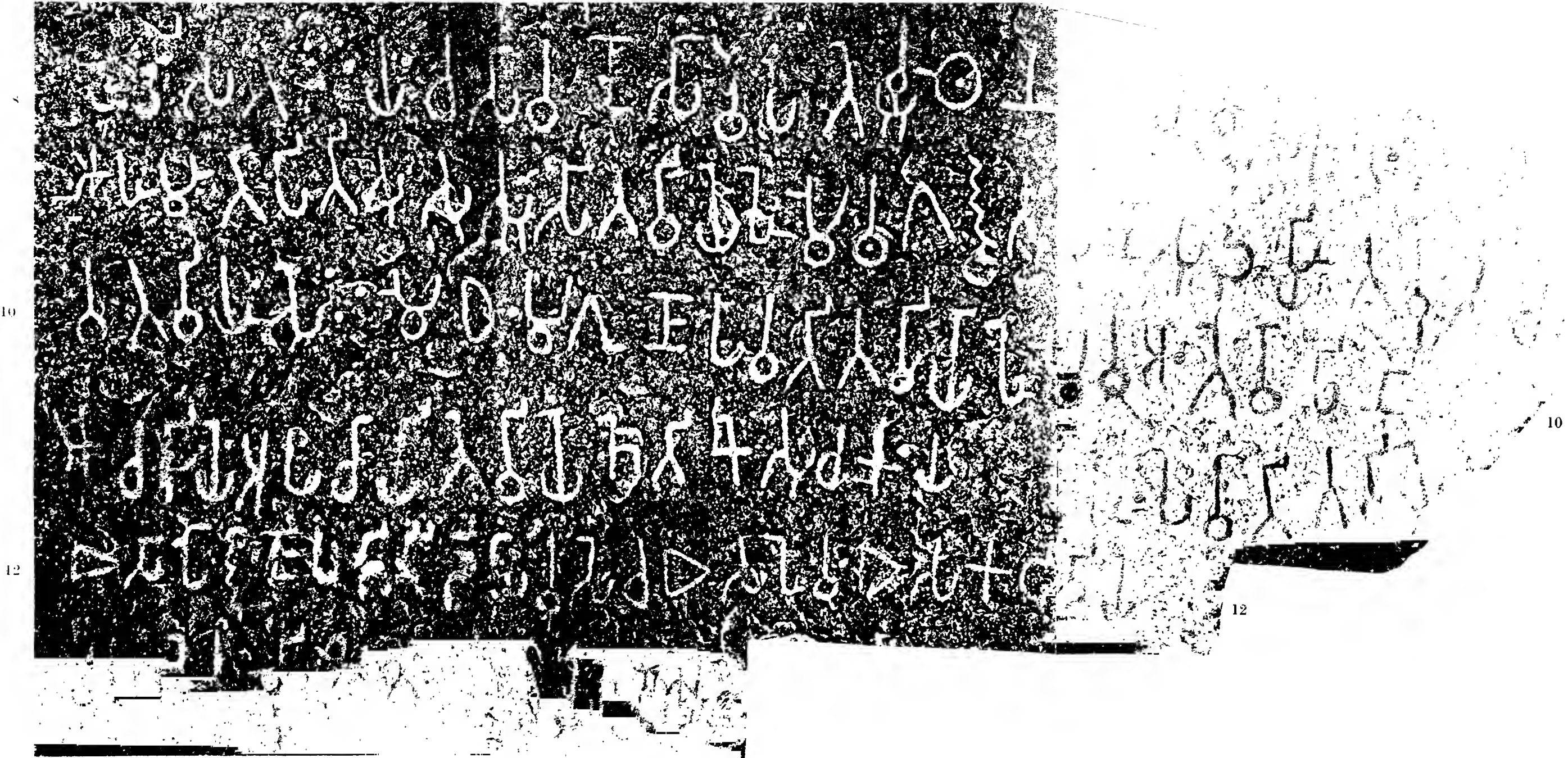
⁹ *garu[vaṃ]* Bühler.

¹⁰ *k[u?]* Bühler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

¹¹ Restore *yathārahaṃ* and cf. the Śiddāpura version, l. 20, and the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara version, l. 18.



SCALE ONE-TENTH



SCALE ONE-TENTH

- 12 (P) esā porā[n]ā pa[k]itī d[īgh]āvuse¹ cha esa (Q) hevaṃ esa kaṭiviye²
 13 (R) Chapadēna likhite³ li[pi]kareṇa⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) From **Suvarṇagiri**,⁵ at the word of the prince (*āryaputra*)⁶ and of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at **Isila** must be wished good health⁷ and be told this:

(B) **Dēvānāmpriya** commands (as follows).

(C) **More than two and a half years** (have passed) since I (am)⁸ a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous **for one year**.⁹

(E) But indeed **a year and somewhat more** (has passed) since I have visited the *Saṅgha* and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in **Jambudvīpa**, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods.¹⁰

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued,¹¹ [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,¹² and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.

¹ *d[īgh]āvuse* Bühler.

² Read *kaṭaviye*.

³ *li[kh]it[am]* Bühler.

⁴ This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

⁵ This place seems to have been the capital of the province administrated by the *Āryaputra* and his *Mahāmātras*. Bühler (EI, 3. 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a *Kumāra* and his *Mahāmātras* resided at Tōsalī. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were addressed by the king to the local authorities themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the Suvarṇagiri province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at Isila. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Aśoka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rājagṛha in Bihār; see JRAS, 1909. 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarṇagiri, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient gold-workings; see his remarks on the Maski edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara; see Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, plate 34, C, b.

⁶ Bühler (VOJ, 12. 75 f.) traced the word *ayyaputta*, 'a prince', in the *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 146 f.

⁷ Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

⁸ The word *sumi* is added in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.

⁹ The words 'for one year' are missing at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19. 481 f.) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśoka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Siddāpura edicts, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (or Śākya, as the Rūpnāth and Maski edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the *Saṅgha*. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

¹⁰ For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

¹¹ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

¹² With *imam* supply *pakaman*; cf. *vaḍhi[ni*]* *vaḍhisiti* in the Rūpnāth edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.

(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).¹

(M) Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.²

(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues must be practised.

(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.

(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.

(Q) Thus one must act.³

(R) Written by *Chapada* the writer.

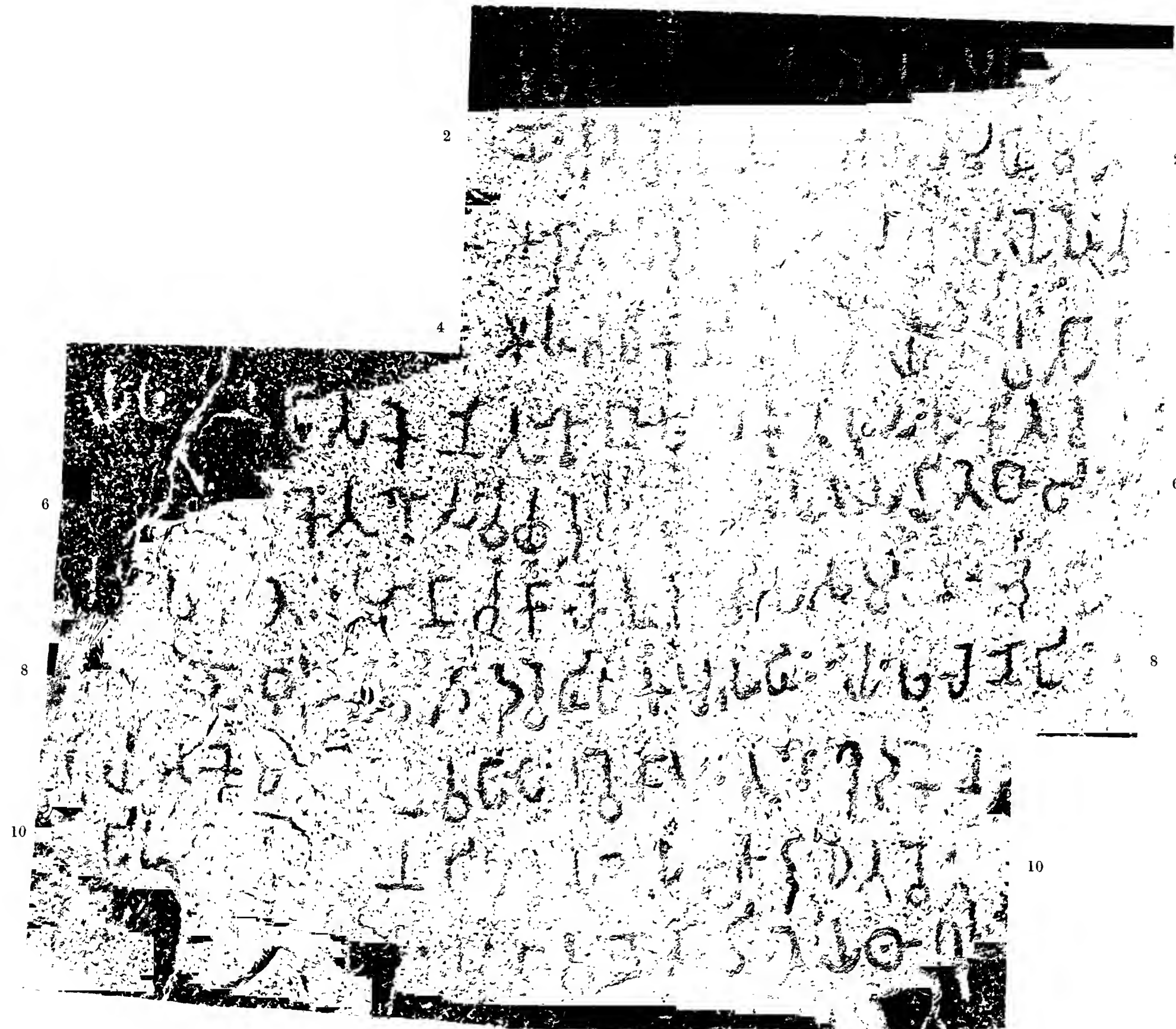
VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

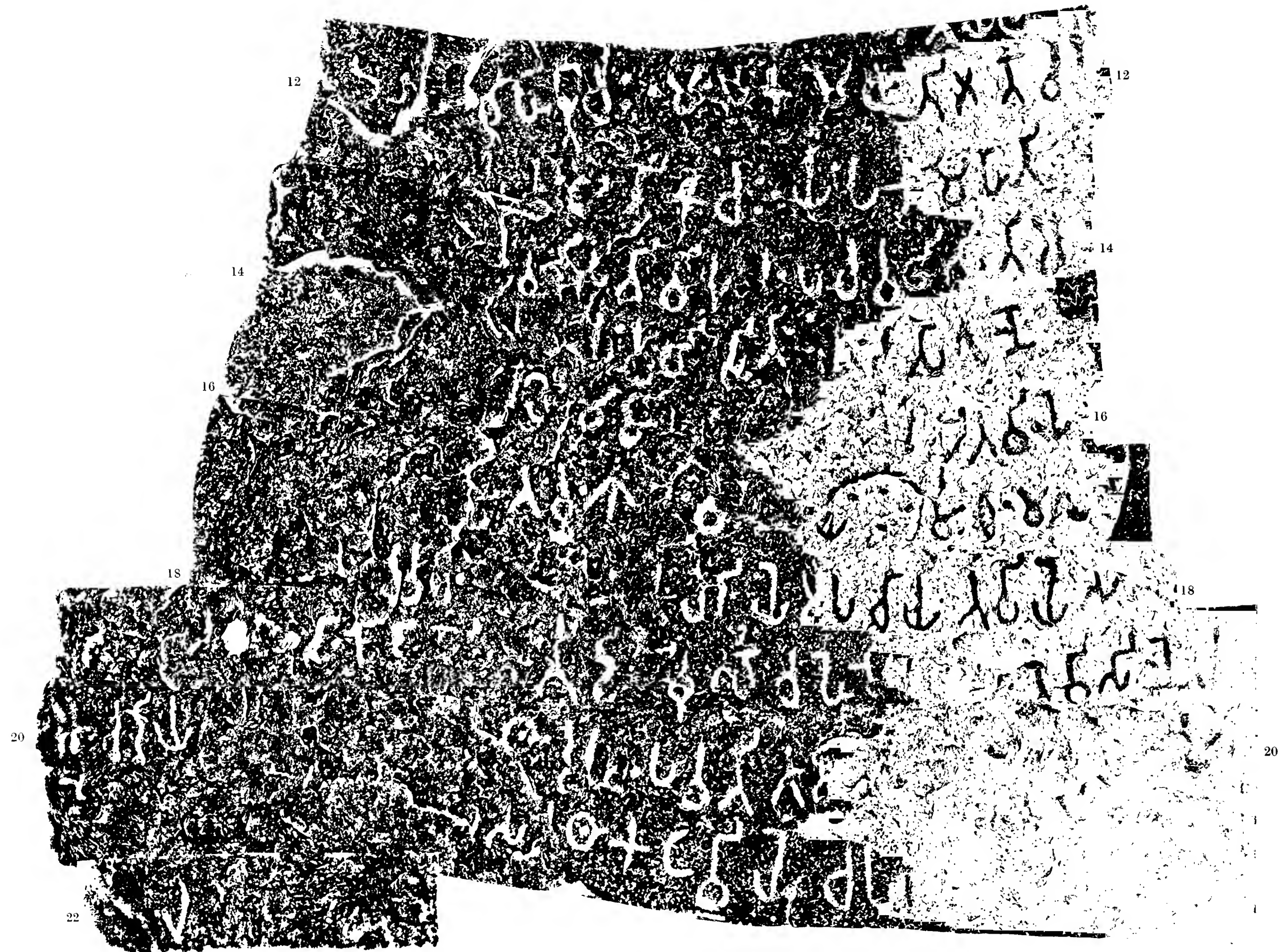
- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीति अयपुत्तस महामाता-
- 2 णं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
- 3 आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
- 4 आह (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि
- 5 य हकं उपासके (D) नो तु खो बाढ पकंते हुसं एकं सवच्छ . .
- 6 (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवच्छरे यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं
- 7 च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना सु
- 8 जंबुद मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले H) नो हि इ-
- 9 य सके म नेव पापोतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
- 10 पि प न विपुले स्वगे सके आराधेतवे
- 11 (I) से य इयं सावणे साविते यथा खु-
- 12 दका च महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अता च
- 13 चिरठितीके च इयं पकमे होति
- 14 (J) वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अ
- 15 यढियं वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे
- 16 (L) २०० ५० ई (M) मा सितविये
- 17 स्थितयं शचं वत . . यं इमे धंमगु
- 18 (N) हेमेव अं आचरिये अपचायितविये सु
- 19 (O) एसा पोराणा . . किती दीघावुसे च (P) हेमेव . .
- 20 तेविसिने च
- 21 आचरिये थारहं पवतितव म . .
- 22 स तथा कटविये (R) चप
- 23 ण

¹ Cf. section J of the *Sahasrām* edict.

² This section is omitted in the *Śiddāpura* and *Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara* versions.

³ At the beginning of this section, the *Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara* version inserts: 'This is the morality of *Dēvānāmpriya*'.





- 1 (A) **Suvarṇagiri**te ayaputasa mahāmātā-
 2 ṇaṁ cha vachanena I[s]ilasi mahāmātā
 3 ārogiyaṁ vata[v]i[yā] (B) [Dev]ā[na]m̐piye hevaṁ
 4 āha (C) **adhikāni** a[dhā]t[i]y[āni] vasāni
 5 ya ha[kam̐ u]pāsake (D) no tu kho bādha pakam̐te husaṁ ek[am̐] sa[vachha] . . .¹
 6 (E) [sātire]ke tu kho sam̐vachhare [yaṁ mayā sam̐]ghe upayite bādhaṁ
 7 [cha me] p[akam̐]te (F) i[m]inā chu kālena [a]misā samā[nā] mu
 8 **Jambū**[d] [mi]sā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no [h]i i-²
 9 ya sake [ma] [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmāṁ tu kho khudakena
 10 pi [pa] na [v]ipul[e] svage sak[e] ārādheta
 11 (I) [s]e ya [iya]m̐ sāvāṇe sāvite yathā khu-
 12 [dakā cha ma]hātpā cha imaṁ [pa]kameyu ti atā³ cha
 13 [chira]-t̐hi[t̐]ik[e]⁴ cha iyaṁ pakame hoti⁵
 14 (J) va[dh]isiti vipu[la]m̐ p[i] cha vadhisiti [a]
 15 [ya]dhiya)m̐ vadhisiti (K) i[ya]m̐ [cha] sāv[va]ṇe
 16 (L) [200] 50 6 (M) [mā] [si]taviye
 17 [hyi]tavyaṁ śa[cha]m̐ va[ta] . . [ya]m̐ im[e] dham̐ma-gu
 18 (N) [heme]va [a]m̐ [ācha]riye apachāyitaviye su
 19 (O) [es]ā [p]o[r]ā[nā] . . [ki]tī dī[ghā]vu[se] cha (P) heme[va]
 . . . m̐[t]evisine⁶ cha
 20 āchariy[e] thārahaṁ pavatitav m . . .
 21 sa⁷ [ta]thā kaṭaviye (R) **Chapa**
 22 [ṇa]⁸

VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

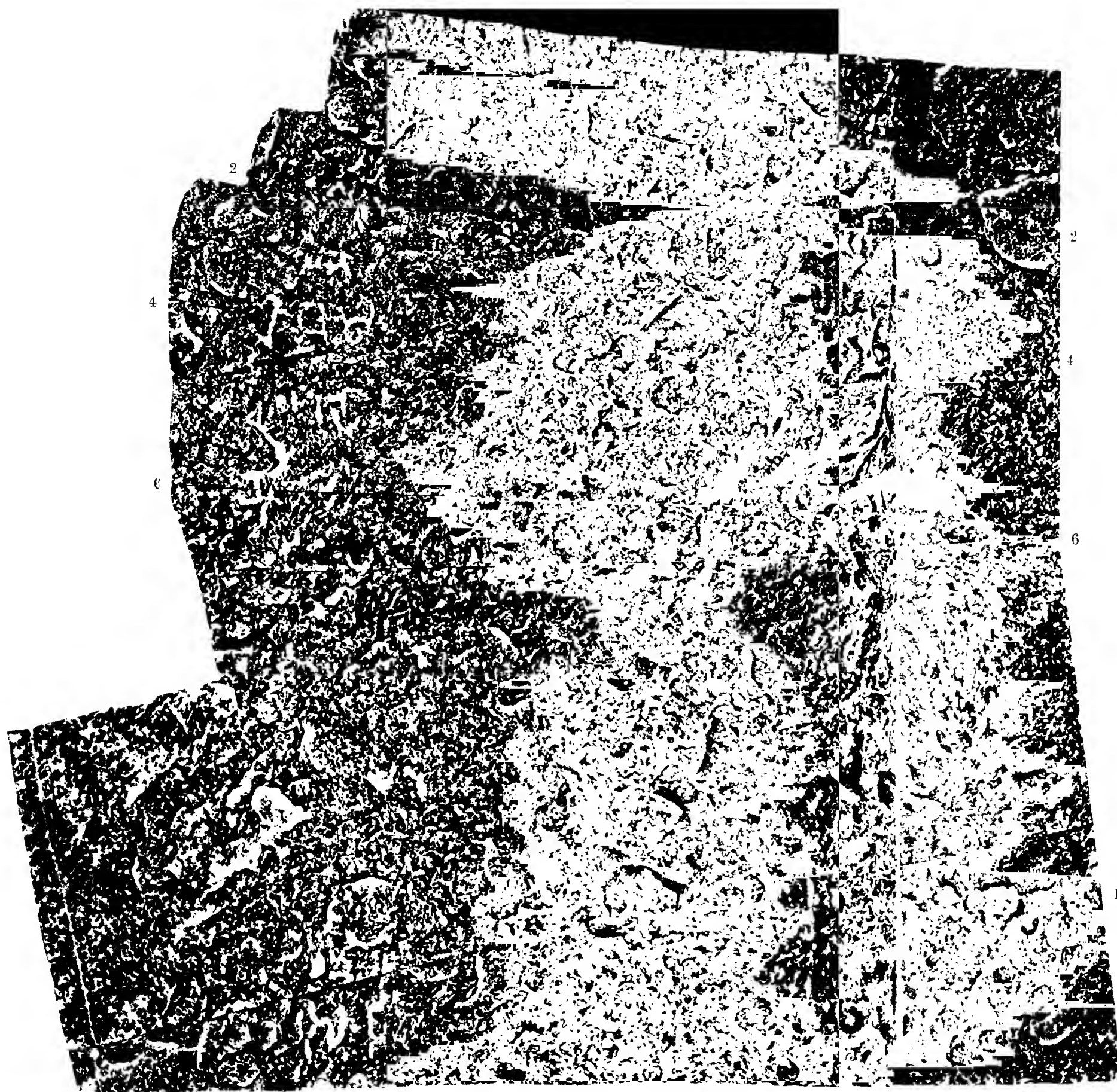
- 1 (A) तान च व
 2 इसि विया (B) देवान
 3 य हक्
 4 खो बाढ (E) . . तिरेके
 5 यं . . या
 6 ण
 7 हि इयं
 8
 9
 10 च दिस . .
 11 . . पुलं पि यदियं

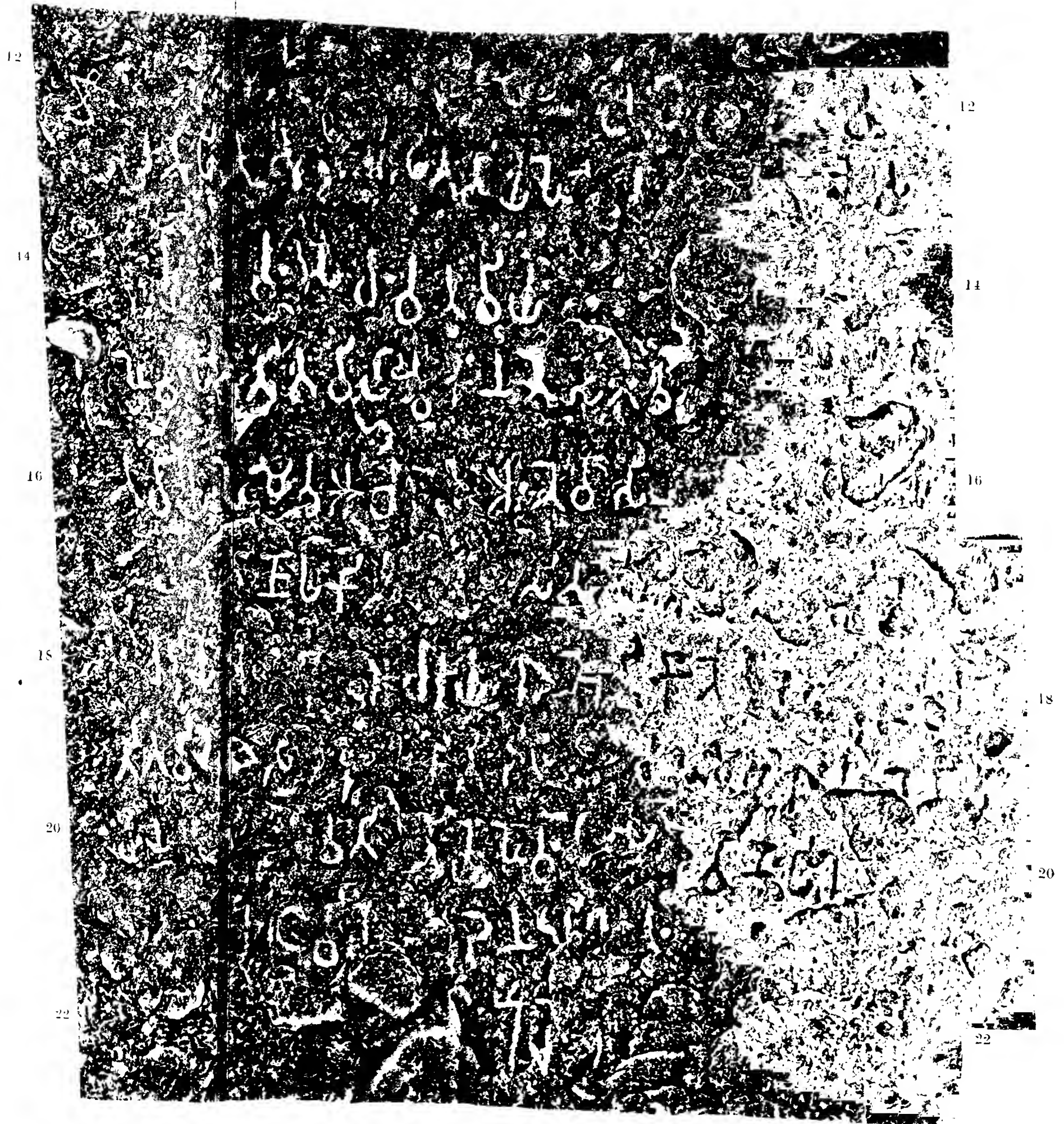
¹ sam̐va Bühler.⁴ -thitike Bühler.⁶ . . [te]vāsine Bühler. Read am̐tevasine.⁸ This syllable is in the Kharōshthī alphabet.² Bühler omitted i-.⁵ hot[u] Bühler.⁷ esa Bühler.³ am̐tā Bühler.

- 12 (K) इ सावणे येन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हेमेव
 13 मातापितुसु सितविये हेमेव न तेसु
 14 सितवियं सचं वतवियं से इमे
 15 हेवं पवतितविया (N) स्वञ्चं न ते सतवस
 16 तविय हेमेव आचरिये अंतेवासिना
 17 राणा पकिती सितविया विये
 18 चरिये अ आचरियश जातिका ते यथारहं पव-
 19 तितविये (O) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीघा च (P) हेमेव श
 20 च य वतितविये (Q) हेवं धंमे देवाणंपिय
 21 वं कटविये (R) डेन लिखितं
 22 पिकरेण

- 1 (A) [t]āna [cha va]
 2 Isi [vi]yā (B) Dev[ā]n[a]
 3 ya hakaṁ
 4 kho bādha (E) ti[reke]
 5 [ya]m [yā]
 6 [na]
 7 [h]i i[yaṁ]
 8
 9
 10 [cha] [dhi]s
 11 [p]ulaṁ pi [ya]dhiyaṁ
 12 (K) i s[āvaṇe] [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) [heme]va
 13 [mā]t[ā]-pitusu [s]itav[i]y[e] he[m]e[va] [na] es[u]
 14 hy[ita]v[y]aṁ sachaṁ vataviyaṁ [se] ¹ i[me]
 15 hevaṁ pa[va]titaviyā (N) [svaa]m na te s . t . va[s]
 16 taviya ² hemeva āchari[ye] aṁtevaśin[ā]
 17 [r]āṇā paki[tī] sita[v]iy[ā] [v]i[y]e ³
 18 chariy[e] a ⁴ [ā]char[i]yaśa ṇātikā te ya[thāraha]m [pava]-
 19 titaviye (O) esā [po]rā[nā pa]kiti ⁵ d[īgh]ā cha (P) [he]me[va] śa e ā
 20 [cha] ya vati[tav]iye (Q) hevaṁ [dhaṁm]e ⁶ Devāṇampi
 21 [va]m kaṭaviye (R) ḍeṇa [likhita]m
 22 [pika]reṇa ⁸

¹ e Bühler.² I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.³ [v]e Bühler.⁴ am Bühler.⁵ [pak]iti Bühler.⁶ hevaṁ [m]e Bühler.⁷ [y]e Bühler. Restore piyasa.⁸ This word is written in Kharōṣṭhī characters.





IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवादसवसाभिसितेना
- 2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीविकेहि

- 1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvādasa-[vasābhisitenā]¹
- 2 [iyam Nigoha]-kubhā¹ dī[nā ājivikehi]¹

TRANSLATION

✓ By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyan-cave² was given to the Ājivikas.³

SECOND CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
- 2 डसवसाभिसितेना इयं
- 3 कुभा खलतिकपवतसि
- 4 दिना आजीविकेहि

- 1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvā-
- 2 dasa-vasābhisitenā iyam
- 3 kubhā **Khalatika-pavatasi**
- 4 dinā [ājivi]kehi⁴

TRANSLATION

✓ By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the **Khalatika mountain** was given to the Ājivikas.

¹ The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

² This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f.).

³ The Ājivika sect was founded by Gōśāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvira. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājivikas to have been a Vaishṇava sect; see IA, 20. 361 f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21. 399 ff., and IA, 41. 90, 286 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 248, n. 139, and Charpentier in JRAS, 1913. 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājivikas' in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁴ The bracketed letters are effaced; cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *ājivikehi*; see the plate in IA, 20. 365, D.

THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाज पियदसी एकुनवी-
- 2 सतिवसाभिसिते जलघो-
- 3 सागमयात् मे इयं कुभा
- 4 सुपिये ख दि-
- 5 ना .

- 1 lāja Piyadasī ekunavi-
- 2 sati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
- 3 [sāgama]thāta [me] i[yaṁ kubhā]
- 4 su[p]i[y]e Kha¹ [di]-
- 5 nā²

TRANSLATION

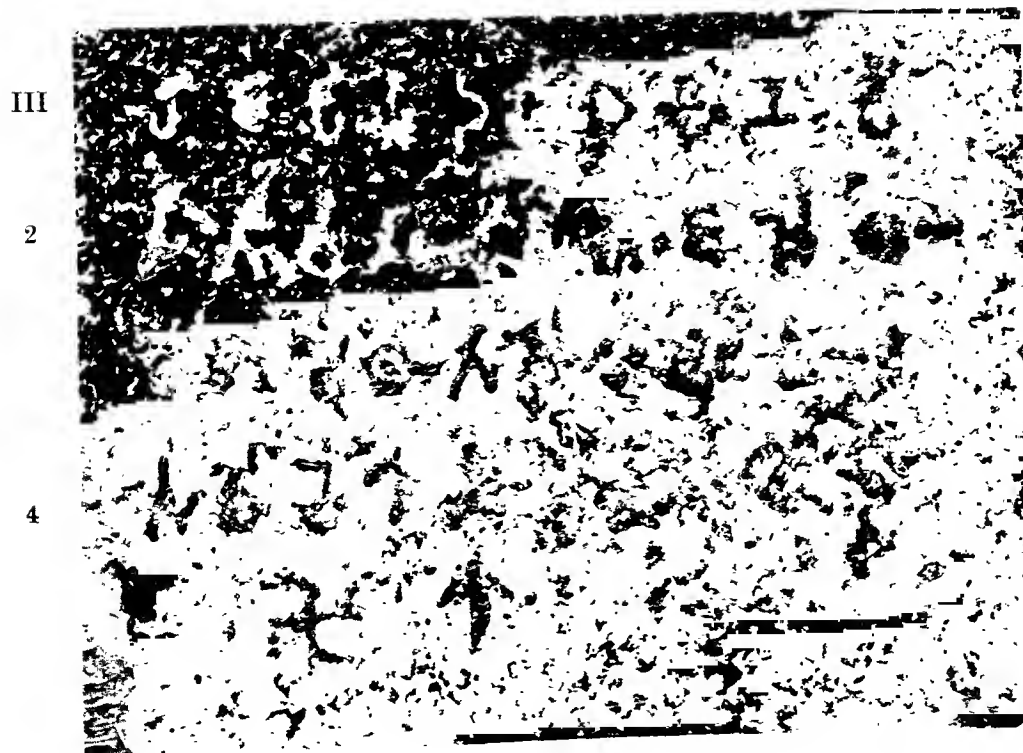
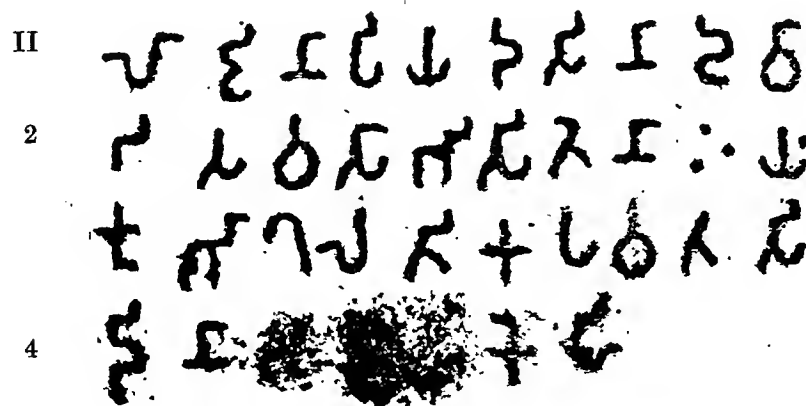
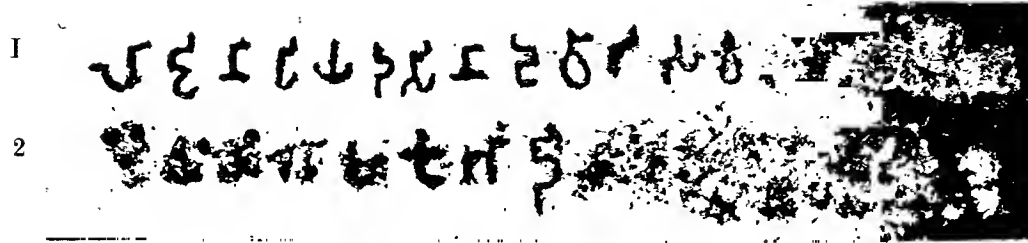
When king Priyadarśin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Kha[latika mountain] was given by me³ for (shelter during) the rainy season.⁴

¹ Restore *Khalatika-pavatasi* in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above.

² The end of the inscription is marked by a *svastika* and a dagger, and by a fish below them.

³ This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words *lāja* to °*site* are nominatives absolute.

⁴ Literally: 'for the sake (*athāta* = Skt. *arthataḥ* in the sense of *arthāya*?) of the approach of the roar of waters'. Cf. *vāsha-nishidiyāye*, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274).



APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	iy[am]	dhamma-lipī			Devānaṃpriyena
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	iyam	dhamma-lipī			Devānaṃpiyenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	[aya]	dhrama-dipi			Devanapriasa
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	ayi	dhra[ma]-dīp[i]			Devanaṃ[priye]na
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	.	.	[si pava]tasi	[D]e[v]ā[na]ṃp[īy]	...
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(A)	iyam	dhamma-lipī	Khepi[m]galasi	pavatasi	Devānaṃpiyena

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasinā	rāñā	lekh[ā]pitā	(B)	[i]dha	na	kimchi	jīvaṃ	ārabhitpā
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadas[i]nā		[lekhit]ā	(B)	[h]idā	no	kichhi	jive	ālabhitu
<i>Shāh.</i>		rañō	likhapitu	(B)	hida	no	kich[i]	jive	ara[bhitu]
<i>Mān.</i>	Priya[dra]sina	rajina	li[khapita]	(B)	hi[da]	no	kichhi	ji[ve]	ara[bhitu]
<i>Dhau.</i>	.....	[nā lājina]	li[khā]	.	.	.	.	[i]vaṃ	ālabhitu
<i>Ṣau.</i>	Piyadasinā	lājina	likhāpitā	(B)	hida	no	kichhi	jīvaṃ	ālabhi[t]u

<i>Gir.</i>	prajūhitavyaṃ	(C)	na	cha	samājo	katavyo	(D)	bahukaṃ	hi	dosam	
<i>Kāl.</i>	pajohitaviye	(C)	no	pi	ch[ā]	samāje	kaṭaviye	(D)	bahuk[ā]	hi	dosā
<i>Shāh.</i>	[p]rayuhotave	(C)	no	pi	ch[a]	sama[ja]	kaṭava	(D)	ba[hu]ka	[hi]	dosha
<i>Mān.</i>	pra[johi]taviye	(C)	no	pi	[cha]	samaj[e]	kaṭaviye	(D)	bahu[ka]	hi	[dosha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	pajo[h]	(C)	[no	pi	cha	sam]ā[je]	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Ṣau.</i>	pajohitaviye	(C)	no	pi	cha	samāje	kaṭaviye	(D)	bahukaṃ	hi	dosam

<i>Gir.</i>	samājamhi	pasati	Devānaṃpriyo	Priyadasī	rājā		(E)	asti
<i>Kāl.</i>	samājasā		Devān[am]piye	Pi[ya]dasī	lājā	dakhati	(E)	athi
<i>Shāh.</i>	sa[maya]spi		Devanapriy[e]	Priadraśi	ray[a	da]khati	(E)	[a]sti
<i>Mān.</i>	[samajasa		Devanaṃpriye]	Priyadraśi	raja	[da]kha[ti]	(E)	asti
<i>Dhau.</i>	[samā]ja . .	[d]					(E)	....
<i>Ṣau.</i>	samājasa	drakhati	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasī	lājā		(E)	athi

<i>Gir.</i>	pi	tu	ekachā	samājā	sādhu-matā	Devānaṃpriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	ch[ā]	e]katiyā	samājā	sādh[u]-matā	Devānaṃpiyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	chu	ekatia	samaye	sasu-mate	Devanapiasa
<i>Mān.</i>	[pi	chu	eka]tiya	samaja	sa[dhu]-mata	Devanapriyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	[pi	chu]	.... [t]i[y]ā	[sam]ā[jā]	s[ā]dhu-matā	Dev
<i>Ṣau.</i>	pi	chu	ekatiyā	samājā	sādhu-matā	Devānaṃpiyasa

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	(F) purā	mahānas[amhi]	Devānaṃpriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasis[ā]	lājine	(F) [p]ule	mahānasasi	Devānaṃpiyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priadraśisa	raño	(F) pura	mahana[sas]i	[Devana]pr[i]asa
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadraśi[sā]	rajine	(F) pura	maha[nasa]si	[Devana]pri[ya]sa
<i>Dhau.</i>	[Piyadasine	lā]j[ine]	(F)	[mah]	
<i>Ṣau.</i>	Piyadrasine	lājine	(F) puluvaṃ	mahā[nasa]si	Devānaṃpiyasa

<i>Gir.</i>	Priy[a]dasino	rāño	anudivasam	bahūni	prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasisā	lājin[e]	anudivasam	bahuni	pāta-sahasāni
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priadraśisa	raño	anudivaso	bahuni	pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani
<i>Mān.</i>	Pri[yadra]śisa	rajine	anudiva[sa]	ba]huni	praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani
<i>Dhau.</i>	Piy[a]			[n]i	[p]āna-[sa]ta
<i>Ṣau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	anudivasam	bah[ū]ni	pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni

<i>Gir.</i>	ārabhisu	sūpāthāya	(G) se	aja	yadā	ayaṃ	dha[m]ma-lip[i]
<i>Kāl.</i>	alambhiyisu	supaṭhāy[e]	(G) se	i[d]āni	ya[dā]	iyam	dhamma-lipi
<i>Shāh.</i>	[arabhi]yis[u]	supaṭhay[e]	(G) s[o]	i]dani	yada	aya	dhrama-dipi
<i>Mān.</i>	[arabh]isu	supa[thra]ye	(G) s[e]	. . . . .	..[da]	ayi	dhrama-dipi
<i>Dhau.</i>	[ā]labhiyisu	sūpāthāy[e]	(G) se	a[ja]	adā	[iyam]	dha[m]ma-lipī
<i>Ṣau.</i>	ālabhiyisu	sūpa[th]āye	(G) se	aja	adā	iyam	dhamma-lipī

<i>Gir.</i>	likhitā	tī	eva	prāṇā	ārabhare	sūpāthāya	dvo
<i>Kāl.</i>	lekhitā	tadā	tiṃni	yevā	pānāni	alabhi[yaṃ]ti	duve
<i>Shāh.</i>	likhita	tada	trayo	vo	praṇa	hamñamti[i]	majura
<i>Mān.</i>	likhi[ta]	ta[da]	ti[ni]	y[eva]	pra[ṇa]ni	[ara]bh[iyaṃti]	du[v]e [2]
<i>Dhau.</i>	likhitā	tim			[āla]bh[iy] . . . . .		. . . . .
<i>Ṣau.</i>	likhitā	tiṃni	yeva	pānāni	āla[m]bhiyaṃti		duve

<i>Gir.</i>	morā	eko	mago	so	pi	mago	na	dhruvo
<i>Kāl.</i>	majūl[ā]	eke	mige	se	pi	[chū]	mige	no
<i>Shāh.</i>	duv[i] 2	mrugo	1	so	pi	mrugo	no	dhruva[m]
<i>Mān.</i>	majura	[e]k[e]	m[r]ig[e]	s[e]	p[i]	chu	mrig[e]	no
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>Ṣau.</i>	majūlā	eke	mige	se	pi	chu	mige	no

<i>Gir.</i>	(H) ete	pi	trī	prāṇā	pachhā	na	ārabhisare
<i>Kāl.</i>	(H) e[t]āni	pi	ch[u]	tini	pānā[n]i	no	alābhi[y]isa[m]ti
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H) eta	pi		praṇa	trayo	pacha	na
<i>Mān.</i>	(H) [e]tani	pi	chu	[tini]	praṇani	pacha	no
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	[t]iṃni	pānāni	pachhā	n[o]	āl[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i]
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(H) etāni	pi	chu	tiṃni	pānāni	pachhā	no

SECOND ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) sarvata	vijitamhi	Devānaṃpriyasa	Piyadasino	rāño
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) sav[a]tā	vijitasi	Devānaṃpiyas[ā]	Piyadasis[ā]	lājine
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) sav[r]atra	vijite	[De]va[nam]priyasa	Priyadraśisa	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) sa[vatra	vi]jitasi	Devanapriyasa	Priyadraśisa	rajine
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) [sa]vata	[v]i[ji]tasi	[D]e[v]ānaṃpiyasa	Piyadasi[ne	l]
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(A) savata	vijitasi	Devānaṃpiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine

<i>Gir.</i>	evamapi	prachamtesu	yathā	Choḍā	Pāḍā	Satiyaputo
<i>Kāl.</i>	ye cha	am̐tā	[a]thā	Choḍā	Paṁ[ḍi]yā	Sātiyaputo
<i>Shāh.</i>	y[e] cha	[a]m̐ta	yatha	[Choḍa]	Paṁḍiya	Satiyaputro
<i>Mān.</i>	ye cha	ata	atha	[Choḍa]	Pa[m̐ḍi]ya	Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra]
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	. . .	[athā]	. . .	. . .	. . .
<i>Ḥau.</i>	e vā pi	am̐tā	athā	Choḍā	Paṁḍiyā	Satiyapu[t]e

<i>Gir.</i>	Ketalaputo	ā	Tam̐bapam̐nī	Am̐tiyako	Yona-rājā	ye vā pi
<i>Kāl.</i>	Ke[lala]puto		Tam̐ba[pa]m̐ni	Am̐tiyoge	[n]āma	Yona-lājā ye chā am̐ne
<i>Shāh.</i>	Keraḍaputro		Tam̐bapam̐nī	Am̐tiyo[k]o	nama	Yona-raja ye cha am̐ne
<i>Mān.</i>	Keralaputra		[Tam̐]bapaṇi	[A]tiyoge	nama	Yona-[raja] ye cha [a] . .
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . .	[t]iyoke	nāma	Yo[na]-lājā [e] vā [p]i
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . .	Am̐tiyoke	nāma	Yona-lājā [e] vā pi

<i>Gir.</i>	tasa	Am̐tiy[a]kas[a]	sām̐p[am̐]	rājāno	sarvatra	Devānam̐priyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	tas[ā]	A]m̐tiyogasā	sā[ma]m̐tā	lā[j]āno	[sa]vatā	Devānam̐piyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tasa	Am̐tiyokasa	samaṁta	rajano	savratra	Devanam̐priyasa
<i>Mān.</i>	. . sa	. . . . . [gasa]	samata	ra[jane	sa]vratra	. . . . . priyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	[ta]sa	Am̐tiyo[ka]sa	sāmaṁtā	lājāne	savat[a]	D]evā[naṁp]i[ye]na
<i>Ḥau.</i>	tasa	Am̐tiyokasa	sāmaṁtā	lājāne	savata	Devānam̐piyena

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	dve	chikīchha	katā	manusa-chikīchhā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasisā	lājine	duve	chikisakā	kaṭā	manusa-chikisā	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priyadraśisa	raño	du[vi] 2	chik[i]sa	[kr]i[ṭa]	manuśa-chikisa	. .
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadraśisa	rajine	[duve 2]	chikisa	[ka]ṭa	manuśa-chik[isa]	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	P[i]yadasi[nā]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[s]ā	cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	Piyadasinā	lāji	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[ch]ikisā	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	pasu-chikīchhā	cha	(B) osuḍhāni	cha	yāni	m[a]nusopagān[i]	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	pasu-chikisā	chā	(B) osadhīn[i]			manusopagāni	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pa[śu-ch]ikisa	[cha]	(B) [o]sha[ḍha]ni			manuśopakani	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	paśu-[chi]kisa	cha	(B) osha[ḍha]ni			manu . . . ka[ni]	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā]	cha	(B) . . . dhāni	ān[i]	m]u[nisopa]gāni		
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pasu-chikisā	cha	(B) osadhāni	āni	munisopagāni		

<i>Gir.</i>	pasopagāni	cha	yata	yata	nāsti	sarvatrā	hārāpitāni	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	pasopagāni	chā	a[ta]tā		n[a]th[i]	sa]vatā	[h]ālāpitā	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	paśopakani	chā	yat[r]a	yatra	nasti	savatra	harapita	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	pa [kani	cha	atra	atra	nasti	savra]tra	[ha]rapi[ta	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	pasu-opagān[i]	cha	atata		na[thi	savata	hā]lāpit[ā]	cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pasu-opagāni	cha	atata		nathi	sava[ta]	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	ropāpitāni	cha	(C)	mūlāni	cha	phalāni	cha	yata yatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	lo[p]āpit[ā]	chā	(C) [e]vamevā	mulāni	chā	phalāni	chā	a[ta]t[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	vuta	cha						
<i>Mān.</i>	ropa[pita]	cha	(C) e[va]meva	mulani	[cha]	phalani	[cha]	a[tra a]tra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[lo]pāp[i]tā	[cha]	(C)	mū[l]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	cha	atata

<i>Gir.</i>	nāsti	sarvata	hārāpitāni	cha	rop[ā]pitāni	cha	(D)	paṁthesū	kūpā
<i>Kāl.</i>	nathi	savatā	hālāp[i]tā	chā	lopāpitā	[ch]ā	(D)	ma[g]e[s]u	[lu]khāni
<i>Shāh.</i>									
<i>Mān.</i>	[na]sti	[savra]tra	harapita	cha	ro[pa]pita	cha	(D)	ma[geshu]	ruchhani
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	v[a]t[a]	hālāpitā	[cha]	lo[p]āpitā	cha	(D)	ma[g]e[su]	udu[pānāni]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	nathi	s[a]vatra	hālāpitā	cha	lopāpitā	cha	(D)	ma[gesu]	udupānāni
<hr/>									
<i>Gir.</i>	cha	khānāpitā	vrachhā	cha	ropāpit[ā]	paribhogāya	pasu-manusānaṁ		
<i>Kāl.</i>		lopitāni	ud[u]pānā[n]i	chā	khānāpitāni	paṭibhogāye	pasu-muni[sā]naṁ		
<i>Shāh.</i>		(C)	kupa	cha	khanapita	pratibh[o]gaye	paśu-manuśanaṁ		
<i>Mān.</i>	[ropa]pi[tani]	. . . . .	[pi]tani	paṭibhogaye	paśu-m[uni]śanaṁ				
<i>Dhau.</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha	lopā[p]itāni	p[a]ṭibhogāye	. . . . .	[na]m		
<i>Ḥau.</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

THIRD ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiyo	Piyadasi	r[ā]jā	evaṁ	āha	(B)	dbādasa-
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	De[vā]naṁpiye	Piyadasi	lājā	h[e]vaṁ	āhā	(B)	du[v]āḍasa-
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanaṁpriyo	Priyadraśi	raja		ahati	(B)	badaya-
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	eva	a[ha]	(B)	duva[ḍa]śa-
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	duvādasa-
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(A)	Devā[na]m̐piye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	duvādasa-

<i>Gir.</i>	vāsābhisitena	mayā	idaṁ	āñ[a]pitaṁ	(C)	sarvata	vijite	mama
<i>Kāl.</i>	v[a]sābhisitena	me	iyaṁ	ānapayite	(C)	savatā	vijitasi	[mama]
<i>Shāh.</i>	vashabh[i]si[tena]	. . . . .	[a]napi[taṁ]	(C)	savatra	ma[a]	vijite	
<i>Mān.</i>	vashabhisetena	me	iyaṁ	[aṇapayit]e	(C)	savat[r]a	vijitasi	. . . . .
<i>Dhau.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	iy[a]m̐	ānāp[ay]i	. . . . .	[ta v]i[j]it[a]si	m[e]	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	iyaṁ	[ā]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	yutā	cha	rājūke	cha	prādesike	cha	paṁchasu	paṁchasu	vāsesu
<i>Kāl.</i>	yutā		laj[ū]k[e]		pādesike		pa[m]cha[s]u	paṁchasu	vasesu
<i>Shāh.</i>	yuta		rajuko		pradeśi[ka]		paṁcha]shu	paṁchashu	5 vasheshu
<i>Mān.</i>	. . ta		[ra]ju . .		pradeśike		[paṁ]chashu	paṁ[chashu]	5 vashesh[u]
<i>Dhau.</i>	yut[ā]		la[j]u[k]e		paṁchasu		paṁchasu	vasesu	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .		cha	pād[e]sike	cha	paṁchasu	paṁchasu	vasesu	

<i>Gir.</i>	anusaṁy[ā]na[m̐]	n]iyātu	etāyeva	athāya	imāya	dhaṁmānusastīya
<i>Kāl.</i>	[a]nusa[m̐]yānaṁ	nikham[am̐]tu	etāye vā	a[th]āye	imāya	dhaṁmanusasthiyā
<i>Shāh.</i>	anusaṁyanaṁ	nik[r]amatu	etisa	vo karaṇa	imisa	dhaṁmanuśastīye
<i>Mān.</i>	anusa[m̐]yana[m̐]	nikramatu	etaye va	athraye	imaye	dhramanuśastīye
<i>Dhau.</i>	anusayānaṁ	nikhamāvū				
<i>Ḥau.</i>	anusayānaṁ	nikhamāvū				

<i>Gir.</i>	yathā	añāya	pi	kaṁmāy[a]		
<i>Kāl.</i>	yathā	am̐[nāye]	pi	kaṁmāye		
<i>Shāh.</i>	[tha]	añāye	pi	kraṁmaye		
<i>Mān.</i>	ya[tha]	añāye	pi	krama[n̐e]		
<i>Dhau.</i>	athā	am̐nāye	pi	[ka]m̐[ma]ne	hevaṁ	imā[y]e [dhaṁ]mānus[ath]iy[e]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	athā	am̐nāye	pi	kaṁma[n̐e]	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	(D)	[s]ādhu	mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā	mitra-saṁstuta-ñātinaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	(D)	sādhu	māta-pitisu	sususā mīta-saṁthuta-nātikyān[am] chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(D)	sadhu	mata-pitushu	suśrusha mitra-saṁst[u]ta-ñatikanam
<i>Mān.</i>	(D)	[sadhu	mata]-pi[tu]shu	[s]u[śrusha mitra]-sa[m]stuta-ñatikanam cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	(D)	[s]ād[h]u	māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su	su[s]ūs[ā m] nātisu cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	[s]ā mīta-saṁthute[s] . . . nātisu ch[a]

<i>Gir.</i>	bāmbhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ	sādh[u d]ānaṁ prāṇānaṁ sādhu	anāraṁbho
<i>Kāl.</i>	baṁbhana-sama[nā]naṁ [chā]	sādhu d[ā]ne pānānaṁ	anālaṁbh[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[naṁ]	. . . . . [pra]ṇanaṁ	[anaraṁ]bho
<i>Mān.</i>	bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[m]	sadhu dane praṇana	[anara]bhe
<i>Dhau.</i>	baṁbhana-samanehi	sādhu dāne jivesu	anālaṁbhe
<i>Ḥau.</i>	baṁbhana-samanehi	sādhu dāne jivesu	[a]nālaṁbhe

<i>Gir.</i>	apa-vyayatā	apa-bhāḍatā	sādhu (E) parisā	pi	yute
<i>Kāl.</i>	sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā	[a]pa-[bha]m[ḍa]t[ā]	sādhu (E) palisā	pi	cha yutāni
<i>Shāh.</i>	sadhu apa-vayata	apa-bhaṁḍata	sadhu (E) pari	[pi]	yutani
<i>Mān.</i>	sadhu apa-[va]yata	apa-bha[ḍata]	sadhu (E) parisha	pi	cha yutani
<i>Dhau.</i>	sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā]	apa-bh[am]ḍatā	sādhu (E) p[a]lisā	pi	cha . . . [nas]i
<i>Ḥau.</i>	sādhu	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	āṇapayisati	gaṇanāyaṁ	hetuto	cha	vyamjanato	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ga]ṇanasi	anap[a]yisaṁti	hetuvatā	chā	viyamjanat[e]	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	[ga]ṇanasi	aṇapeśaṁti	hetuto	cha	vamjanato	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	ga[ṇa]nasi	[aṇapa]yisa[ti]	he[tute]	cha	vi[yamja]nate	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	y[u]t[ān]i	ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti	[he]tut[e]	ch[a]	vi[yamja]	. . . . .
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	[y]i	hetute	cha	viyamjanate	cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	atikātāṁ	aṁt[a]raṁ	bahūni	vāsa-satāni	vaḍhito	eva
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	atika[m]tāṁ	a[m]ta[la]m	bahuni	vasa-satāni	v[adh]it[e]	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	atikratāṁ	aṁtaraṁ	bahuni	vasha-śatani	vaḍhito	vo
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	atikratāṁ	ata[raṁ]	bahuni	vasha-śa[ta]ni	vadhite	vo
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	atikamtaṁ	aṁtalaṁ	bahūni	vasa-satāni	vaḍhite	va
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(A)	a[t]jikamtaṁ	aṁtalaṁ	bahūni	vasa-satāni	vaḍhite	va

<i>Gir.</i>	prāṇāraṁbho	vihiṁsā	cha	bhūtānaṁ	ñātisu	a[s]aṁpratipatī
<i>Kāl.</i>	pā[nā]laṁbhe	vi[h]isā	chā	bhutānaṁ	nātinā	asaṁ[pa]ṭip[a]ti
<i>Shāh.</i>	praṇaraṁbho	vihisa	cha	bhuta[na]m	ñatina	asaṁpaṭipati
<i>Mān.</i>	praṇaraṁ[bh]e	vihi[sa]	cha	bhutanam	ñatina	asapa[t]ipati
<i>Dhau.</i>	pānā[la]m̐bhe	vihiṣā	cha	bhūtānaṁ	nātisu	asaṁpaṭipati
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pānālaṁbhe	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṁ	asaṁpratipatī	(B) ta	aja	Devānaṁpriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	samana-b[am]bhanānaṁ	asaṁpaṭipati	(B) s[e]	ajā	Devānaṁpiyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m]	a[sam]paṭipati	(B) [so	aja	Devana]mpriyasa
<i>Mān.</i>	śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana	asa[m]paṭipati	(B) se	aja	[De]vanapriyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	samana-bābha[ne]su	asaṁpaṭipati	(B) se	aja	Devānaṁpiyasa
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	(B) se	aja	Devānaṁpiyasa

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	dhamma-charaṇena	[bhe]rī-ghoso	aho
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	dhamm[a]-chal[an]enā	bheli-ghose	aho
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priyadraśisa	[raño]	dhrama-charaṇena	bheri-ghosha	aho
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadraśine	rajine	dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na	bheri-ghoshe	aho
<i>Dhau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	dhamma-chalanena	bheli-ghosaṁ	a[h]o
<i>Fau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	dhamma-chalanena	bhe[l]	.

<i>Gir.</i>	dhamma-ghoso	vimāna-darsaṇā	cha hasti-da[sa]ṇā cha	agi-kh[a]m̐dhāni
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-ghose	vimana-dasan[ā]	[ha]thini	agi-kam̐dh[ā]ni
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-ghosha	vimanana[m̐]draśanaṁ	[a]stina	joti-kam̐dhani
<i>Mān.</i>	dhama-ghoshe	vimana-draśana	asti[ne]	agi-kam̐dhan[i]
<i>Dhau.</i>	dhamma-[gho]saṁ	vimāna-dasanaṁ	hathīni	[a]gi-kam̐dhāni
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	[a]ñāni	cha	divyāni	rūpāni	dasayitpā	janaṁ	(C) yārise
<i>Kāl.</i>		añnāni	chā	divyāni	lupāni	dasayitu	jana[sa]	(C) [ā]disā
<i>Shāh.</i>		añani	cha	divani	rupani	draśayitu	janasa	(C) yadiśaṁ
<i>Mān.</i>		aña[ni]	cha	dī[vani]	rupani	draśeti	janasa	(C) [a]diśe
<i>Dhau.</i>		añnāni	cha	[dī]vi[y]āni	lūpān[i]	dasayitu	munisānaṁ	(C) ād[i]se
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	divi[y]āni	lūpāni	drasayitu	munisānaṁ	(C) ādise

<i>Gir.</i>	bahūhi	v[āsa]-satehi	na	bhūta-puve	tārise	aja	vaḍhite
<i>Kāl.</i>	ba[h]u[hi]	v[asa]-[sa]tehi	nā	huta-puluve	tādise	ajā	vaḍhite
<i>Shāh.</i>	bahuhi	vasha-śatehi	na	bhuta-pruve	tadiśe	aja	vaḍhite
<i>Mān.</i>	bahuhi	vasha-śa[tehi]	na	[hu]ta-pr[u]ve	tadiśe	[a]ja	vaḍhite
<i>Dhau.</i>	b[a]hūhi	vasa-sa[t]ehi	no	hūta-puluve	tādise	aja	va[ḍhite]
<i>Fau.</i>	bahūhi	vasa-sate	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	Devānaṁpriyasa	Priyadasino	rāño	dhammānusastiyā	anāraṁ[bh]o
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānaṁpiyasā	Piyadasine	[l]ājine	dhammanusathiye	a[n]ālambhe
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanaṁpriyasa	Priyadraśisa	raño	dhrammanuśa[sti]ya	anaraṁbho
<i>Mān.</i>	[De]vanapriyasa	Priyadraśine	rajine	dhramanuśastiya	anarabhe
<i>Dhau.</i>	[De]vānaṁpiyasa	Piy[a]dasine	lājin[e]	dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā	an[ā]lāmbhe
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	dhammānusathiyā	anālambhe

<i>Gir.</i>	prāṇānaṁ	avihīsā	bhūtānaṁ	ñātīnaṁ	sam̐paṭipatī	brahmaṇa-samaṇānaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	pānānaṁ	avihīsā	bhutānaṁ	nāti[naṁ]	sam̐paṭipati	baṁbha[na-sa]manānaṁ
<i>Shāh.</i>	praṇa[naṁ]	avihisa	bhutanāṁ	ñatina[m̐]	sampa[ṭi]pati	[bra]maṇa-śramaṇana
<i>Mān.</i>	praṇana	avihisa	bhutana	ñatina	sam̐paṭipati	bamaṇa-śramaṇana
<i>Dhau.</i>	pānānaṁ	avihīsā	bhūtānaṁ	nātisu	sam̐paṭipat[i]	sama[na-b[ā]bhanesu
<i>Fau.</i>	pānānaṁ	avihīsā	bhūtānaṁ	nātisu	[sampa]	.

<i>Gir.</i>	sam̐paṭipatī	mātari	pitari	[s]usrusā	thaira-susrusā	(D)	esa	añe
<i>Kāl.</i>	sam̐paṭipati	mātā-pitisu	susūsā			(D)	ese	chā am̐ne
<i>Shāh.</i>	sam̐paṭipati	mata-pitushu		vudhana[m̐]	suśrusa	(D)	e[ta]	añam̐
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[m̐]paṭipati	mata-pitushu	suśru[sha]	vudhrana	[su]śrusa	(D)	eshe	añ[e]
<i>Dhau.</i>	sam̐paṭipati	m[ā]t[i]-pitu-	susūsā	vu[ḍha]-	susūsā	(D)	esa	am̐ne
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	(D)	esa	am̐ne

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	bahuvidhe	[dha]m̐ma-charaṇe	va[dhi]te	(E) vadhayisati	cheva
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	ba[h]uvidhe	dham̐ma-chalane	vadh[i]te	(E) vadhiyisati	chevā
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	bahuvidham̐	dhrama-charaṇam̐	vaḍhitam̐	(E) vaḍhiṣati	cha yo
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	bahuvidhe	dhrama-charaṇe	vadhrite	(E) vadhrayiṣati	yeva
<i>Dhau.</i>	cha	ba[h]uvidhe	dh[a]m̐ma-chalane	vaḍhite	(E) vaḍhayis[a]ti	cheva
<i>Ḥau.</i>	cha	bahuvidhe	dham̐ma-chalane	vaḍhite	(E) va[dhay]i	.

<i>Gir.</i>	Devānam̐priyo	[Pri*]ya[da]si	rājā		dham̐ma-[cha]raṇam̐	idam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānam̐piy[e]	Piyadasi	lāja	ima[m̐]	dha[m̐]ma-chalanam̐	
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanam̐priyasa	Priyadraṣisa	raño		dhrama-charaṇam̐	ima[m̐]
<i>Mān.</i>	Devanapriye	Priyadraṣi	raja		dhama-[cha]raṇa	ima[m̐]
<i>Dhau.</i>	Devānam̐piye	Piyada[s]i	l[ā]jā		dham̐ma-chalanam̐	imam̐
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(F) putrā	cha	[p]otrā	cha	prapotrā	cha	Devānam̐priyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	(F) putā	cha	kaṁ natāle	chā	panātikyā	ch[ā]	Devānam̐piyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F) putra	pi	cha kaṁ nataro	cha	pranatika	cha	Devanam̐priya[sa]
<i>Mān.</i>	(F) [putra]	pi	cha ka natare	cha	paṇatika		De[va]napriyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F) putā	pi	chu nati		[panati] . .	[cha]	Devānam̐piyasa
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	[pra*]vadhayisaṁti		idam̐	[dha]m̐ma-charaṇam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	[pa]v[a]d̐hayisaṁti	ch[ev[a]		dham̐ma-chalanam̐
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priyadraṣisa	raño	pra[va]d̐h[e]ṣam̐ti	[yo]		dhrama-charaṇam̐
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadaṣine	rajine	pavaḍhayiṣam̐ti	yo		dhrama-charaṇa
<i>Dhau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	pavaḍhayisaṁti	yeva		dham̐ma-chalanam̐
<i>Ḥau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	pavaḍhayi[sa]m̐[t]i	[y]e[va]		dham̐ma-cha[la] . .

<i>Gir.</i>		āva savaṭa-kapā	dham̐mam̐hi	sīlam̐hi	tisam̐to	[dha]m̐mam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	i[m̐am̐]	āva-kapa[m̐]	dham̐masi	s[ī]lasi	chā	chiṭhit[u]
<i>Shāh.</i>	ima[m̐]	ava]-kapa	dhrame	śīle	cha	tiṭhiti
<i>Mān.</i>	imam̐	[a]va-kapam̐	dhrame	śīle	cha	[chi]thitu
<i>Dhau.</i>	imam̐	ā-k[a]pam̐	dham̐masi	[s]ilasi	ch[a]	ch[i]ṭh[itu]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	anusāsisaṁti	(G) [e]sa	hi	seṭhe	kaṁme	ya	dham̐mānusāsanaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	anusāsisaṁti	(G) ese	hi	seṭhe	kaṁm[am̐]	am̐	dham̐mānusāsanaṁ
<i>Shāh.</i>	anuśaṣisaṁti	(G) eta	h[i]	s]reṭham̐	k[r]ama[m̐]	yam̐	dhraman[u]śaṣana[m̐]
<i>Mān.</i>	anu[śa]ṣisaṁti	(G) eshe	hi	sreṭhe		a[m̐]	dhramanuśaṣana
<i>Dhau.</i>	[a]nus[ā]sisam̐[t]i	(G) esa	h[i]	se[ṭhe	kaṁ]me	yā	dham̐mānusāsana
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-charaṇe	pi	na	[bha]vati	asīlasa	(I) [ta]	imam̐hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-chalane	pi	chā	no	hoti	asīlasā	(I) se im[a]s[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H) dhrama-charaṇa[m̐]	pi	cha	na	bhoti	aśīlasa	(I) so imisa
<i>Mān.</i>	(H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]	pi	[cha]	na	hoti	aśi[la]sa	(I) se imasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-chalane	pi	chu	no	hoti	asīlasa	(I) se imasa
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-chalane	pi	chu	no	ho[t]i	.	.

[illegible]

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	param	cha	tena	y[a]	me[a]	pacham	āva	saṁvaṭa-kapā
<i>Kāl.</i>	[chā]	palam	[chā]	tehi	[ye]	apatiye	[m]e	āva-kapam	
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	para[m]	cha	[tena	y]e	me	apacha	vraکشامتی	ava-kapam
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	para	cha	t[e]na	ye	apatiye	me	[a]va-[ka]pam	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]	. . . . m	cha	t[e]na	ye	apatiye	me	āva-kapam	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	va	*palam	cha	te	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	anuvatisare	tathā	so	sukataṁ	kāsati	(F)	yo	tu	eta	desaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	tathā	anuvāṭisa[m]ti	s[e]	s[u]kaṭam	kachham[t]i	(F)	e	chu	het[ā]	desaṁ
<i>Shāh.</i>	tatha	ye an[u]vāṭisaṁti	te	s[u]kiṭa[m]	kashaṁti	(F)	yo	chu	ato	. . kaṁ
<i>Mān.</i>	tatha	anuvāṭisati	se	sukaṭa	ka[sha]ti	(F)	ye	[chu]	atra	deśa
<i>Dhau.</i>	tathā	anuvatisaṁti	s[e]	sukaṭam	kachh[am]ti	(F)	e		heta	d[esa]m
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	pi	hāpesati	so	[du]kataṁ	kāsati	(G)	sukaraṁ	hi	pāpa[m]		
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	hāpa[y]i[sat]	i	s[e]	dukaṭaṁ	kachhati	(G)	p[ā]pe	hi	nāmā	supadālaye
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	hapeśadi	so	dukaṭaṁ	kashati	(G)	papaṁ	h[i]	sukaraṁ		
<i>Mān.</i>	pi	hapeśati	se	dukaṭa	kashati	(G)	pape	hi	nama	supadarave	
<i>Dhau.</i>	pi	hāpayisat[i]	se	dukaṭaṁ	kachhati	(G)	pā[p]e	hi	[nāma]	supadālaye	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	s[u]	padālaye

<i>Gir.</i>	(H)	atikātaraṁ	am̐taraṁ	na	bhūta-pruvaraṁ	dham̐ma-mahāmātā	nāma	
<i>Kāl.</i>	(H)	se	atikam̐taṁ	am̐taraṁ	no	huta-puluva	dham̐[ma]-mahāmātā	nāmā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H)	sa	atikrataṁ	atara	no	bhuta-pruva	dhram̐ma-ma[ha]ma[tra]	nama
<i>Mān.</i>	(H)	s[e]	atikrata[m̐]	a[m̐]tara[m̐]	na	bhuta-pruva	dhrama-[ma]hamatra	nama
<i>Dhau.</i>	(H)	s[e]	at[ikaṁ]taṁ	am̐taraṁ	no	hūta-puluvā	dham̐ma-mahāmātā	nāma
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(H)	se	[a]	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(I)	ta	m[a]yā	traidasa-vāsābhi[s]	i[tena]	dham̐m[a]-mahāmātā	katā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(I)	t[e]	dasa-vasābh[i]	sitenā	mamayā	dham̐ma-mahāmāt[ā]	ka[t[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I)	so	todaśa-vashabhisitena	maya	dhrama-mahamatra	kiṭa	
<i>Mān.</i>	(I)	se	treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena	maya	dhrama-mahamatra	kaṭa	
<i>Dhau.</i>	(I)	se	tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena	me	dham̐ma-mahāmātā	nāma	kaṭa
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(Ḥ)	te	sava-pāsaṁdesu	vyāpatā	dhāmadhiṣṭānāya	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(Ḥ)	[te]	sav[a]-pāsaṁ[de]su	viyā[pa]tā	dham[m]ādhiṭhā[nāye	ch]ā	dhamma-	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(Ḥ)	te	savra-prashaṁdesh[u]	vapaṭa	dhraṁmadhiṭhanaye	cha	dhrama-	
<i>Mān.</i>	(Ḥ)	te	savra-pa[sha]desha	vapuṭa	dhramadhiṭha[na]ye	cha	dhrama-	
<i>Dhau.</i>	(Ḥ)	te	sava-pāsaṁde[su]	v[i]y[āpaṭā]	dhammādhithān[ā]ye		dhamma-	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	[dha]m[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	[dha]m̐ma-yutasa	cha	Yona-K[a]m̐bo[ja]-
<i>Kāl.</i>	vadhīyā	hi[da]-sukhāye	vā	dham̐m[a]-yutas[ā]	Yona-Kam̐b[o]ja-		
<i>Shāh.</i>	vadhīya	hida-sukhaye	cha	dhrama-yutasa	Yona-Kam̐boya-		
<i>Mān.</i>	vadhriya	hida-sukhaye	cha	dh[r]ama-yutasa	Yona-Kam̐boja-		
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]dhiye	hita-sukhāye	[cha]	dham̐ma-yutas[a]	Yona-Kam̐bocha-		
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	ñātikā	sarvata	vyāpatā	te	(N) yo	ayaṃ	dhamma-nisrito	ti	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	nātikye	savatā	viyā[pa]tā		(N) e	īyaṃ	dhamma-nisite	ti	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	ñatika	savatra	viyapaṭa		(M) y[e]	ayaṃ	dh[r]ama-nisite	ti	va
<i>Mān.</i>	ñatike	savratra	viyapaṭa		(N) [e]	īyaṃ	dhrama-nisito	to	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	[nāt]i[su]	sava[t]a	v[i]yāpatā		(M) e	īyaṃ	dhamm[a-n]isite	ti	va
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	dāna-suyute	ti	[v]ā sav[a]tā	v[i]jitas[i]	mamā	[dha]mma-	
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	dhrama[dhitha]ne	ti	va	dana-s[a]yute	ti	va	savata	vijite
<i>Mān.</i>	.	dhramadhithane	ti	va	dana-sam̐yute	ti	va	savratra	vijitasi
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	dhammādhithāne	ti	va	dāna-sayute	va	sava-puṭhaviyaṃ	dha[m]ma-	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	[t]e	[dha]mma-mahāmātā	(O) etāya	athāya	ayaṃ	dhamma-
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	yutasi	viyāpatā	te	dhamma-m[a]hām[a]tā	(O) etāye	aṭhāye	[i]yaṃ	dhamma-	
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	yu[ta]si	viyapaṭa	te	dhrama-mahamatra	(O) etaye	aṭhaye	[a]yi	dhrama-	
<i>Mān.</i>	.	yutasi	vapaṭa	[te]	dhrama-mahamatra	(O) etaye	athraye	ayi	dhrama-	
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	yutasi	viyāpatā	ime	dhamma-mahām[ā]tā	(O) [i]m[ā]ye	aṭhāye	īyaṃ	dhamma-	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	lipi	likhitā	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	lipi	lekhitā	chi[la]-thitikyā	hotu	[tathā] cha	me	[pa]jā	[a]nuva[ta]tu		
<i>Shāh.</i>	dipi	nipista	ch[i]ra-thitika	bhot[u]	ta[tha] cha	[m]e	p[r]aja	anuvatatu		
<i>Mān.</i>	dipi	likhita	chira-ṭhitika	hotu	tatha	cha	me	praja	anuvātatu	
<i>Dhau.</i>	lip[i]	li[kh]i[tā]	chila-ṭhitik[ā]	ho]tu	t[athā] cha	me	pa[jā]	anu]vatatu		
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) [Devā]	. . . . .	[s]i rājā	evaṃ	āha	(B) atikrāt[a]m	aṃtara[m]		
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) Dev[ā]naṃpi[y]	e	Piyadas[i]	lājā	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) atikaṃtaṃ	aṃtalaṃ	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devanaṃpriyo		Priyadraśi	raya	eva	ahati	(B) atikrataṃ	aṃtara	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapriye		Priyadraśi	raja	[e]va[m]	aa	(B) atikrataṃ	ataraṃ	
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) Dev[ā]naṃpi]ye		Pi[yada]sī	lājā	[he]vaṃ	[ā]hā	(B) atikaṃ[taṃ a]m[ta]laṃ		
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(A) [na]ṃpiye		Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) atikaṃtaṃ	aṃtalaṃ	

<i>Gir.</i>	na	bhūta-pru[v]	.	[s]	.	[v]	.	[l]	.	atha-kaṃme	va	paṭivedanā	vā
<i>Kāl.</i>	no	huta-puluv[e]		sav[a]m̐	kalaṃ	aṭha-k[aṃ]me	[v]ā	[paṭ]i[veda]nā	vā				
<i>Shāh.</i>	na	bhuta-pruvaṃ		sava[m]	kala[m]	aṭha-kramaṃ	va	paṭivedana	va				
<i>Mān.</i>	na	huta-pruve		[sa]vraṃ	kala	athra-[krama]	va	[pa]ṭivedana	va				
<i>Dhau.</i>	no	[h]ū[ta]-puluve		s[a]vaṃ	kālaṃ	aṭha-ka[m]me	va	[pa]ṭiveda[n]ā	va				
<i>Ḥau.</i>	no	hūta-puluve		savaṃ	kālaṃ	aṭha-kaṃm[e]		paṭivedanā	va				

<i>Gir.</i>	(C) ta	mayā		evaṃ	kataṃ	(D) s[a]ve	kāle	bhumj[a]mānasa	me	
<i>Kāl.</i>	(C) s[e]	ma[may]ā		hevaṃ	kaṭe	(D) s[a]vaṃ	kālaṃ	adamānas[ā]	me	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(C) ta[m]	maya		eva[m]	kiṭa[m]	(D) savraṃ	kalaṃ	aśamanasa	me	
<i>Mān.</i>	(C) ta	maya		evaṃ	kiṭaṃ	(D) savra	kalaṃ	aśatasa	me	
<i>Dhau.</i>	(C) se	mamayā		kaṭe	(D) sa[va]m̐	[kālaṃ]	. . . .	[māna]sa	me	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(C) se	mamayā		kaṭe	(D) savam̐	kālaṃ	. . . . .	[sa m]e		

<i>Gir.</i>		orodhanamhi	gabhāgāramhi	vachamhi	va	vinītamhi	cha	uyānesu
<i>Kāl.</i>		olodhanasi	gabhāgālas[i]	va[chas]i		vin[itasi		u]y[ānasi]
<i>Shāh.</i>		orodhanaspi	grabhagaraspi	vrachaspi		vinitaspi		uyanaspī
<i>Mān.</i>		orodhane	grabhagarasi	vrachaspi		vinitaspi		uyanaspī
<i>Dhau.</i>	amte	olodh[a]nasi	ga[bhā]g[āla]si	v[achas]i		[v]inītasi		[u]y[ā]n[asi]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	amte	olodhanasi	gabhāgālasī	vachasi		vinītas[i]		uyānasi

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	savatra	paṭivedakā	sītā	athe	me	[ja]nasa	paṭivedetha
<i>Kāl.</i>		[sava]t[ā]	paṭive]dakā		aṭha[m]		janasā	.... vedetu
<i>Shāh.</i>		savatra	paṭivedaka		aṭham		janasa	paṭivedetu
<i>Mān.</i>		savratra	pa[t]i[ve]da[ka]		athra		janasa	paṭivedetu
<i>Dhau.</i>	[cha sa]vata		paṭivedakā		janasa		aṭham	[pa]ṭived[a]yamtu
<i>Ḥau.</i>	cha	savata	paṭivedakā		janasa		aṭham	paṭivedayamtu

<i>Gir.</i>		iti	(E)	sarvatra	cha	janasa	athe	karomi
<i>Kāl.</i>	[m]e		(E)	sa[va]tā	[ch]ā	ja[nas]ā	aṭham	kachhāmi hakam
<i>Shāh.</i>	me		(E)	savatra	cha	ja[na]sa	aṭh[r]a	karomi
<i>Mān.</i>	me		(E)	savratra	cha	janasa	athra	kar[o]mi aham
<i>Dhau.</i>	m[e]	ti	(E)	sava[ta]	ch[a]	j[a]nasa	aṭham	kalāmi h[aka]m
<i>Ḥau.</i>	me	ti	(E)	savata	cha	janasa	.	.... [ka]m

<i>Gir.</i>	(F)	ya	cha	kiñchi	mukhato	āñapayāmi	svayam	dāpakam vā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(F)	yam	pi	ch[ā] k[i]chhi	m]u[kha]t[e]	ānapayā]mi	[ha]kam	dā[pakam] v[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F)	ya[m]	pi	cha	ki[chi]	mukhato	añapayami	a[ham] dapa[ka] va
<i>Mān.</i>	(F)	yam	pi	cha	kichhi	mukhato	añapemi	aham dapakam va
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F)	am	pi	cha	ki[m]chhi	mukh[a]te	ānapay[ā]mi	dāpakam v[ā]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(F)	am	pi	cha	kiñchhi	mukhate	ānapayāmi	dāpakam vā

<i>Gir.</i>		srāvāpakam	vā	ya	vā	puna	mahāmātresu	āchāyī[ke]	aropitam	bhavati
<i>Kāl.</i>		[sāvakam]		vā	ye	vā	punā	mahāmat[e]hi	a[tiyāyike	ālopite h]o[t]i
<i>Shāh.</i>		śravaka		va	ye	va	p[ā]na	mahamatrana	a[cha]yika	a[ro]pitam bhoti
<i>Mān.</i>		śravakam		va	ye	va	puna	mahamatrehī	achayike	aropite hoti
<i>Dhau.</i>		[sā]v[a]kam		vā	e	vā		mahām[āteh]i	atiyāyike	ālopite hoti
<i>Ḥau.</i>		sāvakam		vā	e	v[ā]		mah[ā]mātehi	a[t]i[yā]yike	[ā]lopite hoti

<i>Gir.</i>	tāya athāya	vivādo	nijhatī	v[a s]amto	parisāyam	ānamtaram
<i>Kāl.</i>	tā[yeṭh]ā[ye]	vivāde	n[i]jhati	v[ā] samtam	palis[ā]ye	anam[ta][i]yenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	taye aṭhaye	viva[de]	nijha[t]i	va satam	parishaye	anamtariyena
<i>Mān.</i>	taye athraye	vivade	nijati	va samta	par[isha]ye	a[na]taliyena
<i>Dhau.</i>	tasi aṭhasi	v[i]vāde	va [n]ijhatī	vā samtam	palisāyā	āna[m]taliyam
<i>Ḥau.</i>	tasi aṭhasi	vivāde	va . . . . .	. . . . .	lisāy[am]	ā]nam[ta]liyam

<i>Gir.</i>		paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam	me	sa[r]vatra	sarve	kāle	(G)	evam	mayā
<i>Kāl.</i>		paṭ[i]	.....	viye	me	sav[a]t[ā]	savam	kālam	(G) hevam ānapayite
<i>Shāh.</i>		paṭivedetavo	me ¹	savatra	savam	kala[m]	(G)	eva	añapita[m]
<i>Mān.</i>		paṭivedetaviye	me	savratra	sava	kala	(G)	evam	añapita
<i>Dhau.</i>		paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e]	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G)	heva[m] me
<i>Ḥau.</i>		paṭivedetaviye	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G)	hevam me

¹ The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) *savatra cha aṭham janasa karomi a[ham]* (F) *yam cha kichhi mukhato aṇapemi aham dapa[ka]m va śravaka va ye va pana maha-*

<i>Gir.</i>	āñapitaṁ	(H)	nāsti	hi	me	to[s]o	uṣṭānamhi	atha-saṁtiraṇāya	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	m[a]mayā	(H)	nathi	hi	me	dose	uṭhān[a]sā	aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	maya	(H)	[na]sti	hi	me	tosho	uṭhanas[i]	aṭha-sa[m]tiraṇaye	[cha]
<i>Mān.</i>	maya	(H)	nasti	hi	me	toshe	[uṭhanasi]	ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇaye	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	anusathe	(H)	nath[i]	hi	m]e	[tos]e	u[ṭhāna]si	aṭha-saṁtilanāya	cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	anusathe	(H)	nathi	hi	me	tose	uṭhānasi	aṭha-saṁtilan[ā]y[a]	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	(I)	katavya-mate	hi	me	sa[rva]-loka-hitaṁ	(Ḥ)	tasa	cha	puna
<i>Kāl.</i>	(I)	kaṭ[a]viya-mute	hi	me	s[a]va-loka-hi[te]	(Ḥ)	t[asā]	ch]ā	[p]u[n]ā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I)	kaṭava-mataṁ	hi	me	sava-loka-hitaṁ	(Ḥ)	ta[sa]	cha]	
<i>Mān.</i>	(I)	kaṭaviya-mate	hi	me	savra-loka-h[i]te	(Ḥ)	[ta]sa	chu	puna
<i>Dhau.</i>	(I)	kaṭaviya-m[at]e	hi	me	sava-loka-hite	(Ḥ)	tasa	cha	pana
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(I)	. . . . .		me	sava-loka-hite	(Ḥ)	tasa	cha	pana

<i>Gir.</i>	esa	mūle	uṣṭānaṁ	cha	atha-saṁtiraṇā	cha	(K)	nāsti	hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	es[e]	mule	uṭh[āne]		[a]ṭha-saṁtilanā	chā	(K)	[na]thi	hi
<i>Shāh.</i>	mulaṁ	etra	uthanaṁ		aṭha-saṁtiraṇa	cha	(K)	na[sti]	hi
<i>Mān.</i>	eshe	mule	uṭhane		athra-satiraṇa	cha	(K)	nasti	hi
<i>Dhau.</i>	iyam	mūle	[u]ṭhān[e]	cha	a]ṭha-saṁtil[a]n[ā]	cha	(K)	nathi	hi
<i>Ḥau.</i>	iyam	mūle	uṭhāne	cha	aṭha-saṁtilanā	cha	(K)	nathi	hi

<i>Gir.</i>	kaṁmataraṁ	sarva-loka-hitatpā	(L)	ya	cha	kimchi	parākramāmi
<i>Kāl.</i>	kaṁ[ma]talā	sava-lo[ka]-hitenā	(L)	yam	cha	kichhi	palakamāmi
<i>Shāh.</i>	k[r]amatara[m]	sava-loka-hite[na]	(L)	yam	cha	kichi	parak[r]amami
<i>Mān.</i>	kramatara	savra-loka-hitena	(L)	ya[m]	cha	[kichhi]	pa[rakra]mami
<i>Dhau.</i>	kaṁmata . .	[sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena	(L)	[am]	ch[a]	kichhi]	p[a]lakamāmi
<i>Ḥau.</i>	k[am]matalā	sava-loka-hiten[a]	(L)	am	cha	kichhi	p[a]lakamāmi

<i>Gir.</i>	aham	kiṁti	bhūtānaṁ	ānaṁṇam	gachheyam	idha	cha	nāni
<i>Kāl.</i>	hakaṁ	kiti	bhutanam	[a]naniyam	ye[ham]	hi]da	cha	[kā]ni
<i>Shāh.</i>		kiti	bhutanam	anaṇiyam	v[r]acheyam	ia	cha	sha
<i>Mān.</i>	aam	k[i]t[i]	bh[u]tanam	anaṇiyam	ye[ham]	ia	cha	she
<i>Dhau.</i>	hakaṁ	kiṁti	bhūtānaṁ	ā[na]niyam	yeha[m]	ti [h]i[da]	cha	[k]ān[i]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	hakaṁ			[n]iyam	yeham	ti hida	cha	kāni

<i>Gir.</i>	sukhāpayāmi	paratrā	cha	svagam	ārādhayaṁtu	(M)	ta ¹
<i>Kāl.</i>	sukhāyāmi	palata	chā	svagam	ālādhayitu	(M)	s[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagram	aradhetu	(M)	
<i>Mān.</i>	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagra	a[ra]dhetu	ti	(M) se
<i>Dhau.</i>	sukhayāmi	pal[a]ta	cha	svag[am]	āl]ādhayaṁtū	ti	(M)
<i>Ḥau.</i>	su[kha]yāmi	palata	cha	svagam	ālādhayaṁtū	ti	(M)

matranam achay[i]k[am] aropita[ni] bhōti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[ni]tanijati va parishaye
anaṁtariyena pativedetavo me.

¹ On p. 12 above, l. 7, place *ta* after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11, read '(M)
Now, for the following purpose', &c.

<i>Gir.</i>	etāya	athāya	ayaṃ	dha[m]ma-lipī	lekhāpitā	kimti	chiraṃ	tisteya
<i>Kāl.</i>	etā[y]eṭhāye		iyaṃ	dhama-lipī	lekhitā	chila-ṭhitikyā		hotu
<i>Shāh.</i>	etaye	aṭhaye	ayi	dhrama	nipista	chira-ṭhitika		bhotu
<i>Mān.</i>	etaye	athraye	iyaṃ	dhrama-dipi	likhita	chira-ṭhitika		hotu
<i>Dhau.</i>	et[ā]y[e]	aṭhāye	i]yaṃ	dhamma-lipī	likhitā	ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā		hotu
<i>Ḥau.</i>	etāye	aṭhāye	i[ya]ṃ	dhamma-lipī	likhitā	chila-ṭhitika		hotu

<i>Gir.</i>	iti	tathā	cha	me	putrā	potā	cha	prapotrā	cha	anuvataṃ
<i>Kāl.</i>		tathā	cha	me	puta-dāle					palakamātu
<i>Shāh.</i>		tatha	cha	me	putra	nataro				parakramaṃtu
<i>Mān.</i>		ta[tha	cha]	me	pu[tra	nata]re				para[kra]mate
<i>Dhau.</i>		ta[th]ā	cha		putā		papotā	me		palakama[m]t[ū]
<i>Ḥau.</i>		.	.	.	.	.	.	[t]ā	me	[pa]lakamaṃtu

<i>Gir.</i>	sava-loka-hitāya	(N)	dukaraṃ	[t]u		idaṃ	añatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	sava-loka-hitā[ye]	(N)	dukale	ch[u]		iyaṃ	anat[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	sava-lo[ka-hita]ye	(N)	[du]kara	tu	[kh]o	imaṃ	añat[r]a
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[vra-lo]ka-hitaye	(N)	dukare	cha	kho		[a]ñatra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[sava-loka]-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu		iyaṃ	aṃnat[a]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	sava-loka-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu		i[ya]ṃ	aṃnata

<i>Gir.</i>	agena	parākramena
<i>Kāl.</i>	agenā	palakam[e]nā
<i>Shāh.</i>	agre	parakramena
<i>Mān.</i>	a[g]rena	para[kra]mena
<i>Dhau.</i>	a[g]en[a	pa]lakamena
<i>Ḥau.</i>	agena	palakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiyo	Piyadasi	rājā	sarvata	ichhati	save	pāsaṃdā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lājā	[savat]ā	[i]chhati	sava-[pāsa]ṃdā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanaṃpriyo	Priyaśi	raja	savatra	ichhati	savra-[p]rashamḍa	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	Devanapriyo	Priyadraśi	raja	savratra	ichhati	savra-pashaḍa	
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[D]evānaṃ[p]iye	Piy[a]dasi	lājā	savata	ichhat[i]	sava-p[āsa]ṃ[dā]	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(A)	. . . . .	da[sī]	lājā	savata	ichhati	sava-p[ā]saṃdā	

<i>Gir.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	save	te	sayamaṃ	cha	bhāva-sudhiṃ
<i>Kāl.</i>	va[s]e]vu	(B)	[sa]ve	hi	te	sayama[m]	bhāva-sudhi
<i>Shāh.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	save	hi	te	sayame	bhava-śudhi
<i>Mān.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	savre	hi	te	sa[ya]ma	[bha]va-śu[dh]i
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]sevū	ti	(B)	save	h[i]	t[e]	sa]yamaṃ
<i>Ḥau.</i>	va[s]e . .	[t]i	(B)	[sav]e	hi	te	sa[yama]ṃ

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	ichhati	(C)	jano	tu	uchāvacha-chhaṃdo
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	ichhamti	(C)	jane	[ch]u	uchāvuchā-chh[a]ṃde
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	jano	chu	uchavucha-chhaṃdo
<i>Mān.</i>	[cha	ichham]ti	(C)	jane	chu	uchavucha-chhade
<i>Dhau.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	mun[i]sā	ch[a	u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]ṃ[d]ā
<i>Ḥau.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	munisā	cha	uchāvucha-chhaṃdā

<i>Gir.</i>	uchāvacha-rāgo	(D)	te sarvaṃ va kāsanti	eka-desam	va	kasa[m]ti
<i>Kāl.</i>	uchāvucha-lā[g]e	(D)	te savaṃ	eka-des[a]m	pi	k[a]chham[t]i
<i>Shāh.</i>	uchavucha-rago	(D)	te savraṃ va	eka-deśam	va	pi kashanti
<i>Mān.</i>	uchavucha-rage	(D)	te savaṃ	eka-deśam	va	pi kashati
<i>Dhau.</i>	uchāvucha-lāgā	(D)	te savaṃ vā	ek[a]-de[sam]	va	kachham[t]i
<i>Ḥau.</i>	uchāvuch[a]-lāgā	(D)	. . . . .	[sa]m	va	kachhamti

<i>Gir.</i>	(E) vip[ul]e	tu	pi	dāne	yasa	nāsti	sayame	bhāva-sudhitā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(E) vipule	pi	chu	dān[e]	asā	nathi	sayame	bhā[va]-sudh[i]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(E) vipule	pi	chu	dane	yasa	nasti	sayama	bhava-śudhi
<i>Mān.</i>	(E) [v]ipule	pi	ch[u]	dane	yasa	nasti	sayame	bhava-śuti
<i>Dhau.</i>	(E) vipul[e]	pi	chā	dāne	asa	n[athi]	sa]yame	[bh]āva-sudhī
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(E) [v]i[pul]e	[p]i	chā	[d]ā[ne]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[dhi]

<i>Gir.</i>	va	kataṃñatā	va	daḍha-bhati[t]ā	cha	nichā	bāḍham
<i>Kāl.</i>		kiṭanāt[ā]		d]iḍha-bhatitā	chā	ni[che]	bāḍham
<i>Shāh.</i>		kiṭrañata		driḍha-bhatita		niche	paḍham
<i>Mān.</i>		kiṭanata		driḍha-bhatita	cha	niche	bāḍham
<i>Dhau.</i>					cha	nīche	bāḍham
<i>Ḥau.</i>					cha	nīche	[b]āḍham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) atikātaṃ	am̐taraṃ	rājāno	viḥāra-yātāṃ	
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) atikaṃtaṃ	a[m]talaraṃ	Devānaṃpiyā	[viḥāla-yātāṃ	nāma]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) atikrataṃ	ataraṃ	Devanaṃpriya	vihara-yatra	nama
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) a[ti]krataṃ	ataraṃ	Devanapri[ya]	vihara-yatra	nama
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) [atika]m̐[ta]m̐	am̐t[ala]m̐	lāj[ā]n[e]	v[i]h[ā]la-yātāṃ	nāma
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>Sōp.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	ñayāsu	(B) eta	magavyā	añāni	cha	etārisani
<i>Kāl.</i>	nikhamisu	(B) hidā	migaviyā	aṃnāni	chā	heḍisānā
<i>Shāh.</i>	nikramishu	(B) atra	mrugaya	añani	cha	ediśani
<i>Mān.</i>	nikramishu	(B) ia	mrigaviya	añani	cha	ediśani
<i>Dhau.</i>	[n]i[kha]m̐[i]s[u]	(B) . . [ta	miga]viy[ā]	a[m]nāni	ch[a]	edisāni
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	[v]i[y]ā	[a]m̐nāni	cha	e[d]i
<i>Sōp.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	abhīramakāni	ahum̐su	(C) so	Devānaṃpriyo	Piyadasi	
<i>Kāl.</i>	abhilāmān[i]	husu	(C)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	abhiramani	abhuvasu	(C) so	Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi	
<i>Mān.</i>	abhiramani	husu	(C) s[e]	Devanap[r]iy[e]	P[r]iyadraśi	
<i>Dhau.</i>	a[bh]i[l]āmāni	huvaṃti	naṃ	(C) se	Devānaṃpiye	P[i]y[a]dasi
<i>Ḥau.</i> [m]āni	huvaṃti	naṃ	(C) se	Devānaṃpiye	[Piya]
<i>Sōp.</i>

<i>Gir.</i>	rājā	dasa-varsābhisito	saṁto	ayāya	Sambodhim	(D) tenesā
<i>Kāl.</i>	lājā	das[a]-vasābhisite	saṁtaṁ	nikhamithā	Sambodhi	(D) tenatā
<i>Shāh.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisito	sataṁ	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisite	saṁta[m]	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Dhau.</i>	lājā	d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e		[n]ikhami	Sambodh[i]	(D) [t]e[na]tā
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.....	[dasa]	.	.	.	.
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	.	.	nikhamiṭha	Sa	.

<i>Gir.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) etayaṁ	hoti	bāmaṇa-samaṇānaṁ	dasane
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) [h]etā	iyam	samaṇa-bāmbhaṇānaṁ	dasane
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-yatra	(E) atra	iyam	śramaṇa-bramaṇanaṁ	draśane
<i>Mān.</i>	dhrama-yada	(E) atra	iya	śamaṇa-bramaṇana	dra[śa]ne
<i>Dhau.</i>	dha[m]ma-yātā	(E) [tat]esa	[ho]ti	samaṇa-bāmbhaṇānaṁ	d[a]s[a]n[e]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	[tā]	(E) [ta]tesa	hoti	[sa]
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	(E) heta	iyam	[ho]ti	bam[bha]

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	thairānaṁ	dasane	ch[a]	hiraṇṇa-paṭividdhāno	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	dāne	cha	vudh[ā]naṁ	dasa[n]e	ch[a]	hilaṇṇa-paṭi[v]iddhāne	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>		danaṁ		vuḍhana[m]	daśana		hiraṇṇa-p[r]aṭividdhane	cha
<i>Mān.</i>		dane	cha	vudhrana	dra[śa]ne	[cha]	hiṇṇa-paṭivi[dhane	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	ch[a]	d[āne]	cha	v[u]dhānaṁ	dasane	cha	h[i]laṇṇa-p[a]ṭividdhā[ne	cha]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	vuḍhānaṁ	dasane	cha	hilaṇṇa-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne	[cha]
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	.	.	vuḍhānaṁ	dasane	[cha]	hiraṇṇa-paṭividdhāne	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	jānapadasa	cha	janasa	daspanaṁ		dhammānus[a]stī	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[jā]napadasā		[ja]n[a]sā	das[a]ne		dhammanusathī	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	[jana]padasa		janasa	draśana		dhramanuśasti	
<i>Mān.</i>	janapadasa		janasa	draśane		dhramanuśasti	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	[jāna]padasa		janasa	[dasa]ne	cha	dhammānu[sath]ī	[cha]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[dha*]mmānusa[thi]	.

<i>Gir.</i>	dhama-paripucchā	cha	tadopayā	(F) esā	bhuya	rati
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhama-palipucchā	chā	tatopa[yā]	(F) [e]se	bh[u]ye	lāti
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha	cha	tatopayaṁ	(F) eshe	bhuy[e	ra]ti
<i>Mān.</i>	dhrama-[pa]r[i]pucchha	cha	tatopaya	(F) eshe	bhuye	rati
<i>Dhau.</i>	..... [p]u[chh]ā	cha	[ta]d[o]payā	(F) e[sā	bhuy]e	abhiḷāme
<i>Ḥau.</i>	[dha]mma-p[al]i[pucch]ā	.	.	.	.	ilāme
<i>Sōp.</i>	dhamma	.	.	.	ye	[ra]tī

<i>Gir.</i>	bhavati	Devānaṁpiyasa	Priyadasino	rāṇo	bhā[g]e	amñe
<i>Kāl.</i>	hoti	Devānaṁpiyasā	Piyadas[i]sā	lājine	bh[ā]g[e]	amne
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhoti	Devanaṁpriyasa	Priyadraśisa	raṇo	bhago	amñi
<i>Mān.</i>	hoti	Devanapriyasa	Priyadraśisa	rajine	bhage	aṇe
<i>Dhau.</i>	hoti	Devānaṁpiyasa	Piyada[s]ine	lājine	bhāge	[am]ne
<i>Ḥau.</i>	hoti	De[v]ānaṁpiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine	bhāge	[a] . . .
<i>Sōp.</i>	hoti	De	.	n[e]	bhāge	am .

NINTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	eva	āha	(B)	asti	jano
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piy[a]da[s]i	lā[jā]		āhā	(B)		jan[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi	r[a]ya	evam	ahati	(B)		jano
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	evam	aha	(B)		jane
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevam	āhā	(B)	[athi	ja]ne
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(A)	Devān[am]piye	Piyadasī	lā[jā]	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>		uchāvacham	maṅgalam	karote	ābādhesu	vā	āvāha-vivāhesu		
<i>Kāl.</i>		uch[āv]ucham	maṅgalam	ka[l]eti	ābādhasi		av[āha]sī vivāhasi		
<i>Shāh.</i>		uchavucham	maṅgalam	karoti	abadhe		avahe vivahe		
<i>Mān.</i>		uchavucha[m]	ma]gala[m]	karoti	abadhasi		a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi		
<i>Dhau.</i>		uchāvucham	maṅgalam	kal[e]ti	[āb]ādha		[v]i[vāha]..		
<i>Ḥau.</i>		.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	vā	putra-lābhesu	vā	pravāsaṃmhi	vā	etamhī	cha	añamhi	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>		pajopadāne		pavāsasi		e[tā]ye		añnāye	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>		pajupadane		pravase		ataye		añaye	cha
<i>Mān.</i>		prajopadaye		pravasaspi		etaye		añaye	[cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>		. . [ju]padāye		pavās[a]si		etāye		añnāye	ch[a]
<i>Ḥau.</i>		[pa]jupadāye		pavāsasi		etāye		añnāye	cha

<i>Gir.</i>		jano	uchāvacham	maṅgalam	karote	(C)	eta	tu
<i>Kāl.</i>	edisāye	jane	bahu	magala[m]	k[a]leti	(C)	heta	[ch]u
<i>Shāh.</i>	ediśiy[e]	jano	ba	maṅgalam	karoti	(C)	atra	tu
<i>Mān.</i>	[ed]iśa[ye	jane]	bahu	maṅga[la]m	ka]ro[t]i	(C)	atra	tu
<i>Dhau.</i>	hedisāye	j[a]n[e]	bahukam	maṅgalam	k[a]	(C)	. . . .	[chu]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	hedisāye	jane	[ba]hu[ka]m	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	mahidāyo	bahukam	cha	bahuvidham	cha	chhudam	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	abaka-jani[yo]	bahu	chā	bahuvidham	chā	khudā	[ch]ā
<i>Shāh.</i>	striyaka	bahu	cha	bahuvidham	cha	putika	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	abaka-janika	bahu	cha	bahuvidha	cha	khuda	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	ithī	b[ahuka]m	cha	[ba]hu[v]idh[am]	ch[a	kh]ud[am]	cha]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	nirath[am]	cha	maṅgalam	karote	(D)	ta	katavyameva	tu
<i>Kāl.</i>	nilathiyā	chā	magalam	ka[la]nti	(D)	se	kaṭavi cheva	kho
<i>Shāh.</i>	nirathiyam	cha	maṅgalam	karo[ti]	(D)	so	kaṭavo cha [va]	kho
<i>Mān.</i>	nirathriya	cha	magalam	karoti	(D)	se	ka[ṭaviye ch]eva	kho
<i>Dhau.</i>	[nilaṭhi]yam	cha	maṅgalam	kaleti	(D)	se	kaṭ[a]viye che[va	kh]o
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	[cha	ma]m[gala]m	k[a]leti	(D)	se	kaṭaviye cheva	kho

<i>Gir.</i>	magalam	(E)	apa-phalam	tu	kho	etarisam	maṅgalam
<i>Kāl.</i>	maṅgale	(E)	apa-phale	[ch]u	kho	[e]s[e]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	maṅgala	(E)	apa-phala[m]	tu	kho	eta	
<i>Mān.</i>	magale	(E)	apa-phale	chu	[kho	e]she	
<i>Dhau.</i>	m[a]ṅgale	(E)	[a]pa-phale	chu	kho	esa	h[e]dise mam[ga]..
<i>Ḥau.</i>	maṅgale	(E)	apa-[pha]le	chu	[kh]o	e[sa]	he[d]ise ma

<i>Gir.</i>	(<i>F</i>)	ayaṃ	tu	mah[ā]-phale	maṃgale	ya	dhamma-maṃgale
<i>Kāl.</i>	(<i>F</i>)	[i]yaṃ	chu	kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le		ye	dhamma-magale
<i>Shāh.</i>	(<i>F</i>)	imaṃ	[t]u	kho maha-phala		ye	ma-maṃgala
<i>Mān.</i>	(<i>F</i>)	iyaṃ	chu	kho maha-phale		ye	dhrama-magale
<i>Dhau.</i>	(<i>F</i>)	. . [ya]ṃ	[ch]u	kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le		e	[dha]ṃma-maṃgale
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(<i>F</i>)	i[ya]ṃ	[chu]	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(<i>G</i>)	ta[te]ta	dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-pratipati	gurūnaṃ	apachiti
<i>Kāl.</i>	(<i>G</i>)	he[tā]	iyam	dāsa-bhaṭakasi	s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti	gulunā apachiti
<i>Shāh.</i>	(<i>G</i>)	[a]tra	ima	dasa-bhaṭakasa	samma-paṭipati	garuna apachiti
<i>Mān.</i>	(<i>G</i>)	atra	iyam	dasa-bhaṭakasi	samya-paṭipati	guruna a[pachit]i
<i>Dhau.</i>	(<i>G</i>)	[ta]te[sa	d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i	saṃmyā-paṭipat[i	gulūnaṃ	a[pa]....
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	[sa-bha]ṭakasi	saṃmyā-paṭipati	gulūnaṃ	apachiti

<i>Gir.</i>	sādhū	pāṇesu	sayamo	sādhū	bamhaṇa-samaṇānaṃ	sādhū
<i>Kāl.</i>		[p]ā[n]ān[am]	saṃyame		s[a]man[a]-baṃbhanānaṃ	
<i>Shāh.</i>		praṇanaṃ	sa[m]yamo		śamaṇa-bramaṇana	
<i>Mān.</i>		pra[ṇa]na	[sa]yame		śramaṇa-bramaṇana	
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	[me]		samana-bābhan[ā]naṃ	
<i>Ḥau.</i>		pānesu	say[a]me		saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[naṃ]	

<i>Gir.</i>	dānaṃ	et[a]	cha	añ[a]	cha	etārisaṃ	dhamma-maṃgalaṃ	nāma
<i>Kāl.</i>	dāne	ese		aṃne	chā	heḍise	dhamma-magale	nāmā
<i>Shāh.</i>	dana	etaṃ		añam	cha		dhrama-maṃga[laṃ]	nama
<i>Mān.</i>	[dane]	eshe		aṇe	cha	ediṣe	dhrama-magale	nama
<i>Dhau.</i>	dāne	esa		aṃne	ch[a]	.....	[dhamma]-maṃga[le	nāma]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	[d]ā[n]e	[esa		a]m[n]e	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(<i>H</i>)	ta	vataṇṇaṃ	pitā	va	putena	vā bhātrā	vā svāmikena
<i>Kāl.</i>	(<i>H</i>)	se	vata[v]iye	pitinā	pi	putena	pi bh[ā]tinā	pi suvāmiken[a]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(<i>H</i>)	[s]o	vataṇṇo	pituna	pi	putrena	pi bhratana	pi spamik[e]na
<i>Mān.</i>	(<i>H</i>)	se	vataṇṇiye	pi[tu]na	pi	putrena	pi bhratuna	pi spamikena
<i>Dhau.</i>	(<i>H</i>)	[se]	vata[viye	p]it[inā	pi	pute]na	pi bhātinā	pi suvāmike[na]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	[pi]tinā	pi	putena	pi bhātinā	pi suvāmike[na]

<i>Gir.</i>	vā						idaṃ	sādhū	idaṃ
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	mita-saṃthutena	[ā]	ava	paṭivesiyenā	[p]i	iyam	sādhū	iyam
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	mitra-sastutena		ava	prativeśiyena		imaṃ	sadhu	[imaṃ]
<i>Mān.</i>	pi	mitra-sa[m]stutena	[a]va	paṭivesiyena	pi	iyam	sadhu	iyam	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[p]i								
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pi						iyam	sādhū	iyam

<i>Gir.</i>	katavya	maṃgalaṃ	āva	tasa	athasa	niṣṭānāya	(<i>I</i>) asti
<i>Kāl.</i>	kaṭaviye	[ma]g[a]le	āva	[ta]sā	athas ā	ni[v]utiyā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	kaṭa[vo]	maṃgala[m]	yava	tasa	aṭhasa	nivutiyā	nivutāspi
<i>Mān.</i>	kaṭaviye	magale	ava	tasa	aṭhasa	nivutiyā	nivutāsi
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	[l]e	[ā]va	tasa	aṭhas[a]	niphatiy[ā]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	kaṭaviye	.	.	.	.	.	(<i>I</i>) [a]thi

Gir. cha pi vutaṃ sādhu dana iti (Ḥ) na tu etārisaṃ astā
Kāl. imam kachhāmi ti (I) e hi i[ta]le magale
Shāh. va p[u]na imam kasham (I) ye hi etake magale
Mān. va puna ima [ka]shami ti (I) e hi [i]tare maga[le]
Dhau. [cha heva]m v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (Ḥ) [s]e [na]thi
Jau. [s]e

Gir. dānam va ana[ga]ho va yārisaṃ dhamma-dānam va dhamanugaho va
Kāl. sa[m]sayikye se (Ḥ) siyā va tam aṭham nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no
Shāh. saśayike tam (Ḥ) siya vo tam aṭham nivaṭeyati siya puna no
Mān. śa[śa]yike se (Ḥ) s[i]ya va tam athram nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no
Dhau. [anu]ga[h]e v[ā ād]i[se] dha[m]ma-dāne dham[mānugahe] . .
Jau. dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha

Gir. (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhodayena [v]ā ñatikenā va sahāyana va
Kāl. (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se (L) iyaṃ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e]
Shāh. (K) ialoka cha vo tam (L) ida puna dhrama-magalam akalikaṃ
Mān. (K) hida[o]kike cheva se (L) iyaṃ puna dhrama-magale akalike
Dhau. (K) [m]i [t]i[k]ena sahāye[na p]i
Jau. (K) se chu kho mitena

Gir. ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe [i]daṃ kacham idaṃ sādha iti
Kāl. (M) haṃche pi tam aṭham no niṭeti hida aṭham palata anantaṃ
Shāh. (M) yadi puna tam aṭham na nivaṭ[e] ia atha paratra anantaṃ
Mān. (M) [ha]che pi tam athram no nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra anata
Dhau. viyovadita i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]m
Jau. yam sād[h]ū

Gir. iminā sak[a] svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataram
Kāl. punā pavasati (N) haṃche puna tam aṭham nivaṭeti hidā tato
Shāh. puṇam prasavati (N) haṃche puna tam ṭham nivaṭeti tato
Mān. puṇa prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athram nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato
Dhau. [I]ādhayitave (L) ṭa[v]
Jau. imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kim hi imena kaṭaviyatalā

Gir. yathā svagāradhī
Kāl. ubhaye[sa]m ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata chā anantaṃ
Shāh. u[bha]y[e]sa ladham bhoti ia cha so aṭho paratra cha anantaṃ
Mān. ubhayesaṃ [ara]dhe hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata
Dhau. [svagasa] āl[adh]i
Jau.

Kāl. punā pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]
Shāh. puṇam prasavati tena dhramaṃgalena
Mān. puṇam prasavati tena dhramagalena

TENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	yaso	va	kīti	va	na
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devā[naṃ]piye	Piy[a]dashā	lājā	y[a]sho	vā	kiti	vā	no
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo	va	kiṭri	va	no
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	[Devana]priye	Priyadraśi	raja	yaśo	va	kiṭi	va	no
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[Devānaṃ]piye	Piyad[a]s[ī]	lājā	yaso	v[ā]	[k]iṭi	vā	n .
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	mahāthāvah[ā]	mañate	añata						
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ma]hathāvā	manati	an[a]tā	[ya]m	pi	yaso	vā	ki[t]i	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	mahaṭhavaha	mañati	añatra	yo	pi	yaśo		kiṭri	va
<i>Mān.</i>	mahathravaham	mañati	añatra	yam	pi	ya[śo	va]	kiṭi	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	..... [ha]m	mañn[ate]	.	.	.	i	[yaso]	vā	k[iṭ]i [v]ā
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	[ya]so	vā	ki[t]i vā

<i>Gir.</i>		tadātpano	dighāya	cha	me	[ja]no	dhamma-susru[m]sā		
<i>Kāl.</i>	ichh[at]i	tadatvāye	ayatiye	chā	jane		dhamma-susushā		
<i>Shāh.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane		dhrama-suśrasha		
<i>Mān.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane		[dhra]ma-suśrusha		
<i>Dhau.</i>	ichhati	tadatvāye	[ā]	.	.	[ja]ne	.	[sūsa]m	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	ichh[a]ti	tadatvāye	ā[ya]tiye	cha	jane		dhamma-susūsam		

<i>Gir.</i>	susrusatā		dhamma-vutam	cha	anuviddhiyatām				
<i>Kāl.</i>	susushātu	me	ti	dhamma-vatam	vā	anuv[ī]dh[ī]ya[m]tu	ti		
<i>Shāh.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhramma-vutam	cha	anuv[ī]dh[ī]yatu			
<i>Mān.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhrama-[vutam	cha]	anuviddhiyatu		ti	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[susū]s[at]u	[m]e		dhamma	.	.	.	[me]	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	susūsatu	me	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(B)	etakāya	Devānaṃpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	yaso	va	kiti	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B)	dhata[k]āye	Devāna[m]piye	Piyadasi	lājā	yasho	vā	kiti	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(B)	etakaye	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo		kiṭri	va
<i>Mān.</i>	(B)	etakaye	Devanapriye	Priya[dra]śi	raja	yaśo	va	kiṭi	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	(B)	etakāye				[yaso	vā	kiṭi	v[ā]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	i[chha]ti	(C)	ya[m]	tu	kich[i]	parik[a]mate	Devānam	Priyadasi	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ichha	(C)	am	ch[ā]	kichhi	lakamati	Devanaṃpiye	Piyadashi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	ichhati	(C)	ya[m]	tu	kichhi	parakramati	Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi	
<i>Mān.</i>	i[chha]ti	(C)	.	.	[k]ichhi	parak[r]ama[ti]	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	
<i>Dhau.</i>	i	.	.	.	.	[pa]lakama[t]i	Devānaṃpiye		
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[t]i	Devānaṃpiye		

<i>Gir.</i>	rājā	ta	savam	pāratrikāya	kimti	sakale	a[pa]-parisrave		
<i>Kāl.</i>	lājā	ta	[sha]va	pālamtikyāye	vā	kiti	sakale	apa-p[a]lāshave	
<i>Shāh.</i>	raya	taṃ	sav[r]am	paratrikaye	va	kiti	sakale	aparisrave	
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	taṃ	savam	parat[r]ikay[e	va	k[i]ti	sa[kale	apa]-pa[r]isav[e]	
<i>Dhau.</i>				pāl[atik]ā[y]e	.	kimti	saka[le	apa-pal]isave	
<i>Ḥau.</i>				pālatikāye	vā	ki[m]ti	[sa]kale	apa-palisave	

<i>Gir.</i>	asa	(D) esa	tu	parisave	ya	apumñam	(E) dukaram
<i>Kāl.</i>	shiyāti	ti	(D) [e]she	chu	palisave	e	apune (E) dukale
<i>Shāh.</i>	siyati	(D) eshe	tu	parisave	yam	apumñam	(E) dukare
<i>Mān.</i>	siyati	ti	(D) eshe	chu	pa[ri]save	e	apu[ne] (E) dukare
<i>Dhau.</i>	[hu]v[eyā t]i	(D) pa[l]isa	.	.	.	.	(E) [du]ka[le]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	[h]uveyā	ti	(D) .	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	tu	kho	etam	chhudakena	va	janena	usaṭena	va	añatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	vā	vagenā	ushuṭena	vā	ana[ta]
<i>Shāh.</i>	[tu]	kho	eshe	khudakena		vagrena	usaṭena	va	añatra
<i>Mān.</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	[va	va]gr[e]na	[u]saṭena	va	ana[tra]
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	.	.	t[a	agena]	.	[na	sa]vam cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	agena	parāk[r]amena	savam	parichajitpā	(F) et[a]	t[u]	kho
<i>Kāl.</i>	agen[ā	pa]lakamenā	shava[m]	palitiditu	(F) [h]e[ta	chu]	kho
<i>Shāh.</i>	agrena	parakramena	sava[m]	paritijitu	(F) at[r]a	chu	
<i>Mān.</i>	a[gre]na	para[krame]na	sav[ra]m	pariti[ji]tu	(F) atra	tu	[kho]
<i>Dhau.</i>	paliti[ji]i[tu]	khudakena	v[ā]	usaṭena	vā	(F)	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.. [l]itijit[u]	khudakena	[v]ā	u[s]aṭena	vā	(F)	

<i>Gir.</i>	usaṭena	dukaram
<i>Kāl.</i>	[u]shaṭe[na]	vā dukale
<i>Shāh.</i>	usaṭe	.
<i>Mān.</i>	usaṭeneva	du[ka]re
<i>Dhau.</i>	u[s]aṭena	chu [dukalatale]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	usaṭena	chu dukaalatale

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) Devinaṃpriyo	Piyadasi	rājā	ev[a]m āha	(B) nāsti	etārisam
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) Devānaṃp[i]ye	Piyadashi	[l]ājā	hevam hā	(B) nathi	h[e]dishe
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devana[m]priyo	Priyadraśi	raya	evam hahati	(B) nasti	ed[i]śam
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapri[y]e	Priyadraśi	raja	evam aha	(B) nasti	ediśe

<i>Gir.</i>	dānam	yārisam	dhamma-dānam	dhamma-samstavo	vā	dhamma-
<i>Kāl.</i>	dāne	adisha	dha[m]ma-dāne			dhama-
<i>Shāh.</i>	danam	yadiśam	dhrama-dana	dhrama-samstav[e]		dh[r]ama-
<i>Mān.</i>	dane	[a]diśe	dhrama-dane	dhrama-samtha[v]e		dhrama-

<i>Gir.</i>	samvibhāgo	[vā]	dhamma-sambadho	va	(C) tata	idam bhavati
<i>Kāl.</i>	shav[i]bhage		dhamma-shambadh[e]		(C) ta[ta]	eshe
<i>Shāh.</i>	samvibhago		dh[r]ama-samba[m]dha		(C) tatra	etam
<i>Mān.</i>	samvibhaga		dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e]		(C) tatra	eshe

<i>Gir.</i>	dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-p[r]atipati	mātari pitarā	sādhu	sus[r]usā
<i>Kāl.</i>	dāsha-bhaṭakashī	shamyā-paṭipati	mātā-pitishu		shushushā
<i>Shāh.</i>	dasa-bhaṭakanam	sammma-paṭipati	mata-pitushu		suśrusha
<i>Mān.</i>	dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si	samya-paṭipati	mata-[pitu]shu		su[śru]sha

<i>Gir.</i>	mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ	bāhmaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṃ]	sādhū	dā[naṃ]
<i>Kāl.</i>	mita-shamthuta-nāṭikyānaṃ	samanā-[ba]mbhanānā		[dā]ne
<i>Shāh.</i>	mi[t]ra-samstuta-ñāṭikanaṃ	śramaṇa-bramaṇana		dana
<i>Mān.</i>	mitra-sam[stuta]-ñāṭikana	śramaṇa-bramaṇana		dan[e]

<i>Gir.</i>	prāṇānaṃ	anārambho	sādhū	(D) eta	vatavyaṃ	pitā	va	putrena
<i>Kāl.</i>	pānānaṃ	anāl[am]bhe		(D) eshe	vataṇ[i]ye	pi[t]inā	pi	pute[na]
<i>Shāh.</i>	praṇana	anara[m]bho		(D) etaṃ	vataṇo	pituna	pi	putrena
<i>Mān.</i>	praṇana	[ana]rabhe		(D) [e]she	vataṇiye	pituna	pi	putrena

<i>Gir.</i>	va	bhāt[ā]	va	mita-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na			va	āva
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	bhāt[t]inā	pi	sh[a]vām[i]kyena	pi	mita-śamthutānā		avā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	[spa]mikenā	pi	mitra-samstutana		ava
<i>Mān.</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	spamike[na]	pi	mitra-sam[stu]t[e]na		ava

<i>Gir.</i>	paṭivesiyehi	ida	sādhū	ida	ka[tav]ya[m]	(E) so	t[a]thā
<i>Kāl.</i>	p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā]	iy[a]m	shādhū	iyam	kaṭaviye	(E) [ś]e	tathā
<i>Shāh.</i>	prativeśiyena	[i]ma[m]	sadhu	imam	kaṭavo	(E) so	tatha
<i>Mān.</i>	paṭiveśiyena	iyam	sa[dhu]	iyam	kaṭaviye	(E) se	tatha

<i>Gir.</i>	karu	ilokachasa		āradho hoti	parata	cha	amnamtam
<i>Kāl.</i>	kala[m]ta	hidalokikye	cha	kaṃ	ālādhe hoti	palata	ch[ā] anata
<i>Shāh.</i>	karata[m]	ialoka	cha	a[ra]dheti	paratra	cha	anataṃ
<i>Mān.</i>	karata[m]	hi[dalo]ke	[cha] kaṃ	aradhe ho[ti]	pa[ra]tra	cha	ana[m]tam

<i>Gir.</i>	puiṇam	bhavati	tena	dhamma-dānena
<i>Kāl.</i>	punā	paśavati	tenā	dhamma-dānenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	puṇa	prasavati	[te]na	dhrama-danena
<i>Mān.</i>	puṇam	p[r]asavati	te[na]	dhra]ma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Piyad[a]si	rājā	sava-pāsamḍāni	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) [D]evānāpiye	[P]iyadash[i]	lājā	shāvā-pāsham[ḍān]i	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devanampriyo	Priyadraśi	raya	savra-prashamḍani	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	savra-pashadani	

<i>Gir.</i>	[pa]vajitāni	cha	gharastāni	cha	pūjayati	d[ā]nena	cha	vivādhāya
<i>Kāl.</i>	pav[a]jitā[n]i		gahathāni	vā	pujeti	dānena		vividh[aye]
<i>Shāh.</i>	pravrajita[ni]		grahathani	cha	pujeti	danena		vividhaye
<i>Mān.</i>	[p]rava[ji]tani		gehathani	cha	pujeti	danena		vividhaye

<i>Gir.</i>	[cha]	pūjāya	pūjayati ne	(B) na	tu	tathā	dānam	va	pū[jā]
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	puj[ā]ye		(B) n[o]	ch[u]	tathā	dāne	vā	pujā
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	pujaye		(B) no	chu	tatha	[da]na	va	puja
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	pujaye		(B) no	chu	tatha	dana	va	puja

<i>Gir.</i>	va	D[e]vānaṃpiyo	maññate	yathā	kiti	sāra-vaḍhī	asa
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	Devāna[m]piye	m[a]nati	athā	k[i]ta	ś[ā]lā-v[a]dhi	śiyāti
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	Devanaṃpriyo	maññati	yatha	kiti	sa[la]-vaḍhi	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	va	[De]vana[m]priye	maññati	atha	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	sa[va-pā]saṃdānaṃ	(C)	sār[a]-vaḍhī	tu	bahuvidhā	(D)	tasa	tu	idaṃ	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ś[a]va-pāśādāna	(C)	śālā-vaḍhi	nā	bahuvidhā	(D)	taśa	chu	inaṃ	
<i>Shāh.</i>	savra-prashaṃdanam	(C)	sala-vaḍhi	tu	bahuvidha	(D)	tasa	tu	iyō	
<i>Mān.</i>	savra-pashaḍana	ti	(C)	sala-vruḍhi	t[u]	bahuvidha	(D)	tasa	chu	iyam

<i>Gir.</i>	mūlaṃ	ya	vachi-gutī	kiṃti	ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-pūjā	va	para-		
<i>Kāl.</i>	mule	a	va[cha]-gutī	kiti	t[i]	ata-paśaḍa-[v]ā	pujā	vā	pala-
<i>Shāh.</i>	mula	yam	vacha-gutī	kiti	ata-prashaṃḍa-puja	va	pa[ra]-		
<i>Mān.</i>	mule	aṃ	vacha-gutī	kiti	ata-prashaḍa-puja	va	para-		

<i>Gir.</i>	pāsaṃda-garahā	va	no	bhave	aprakaraṇamhi	lahukā	va	asa
<i>Kāl.</i>	pāsaṃda-galahā	va	no	[śa]yā	ap[a]k[a]l[a]naś[i]	lahakā	vā	śiyā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pashaṃda-garana	va	no	siya	[a]pakaraṇasi	lahuka	va	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	pashaḍa-garaha	va	no	siya	apakaraṇasi	lahuka	va	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	tamhi	tamhi	prakaraṇe	(E)	pūjetayā	tu	eva	para-pāsaṃdā
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ta]gi	taśi	pakalan[a]ś[i]	(E)	pujetav[i]ya	chu		p[a]la-pā[śa]dā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tasi	tasi	prakara[n]e	(E)	pujetaviya	va	chu	para-prasha[m]da
<i>Mān.</i>	tasi	tasi	pakaraṇasi	(E)	pujetaviya	va	chu	para-p[r]ashaḍa

<i>Gir.</i>	tena	tana	prakaraṇena	(F)	evam	karuṃ	ātpa-pāsaṃdam	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	tena	tana	akālana	(F)	heva	kalata	ata-pāśaḍā	baḍham
<i>Shāh.</i>	tena	tana	akarena	(F)	e[v]am	karataṃ	ata-p[r]ashaṃdam	
<i>Mān.</i>	tena	tana	akarena	(F)	evam	karataṃ	atva-pashaḍa	baḍham

<i>Gir.</i>	vaḍhayati	para-pāsaṃdasa		cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-amñathā
<i>Kāl.</i>	vaḍhiyati	pala-pāśaḍa	pi	vā	upakaleti	(G)	tadā anatha
<i>Shāh.</i>	vaḍheti	para-prashaṃdamsa	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tada añatha
<i>Mān.</i>	vaḍhayati	para-pashaḍasa	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-amñatha

<i>Gir.</i>	karoto	ātpa-pāsaḍam	cha	chhaṇati	para-pāsaṃdasa	cha	pi
<i>Kāl.</i>	kalata	ata-pāśaḍa	cha	chhanati	pala-pāśaḍa	pi	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	ka[ra]min[o]	ata-p[r]ashaṃda		kshaṇati	para-[pra]shaḍasa	cha	
<i>Mān.</i>	karataṃ	ata-pashaḍa	cha	chhaṇati	para-pashaḍasa	pi	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	yo	hi	kochi	ātpa-pāsaṃdam	pūjayati	para-pāsaṃdam
<i>Kāl.</i>	apakaleti	(H)	ye	[h]i	kechha	[a]ta-pāśaḍa	punāti	pala-pāshaḍa
<i>Shāh.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	yo	hi	kachi	ata-prashaḍam	pujeti	[para]-p[r]ashaḍa[m]
<i>Mān.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	ye	hi	kechhi	atva-pashaḍa	pujeti	para-pashaḍa

<i>Gir.</i>	v[a]	garahati	savam	ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-bhatiyā		kiṃti	ātpa-pāsaṃḍam
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	ga[la]hati	shave	ata-pāshaṃ[ḍa]-bhatiyā	vā	kiti	ata-pāshaṃḍa
<i>Shāh.</i>		garahati	savre	ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya	va	kiti	ata-prashaṃḍam
<i>Mān.</i>	va	garahati	savre	atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya	va	kiti	atva-pashaḍa

<i>Gir.</i>	dīpayema	iti so cha puna tatha karāto ātpa-pāsaṁḍa[m]	bāḍhataram
<i>Kāl.</i>	[d]īpayema	she cha punā tathā | kalamtaṁ | bāḍhatale | up[a]harnt[i]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	dipayami	ti so cha puna tatha karamtaṁ ¹ ba[ḍhata]ram	upaharnti
<i>Mān.</i>	dipayama	ti puna tatha karatam	baḍhataram upaharnti

<i>Gir.</i>	upahanāti	(I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu kimti	[a]ñnamamñasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	ata-pāshaṁḍashi |	(I) shamavāye vu shādhu kiti |	amnamanashā
<i>Shāh.</i>	ata-prashaḍam	(I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti	añnamañasa
<i>Mān.</i>	atva-pasha[ḍa]	(I) se samavaye vo sadhu ki[ti]	aṇamaṇasa

<i>Gir.</i>	dhammam	sruṇāru cha susumsera cha	(Ḥ) evam hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhammam |	shune[y]u chā | shushusheyu chā ti |	(Ḥ) hevam hi
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhramo	śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti	(Ḥ) evam hi
<i>Mān.</i>	dhramam	śruṇ[e]y[u] cha suśrushe[yu] cha ti	(Ḥ) evam hi

<i>Gir.</i>	D[e]vānampiyasa	ichhā kimti sava-pāsaṁḍā	bahu-srutā cha asu
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānampiyashā	ichhā kimti sava-pāshaṁḍa |	baha-shutā chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanampiyasa	ichha kiti savra-prashaṁḍa	bahu-śruta ch[a]
<i>Mān.</i>	Devanapriyasa	ichha kiti savra-pashaḍa	bahu-śruta cha

<i>Gir.</i>	kal[ā]nāgamā	cha [a]su (K) ye cha tatra tata	prasamñā
<i>Kāl.</i>	kayānāgā	cha | huveyu ti | (K) e [cha] tata t[a]t[a] |	p[a]sh[am]nā |
<i>Shāh.</i>	kal[āṇa]gama	cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra	prasana
<i>Mān.</i>	kayaṇagama	cha [hu]veyu ti (K) e cha tatra tatra	prasana

<i>Gir.</i>	tehi	vatavyam (L) Devānampiyo	no tathā dānam va pūjām
<i>Kāl.</i>	te[hi]	va[taviye] (L) Devānāpiye	no tathā | dānam vā | pujā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tesha[m]	vatavo (L) Devanampiy[o]	na [tatha da]na[m] va p[u]ja
<i>Mān.</i>	tehi	vataviye (L) Devanapiye	no tatha danam va puja[m]

<i>Gir.</i>	va	maññate yathā kimti sāra-vaḍhī	asa sarva-pāsaḍānam
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā |	mañnat[i] | athā kiti sh[ā]lā-v[a]ḍhi	śiyā | shava-pāshaṁḍatim |
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	mañati ya[tha] kiti sala-vaḍhi	siyati savra-prashaḍanam
<i>Mān.</i>	va	maṇati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi	siya savra-pashaḍa[na]

<i>Gir.</i>	(M) bahakā	cha etāya athā vyāpatā	dhamma-mahāmātā cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	(M) bahukā	ch[ā] | etāyāthāye | viyāpatā |	dha[m]ma-mahāmātā |
<i>Shāh.</i>	(M) bahuka	cha etaye a[tha] . . vap[a]ta	dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra
<i>Mān.</i>	(M) [ba]huka	cha etaye athraye vapuṭa	dhrama-mahamatra

<i>Gir.</i>	ithijhakha-mahāmātā	cha vacha-bhūmikā	cha añe cha nikāyā
<i>Kāl.</i>	ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā |	vacha-bh[u]mikyā |	ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	i[stidhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra	[vra]cha-bhumika	añe cha nikaye
<i>Mān.</i>	istrijaksha-mahamatra	vracha-bh[u]mika	añe cha nikay[e]

¹ The five last words are repeated thus: *so cha puna tatha karatam*.

<i>Gir.</i>	(N)	ayaṁ	cha	etasa	phala	ya	ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhī	cha	hoti
<i>Kāl.</i>	(N)	iyam	cha	etishā	phale	yam	ata-pāshaṁḍa-vaḍhi	chā	hoti
<i>Shāh.</i>	(N)	imam	cha	etisa	[pha]lam	yam	ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi		[bh]o[ti]
<i>Mān.</i>	(N)	iyam	cha	etisa	phale	yam	atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi	cha	bh[o]t[i]

<i>Gir.</i>	dhammasa	cha	dīp[a]nā
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhammasha	chā	dīpanā
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhramasa	cha	dī[pana]
<i>Mān.</i>	dhramasa	cha	[dī]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)								ño
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	aṭha-[va]shā-	bhishita-	shā	[De]vānaṁpiyasha	Piyadashine			lājine
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	[aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita	[sa		Devana]pri[a]sa	Pri[a]draśisa			ra[ño]
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	[aṭha]-vashabhisita	[sa]		De[va]na[priyasa]	Priyadraśine			rajine

<i>Gir.</i>	Kalimḡā	[v . j .]	(B)						
<i>Kāl.</i>	Kaligyā	vijitā	(B)	diyaḍha-mite		pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e			ye
<i>Shāh.</i>	Ka[liga]	vi[j]ita	(B)	diyaḍha-mat[r]e		praṇa-śata-[saha]sre			y[e]
<i>Mān.</i>	[Ka]liga	[v]i[j]ita	(B)	[di]ya[ḍha]-mat[r]e		praṇa-[śata-sa]			

<i>Gir.</i>		[v . dh]e	[sa]ta-sahasra-mātram	tatrā	hataṁ	bahu-tāvatakaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ta]phā	apavuḍhe	[śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite	tata	hate	bahu-tāvatake
<i>Shāh.</i>	tato	apavuḍhe	śata-sahasra-matre	tatra	hate	bahu-tavata[ke]
<i>Mān.</i>						

<i>Gir.</i>	mata	(C)	tatā	pachhā	adh[u]nā	ladhesu	Kalimḡesu
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	maṭe	(C)	ta[phā]	adhunā	ladhesha	Kaligyeshu
<i>Shāh.</i>	[va]	m[uṭe]	(C)	tato	[pa]cha	adh[hu]na	[Kaligeshu]
<i>Mān.</i>		[ma]ṭe	(C)	[tato]	pacha	adhuna	la[dhe]shu

<i>Gir.</i>	tī[v]o	dhammavāyo					
<i>Kāl.</i>	tive	dhamma[vāy]e	dhamma-k[ā]matā		dhammānushathi	chā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	[tivre]	dhrama-śilana	dhra[ma-ka]mata		dhramantūṣasti	cha	
<i>Mān.</i>	tī[vr]e	dhrama[va]ye			[dhra]manu[śa]sti	[cha]	

<i>Gir.</i>					[sa]yo	Devānaṁpriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānaṁpiyashā	(D)	sh[e]	athi	anushaye	Devānaṁpiya[sh]ā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanapriyasa	(D)	so	[a]sti	anusochana	Devanap[ria]sa
<i>Mān.</i>	[De]vana[pri]	(D)				

<i>Gir.</i>	[v . j .]						[va]dho
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijin[i]tu	Kaligyāni	(E)	avijitam	hi	vijinamane	e
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijiniti	Kaliga[ni]	(E)	avijitam	[hi	vi]jinamano	yo
<i>Mān.</i>							

<i>Gir.</i>	. . [h]āya-ñātikā	vyasanam	prāpuṇati	tata	so	pi	tesa
<i>Kāl.</i>	sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya	viyashanam	pāpunāta	tatā	she	[p]i	t[ā]namev[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	sahaya-ñatika	vasana	prapuṇati	[ta]tra	taṁ	pi	tesha vo
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	[u]paghāto	hāti	(/)	paṭibhā[g]o	chesā	s[ava]	. . . . .
<i>Kāl.</i>	upaghāt[e]	hoti	(/)	paṭibhāge	chā	esh[a]	sh[a]va-manu[shāna]m ✓
<i>Shāh.</i>	apagratho	bhoti	(/)	pratibhagam	cha	[e]tam	savra-manuśanam ✓
<i>Mān.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[esha]	savra-manuśanam

<i>Gir.</i>										
<i>Kāl.</i>	gul[u]-m[a]te	chā	Devāna[m]piyashā	(Ÿ)	n[a]thi	chā	she	jan[a]pade	yatā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	guru-mataṁ	cha	Devanaṁpriya[sa]	(Ÿ)	nasti	cha				
<i>Mān.</i>	guru-mate	cha	Devanaṁpriyasa	(Ÿ)	nasti	cha	se	janapade	yatra	

Gir. . . sti ime nikāyā añatra Yone[su]
Kāl. nathi ime nikāyā ānatā Y[o]nesh[u] barmhmane ch[ā] shamane chā .
Shāh.
Mān. nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[nā]tra Yoneshu [bramane cha] śra[mane] . .

Gir. [mh]i yatra nāsti mānusānaṁ ekataramhi
Kāl. nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi m[a]nushān[a] , ekatalash[i]
Shāh. ekatare
Mān. pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra

<i>Gir.</i>	pāsam̐damhi	na	nāma	prasā[d]o	(K)	y[ā]vata[k]o	j[ano]
<i>Kāl.</i>	[p]i | pāshaḍashi |	no	n[ā]ma	pashāde |	(K) she	ava[ta]ke	jane |
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi prashaḍaspi	na	nama	prasado	(K) so	yamatro	[ja]no
<i>Mān.</i>	.	na	nama	prasade	(K) se	yavatake	jane

<i>Gir.</i>	[ta]d[ā]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	t[a]dā	Kali[m̃]	geshu	|	[ladhesu	ha]te	ch[ā]	maṭ[e]	chā | [apavudhe]
<i>Shāh.</i>	tada	Kalige			[ha]to	cha	mut[o]	cha	apav[uḍha]
<i>Mān.</i>	tada	Kaliges[h]	u]		hate	cha	.	.	apavudhe

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	sra-bhāgo	va	garu-mat[o]
<i>Kāl.</i>	[chā |]	tato	shat[e] bhāge	vā |	shah[a]sha-bhāge	vā |	aja	gulu-mate
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	tato	śata-bhage	va	sahasra-bhagam	va	[a]ja	guru-matam
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	ta[to]	śata-bhage	va	sahasra-bhage	va	aja	guru-ma[te]

<i>Gir.</i>	Devānaṁ	
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā | Devāna[m]piyashā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	v[o] Devanāmpriyasa (L) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va	
<i>Mūn.</i>	[va] Devanapriya[sa] (L) pa[ka] . . . [mi]tavi	

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	na	ya	saka	chhamitave	(M)	yā	cha	pi	aṭaviyo
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devana	mp[r]	iyasa	ya	m	śako	kshamanaye	(M)	ya	pi	cha	aṭavi
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	(M)	.	[pi	cha]	aṭavi

[illegible]

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	..chate	te[sa]m	Devānampiyasa	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	(N)	anutape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanampiyasa	vuchati	tesha	kiti	✓					
<i>Mān.</i>	(N)	[anu]tape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanapriyasa	vuchati	[te]sha	[ki]..						
<hr/>															
<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sava-	
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[ney]u	(O)	ichha	.	.	.	.	.	sha[va]-	
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	avatrapeyu	na	cha	[ha]mñeyasu	(O)	ichhati	hi	D[e]vanampiyo	savra-					
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	(O)	chha	.	vanapri[y.]	.	.	.	.
<hr/>															
<i>Gir.</i>	.	bhūtānām	achhatim	cha	sayamam	cha	samachairam	ch[a]	mādava	cha					
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	[bhu]	.	.	[shayama	shamacha]	liya[m]	.	madava	ti					
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	bhutana	akshati	.	sa[m]yamam	sama[cha]	riyam	.	rabhasiye						
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<hr/>															
<i>Gir.</i>	(P)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(P)	iyam	vu	mu	.	.	.	.	Devānampiyeshā	ye	dha[m]ma-				
<i>Shāh.</i>	(P)	ayi	cha	mukha-mut[a]	vijaye	Devanampiya[sa]	yo	dhrama-							
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	[mukha]-mute	v[i]jaye	D[e]vanapriyasa	ye	dhrama-						
<hr/>															
<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[la]dh[o]	.	.	.	nampiyasa	idha				
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	vijaye	(Q)	sh[e]	cha	punā	ladhe	Devāna[m]pi	.	.	cha				
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	vijayo	(Q)	so	cha	puna	ladho	Devanampiyasa	iha	cha					
<i>Mān.</i>	.	vijaye	(Q)	se	cha	[puna]	la[dh]e	[Deva]napri[ya]sa	hida	cha					
<hr/>															
<i>Gir.</i>	.	[sa]vesu	[ch.]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	shaveshu	cha	ateshu	a	shashu	pi	[yo]jana-shateshu	at[a]	✓					
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	saveshu	cha	amteshu	[a]	shashu	pi	yojana-sa[t]eshu	yatra	✓					
<i>Mān.</i>	.	sa[vr]eshu	cha	amteshu	a	shashu	pi	y[o]ja[na-sa]t[e]shu	.	.	.	.	.	.
<hr/>															
<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	[Yo]na-rāja	param	cha	tena							
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	Atiyoge	nām[a]	Yo[na-lā]	.	[pa]lam	chā	tenā	A[m]tiyogenā	✓					
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	Am̐tiyoko	nama	Y[o]na-raja	param	cha	tena	Atiyok[e]na	✓						
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.. tiyo[ge]	nama	Yo[na-]raja	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<hr/>															
<i>Gir.</i>	.	chatpāro	rājāno	Turamāyo	cha	[A]m̐t[ek]ina	cha	Magā							
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	chatāli	4	lajāne	Tulamaye	[nā]m[a]	Am̐teki[ne	nā]ma	Makā	✓					
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	chature	4	rajani	Turamaye	nama	Am̐tikini	nama	Maka	✓					
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Am̐t[e]....	[nama	Ma]ka						
<hr/>															
<i>Gir.</i>	.	cha	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	nāma	Alikyashudale	nāma	nicham	Choḍa-Parṇḍiyā	avam	✓							
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	nama	Alikasudaro	nama	nicha	Choḍa-Parṇḍa	ava	✓							
<i>Mān.</i>	.	na[ma]	Alikasudare	nama	nicha	Choḍa-Parṇḍiya	a								
<hr/>															
<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	idha	rāja-vi[sa]yamhi					
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	Tambapamniyā	hevamev[ā]	(R)	hevamevā	[hi]dā	lā[ja]-viśavashi	✓							
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	Ta[m]bapam[ni]ya	.	(R)	[e]vameva	[hi]da	raja-vishavaspi	✓							
<i>Mān.</i>	.	Tambapa[m]niya	.	(R)	evameva	[hida]	raja-vishava[si]								

<i>Gir.</i>	[Y]o[na]-Kambo								
<i>Kāl.</i>	Yona-Kambojeshu	Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṃtishu	Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u						
<i>Shāh.</i>	Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu	Nabhaka-Nabhitina	Bhoja-Pitinikeshu						
<i>Mān.</i>	Y[o]na-Kam[bojeshu]	Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu	[Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu						

<i>Gir.</i>	. mndhra-Pārimdesu	savata	Devānaṃpiyasa	dhammānus[a]ṣṭim					
<i>Kāl.</i>	[Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u	[sha]vatā	[D]evā[na]ṃpi[ya]shā	dhammānu[sha]thi					
<i>Shāh.</i>	Amndhra-Palideshu	savatra	Devanaṃpriyasa	dhramanuṣasti					
<i>Mān.</i>	Adha-[Pa]								

<i>Gir.</i>	anuv[a]tare	(S) yata	pi dūti						
<i>Kāl.</i>	anuvataṃti	(S) y[a]ta	pi dutā	Devāna[ṃp]iyasā	no	yaṃti	t[e]	pi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	anuvataṃti	(S) yatra	pi	Devanaṃpriyasa	duta	na	vrachānti	te	pi
<i>Mān.</i>	. . . .	(S) [yatra	pi	du]ta	[De]vanapriyasa	na	yaṃti	te	pi

<i>Gir.</i>	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	[na]m	dhamānusastim		
<i>Kāl.</i>	sutu	Dev[āna]ṃp[i]naṃya	dh[amma]-vutaṃ	v[i]dh[a]na[m]			dhammānusa[th]i		
<i>Shāh.</i>	śrutu	Devanaṃpriyasa	dhrama-vutaṃ	vidh[a]naṃ			dhramanuṣasti		
<i>Mān.</i>	śrutu	Devanapriyasa	dhrama-vuta	vidhana[m]			dhramanuṣasti		

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	dhamam	anuvīdhiyare						
<i>Kāl.</i>		dha[m]ma[m]	anuvīdhiyama	[a]nuvīdhiyama	[ch]ā	(T) ye	se		
<i>Shāh.</i>		dhramam	[a]nuvīdhiyaṃti	anuvīdhiyaṃti	cha	(T) yo	[sa]		
<i>Mān.</i>		dhra[m]ma[m]	anuvīdhiyaṃti	[a]nuvīdhiy[i]saṃti	cha	(T) [ye	se]		

<i>Gir.</i>	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	[v]ijayo	savathā	puna	vijayo	
<i>Kāl.</i>	[la]dhe	etakenā	hoti	savatā	vi[ja]ye				
<i>Shāh.</i>	ladhe	etakena	bho[ti]	savatra	vijayo	sava[tra]	pu[na]	vijayo	
<i>Mān.</i>	ladhe	e[ta]ke[na	ho]ti	savra[tra]	vi[jaye]				

<i>Gir.</i>	pīti-raso	sā	(U) laḍhā	sā	pīti	hoti		dhamma-vijayamhi	
<i>Kāl.</i>	piti-lase	se	(U) gadhā	sā	hoti	piti	piti	dhamm[a]-vijayashi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	priti-raso	so	(U) ladha		bh[oti]	priti		dhrama-vijayaspi	
<i>Mān.</i>	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
<i>Kāl.</i>	(V) lahukā	v[u]	kho	sā	piti	(W) pālaṃtikyameve	maha-phalā		
<i>Shāh.</i>	(V) lahuka	tu	kho	sa	priti	(W) paratri[ka]meva	maha-phala		
<i>Mān.</i>	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	(W) paratrikameva	maha-phala		

<i>Gir.</i>	. . . .	. . . .	m[p]riyo	(X) etā[ya	athā]ya	ayaṃ	dhamma-		
<i>Kāl.</i>	maṃnaṃ[ti]	Dev[e]naṃ[pi]ne	(X) etāye	chā	aṭhāye	iyam	dha[m]ma-		
<i>Shāh.</i>	maṇiati	Devana[m]priyo	(X) etaye	cha	aṭhaye	ayi	dhrama-		
<i>Mān.</i>	{ma}ṇati	De[va]napri[ye]	(X) e[ta]ye	cha	[a]thray[e]	iyam	dhramma-		

<i>Gir.</i>	[l]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	[va]m	vijayam	mā	
<i>Kāl.</i>	lipi	likhitā	kiti	putā	papotā	me	a[su]	nava[m]	vijay[a] ma
<i>Shāh.</i>	dipi	nipi[sta]	kiti	putra	papotra	me	asu	navaṃ	vijayam ma
<i>Mān.</i>	dipi	li[khi]ta	kiti	putra	prap[o]tra	me	a[su]	nava[m]	v[i]. . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	vijetavyam	maññā	sarasake	eva	vijaye	chhāti	cha	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijayataviya	manishu	shayakashi	no	vi[ja]yashi	khamti	chā	la	hu-
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijetav[i]a	mañishu	spa[kaspi]	yo	vijay[e	ksham]ti	cha	lahu-	
<i>Mān.</i>	....[tavi]yam	man[ishu	saya]	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	damḍatā	[chā]	lochetu	tameva	chā	vijayam	manatu	ye	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	da[m]data	cha	rochetu	tañ	cha	yo	vija	maña[tu]	yo
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	kik[o]	ch[a	pā]r[alo]ki[ko]	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-vijaye	(Y)	she	hidalokikya		palalokiye	(Z)	shavā	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-vijayo	(Y)	so	hidalokiko		paralokiko	(Z)	sava-	.
<i>Mān.</i>	.	(Y)	.	hidalo	ke	paralokike	(Z)	sava	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	ka	nilati	hot[u]		uyāma-lati	(AA)	shā	hi
<i>Shāh.</i>	chatī-rati			bhotu	ya	[dh]rañma-rati	(AA)	sa	hi
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	[ka]	nirati	hotu	ya	dhrama-rati	(AA)	sa	hi

<i>Gir.</i>	ilokikā	cha	pāralokikā	cha	
<i>Kāl.</i>	hi[da]lokika		pa[la]lokikyā		
<i>Shāh.</i>	hidalokika		paralokika		
<i>Mān.</i>	[i]aloki[ka]		paraloki[ka]		

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	ayam	dhamma-lipī	Devānampriyena	Priyadasinā	r[ā]ñā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	iyam	dhama-lipī	Dev[ānam]p[ri]y[e]nā	[P]iyadasinā	lajinā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	ayi	dhrama-dipi	Devanampriyena	Priśi[na]	rañā
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	[i]yam	dhrama-dipi	De[va]napriyena	Pri[ya]	[jina]
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	iyam	dhamma-lipī	De[v]ānampiyena	Piyada[sin]ā	lāj[inā]
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	l[e]khāpitā	asti	eva	saṁkhit[e]na	asti	majhamena	asti	vistatana
<i>Kāl.</i>	likhāpitā	athi	yevā	sukhitenā	[a]thi	majhimenā	athi	vithaṭenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	nipesapita	asti	vo	saṁkshitenā	asti	yo		vistriṭena
<i>Mān.</i>	[likhapita]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	[likhā]	.	.	.	.	athi	ma[jh]imena]	.
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[ma]jhime[na]	ath[i]	vithaṭena

<i>Gir.</i>	(B)	na	cha	sarvam	[sa]rvata	ghaṭitam	(C)	mahālake	hi	vijitam
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B)	no	hi	savatā	save	[gha]ṭite	(C)	mahālake	hi	vijite
<i>Shāh.</i>	(B)	na	hi	savatra	sasavre	gaṭite	(C)	mahālake	hi	vijite
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	(B)	.	[h]i	save	sav[a]ta	ghaṭite	(C)	mahaṁte	hi	vijaye
<i>Fau.</i>	(B)	[no]	hi	save	savata	ghaṭite	(C)	mahaṁte	hi	vijaye

<i>Gir.</i>	bahu	cha	likhitam	likhāpayisam	cheva	(D)	asti	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	lekhāpeśāmi	cheva	nikyam	(D)	athi chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	likha[p]eśāmi	cheva	(D)	asti	chu
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	[likhite	likha]pe[śa]mi	che[va]	ni . . .	(D)	[asti chu]
<i>Dhau.</i>	bahu[k]e	cha	likhite	likhiyis . . .	.	.	(D)	[a]thi . .
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	eta	karṁ	puna	puna	vutaṁ	tasa	tasa	athasa	mādhūratāya
<i>Kāl.</i>	hetā		puna	pun[ā]	la[p]it[e]	tasha	tashā	athashā	madhuliyāye
<i>Shāh.</i>	atra		puna	puna	[la]pitaṁ	tasa	tasa	[a]ṭhasa	madhuriyaye
<i>Mān.</i>	[a]tra		puna	puna	la[pite]	tasa	ta[sa]	a[thra]sa	[madhu]riyaye
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	.	.	[vu]te	ta[sa]	.	.	[y]āy[e]
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	[sa]	mādhuliyāye

<i>Gir.</i>	kiṁti		jano	tathā	paṭipajetha	(E)			tatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	yena		jane	tathā	paṭipajeyā	(E)	she	shāyā	ata
<i>Shāh.</i>	ye[na]		jana	tatha	paṭipajeyati	(E)	so	siya	va atra
<i>Mān.</i>	[ye]na		jane	ta[tha]	paṭipaje[ya]ti	(E)	se	[si]ya	atra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[k]iṁti	cha	j[a]ne	tathā	paṭipajeyā ti	(E)	e	pi	chu heta
<i>Fau.</i>	kiṁt[i]	cha	jane	tathā	paṭipajeyā ti	(E)	e	pi	chu heta

<i>Gir.</i>	ekadā	asamāt[a]m	likhita[m]	asa	desam	va	sachhāya	[kā]raṇam	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	k[i]chhi	asamati	likhite		dishā	vā	shamkheye	kālanam	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	kichhe	asamatam	likhitam		deśam	va	samkhay[a]	karaṇa	va
<i>Mān.</i>	ki[chhi]	. . . [t]i	likhi[t.]		. . . .	va	[samkha]ya	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>		asamati	likhit[e s]	. . . .	sam		[lochay]itu	.	.
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	[a]lochētpā	lipikarāparadhena	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	alochayitu	li[p]ikalapalādhena	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	alocheti	dipikarasa	va aparadhena
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	k[a][ā]	[t]i
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.

II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[Devāna]m[pi]y[asa	vacha]nena	Tosaliyam	ma[hā]māta
<i>Fau.</i>	(A)	Dev[ā]nampiye	he[va]m [ā]hā	(B) Sam[ā]pāyam	mahāmātā

<i>Dhau.</i>	[naga]la-[v]i[yo]hālak[ā	va]taviya	(B)	[am	kichhi	dakhā]mi
<i>Fau.</i>	[na]gala-viyohālaka	he[va]m va]tav[i]y[ā]	(C)	am	kichhi	dakhāmi

<i>Dhau.</i>	hakam	taṁ	ichhāmi	k[i]m[t]i	kaṁ[mana	pa]ṭi[pāday]eham
<i>Fau.</i>	ha[k]am	[taṁ]	ichhām[i	k]iṁt[i	kaṁ	kamana pa]ṭipātayeham

Dhau. duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la]
Ḥau. duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam

Dhau. [etasi aṭha]si am tuph[esu] anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-
Ḥau. a[m] tuphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-

Dhau. sahasesum ā[yata] p[a]na[ya]m ga]chh[e]ma su munisānam
Ḥau. sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[ya]m gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]

Dhau. (E) save munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m]
Ḥau. (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i]

Dhau. [kimti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena hidalo[kika]-pālalokike[na] y[ū]jev[ū]
Ḥau. [kim]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena

Dhau. [t]i [tathā muni]sesu pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha
Ḥau. [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu tu[phe]

Dhau. pāpunātha āv[a]ga[m]u[k]e [iya]m aṭhe (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-
Ḥau. [e]ta[m] [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e [i]ya]m aṭh[e] (I) kechā eka-

Dhau. puli[se] nāti e[ta]m se pi desa[m] no sava[m] (J) de[kha]t[a hi]
Ḥau. [muni]s[e] pā[p]unāti se pi desa[m] no sava[m] (Ḥ) dakhatha hi

Dhau. [t]u[phe] eta[m] suvi[hi]tā pi (Ḥ) [n]itiya[m] eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e]
Ḥau. [tuphe] pi suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi ye eti eka-munise

Dhau. baṁdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti akasmā
Ḥau. ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]sam [p]i pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i] aka]sm[ā]

Dhau. tena badhana[m]tik[a] amne cha hu jane da[v]iye
Ḥau. ti ten[a] badhana[m]ti[ka] anye] cha [va]ge bahuke

Dhau. dukhīyati (L) tata ichhitaviye tuphehi kimti m[a]jham paṭipādayemā
Ḥau. vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi ichhi]taye kimti majham [pa]ṭipādayem[a]

Dhau. ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṁpaṭipajati isāya āsulopena
Ḥau. (N) imehi jāte[hi] no [pa]ṭipa[ja]ti i[s]ā[ya] āsulopena

Dhau. ni[tū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena
Ḥau. [ni]tū[li]ye[na] t[ul]āya [a]nā[v]uti[ya] āla[s]y[e]na ki]lamath[e]na

Dhau. (N) se ichhitaviye kitim ete [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]jā
Ḥau. (O) heva[m] ichhit[a]vi[y]e kimti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni n]o hveyū

Dhau. ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū]l[a]nā cha
Ḥau. ti (P) savasa chu iya[m] mū[le] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e] atulanā] cha

Dhau. (P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā [na] te uga[chha]
Ḥau. (Q) ni[tiya]m [e]y[a]m k[i]l[am]te [siya] saṁchalitu uthāy[ā]

Dhau. saṁchalitaviy[e] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṁmeva
Jau. saṁchalitavye tu v[a]ṭitaviya [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yaṁ (R) eve

Dhau. e da[kheya] t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye ānaṁne dekhata
Jau. dakh[e]yā āna[m]ne ṇijhap[e]ta[vi]ye

Dhau. hevaṁ cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānaṁpiyasa anusathi (R) se
Jau. heva[m] hevaṁ] cha Devānaṁ[p]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]m

Dhau. mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [saṁpa]ṭipāda mahā-apāye asaṁpaṭipati
Jau. [saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]taṁ mahā-phale hoti asaṁpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti

Dhau. (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi etaṁ nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi no lāj[ā]la[dh]i
Jau. (T) vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ no svag[a]-āladhi no lājādhi

Dhau. (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṁm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke
Jau. (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kaṁ]masa sa me k[u]t[e] ma[n]-o-ati]le[ke]

Dhau. (U) sa[m]paṭipajam[i]n[e] chu [etaṁ] svaga[m] āladha[yi]sa[tha]
Jau. (V) [etaṁ] saṁpaṭipajamīne mama] cha ānanyaṁ esatha

Dhau. [mama cha ā]naniyaṁ ehatha (V) iyaṁ cha l[i]p[i] t[i]sa-na[kha]tena
Jau. svagaṁ cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (W) iyaṁ chā l[i]p[i] anutisaṁ

Dhau. so[ta]viy[ā] (W) aṁta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na] kha[nasi] kha[nas]i
Jau. sot[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā

Dhau. ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphe chaghatha
Jau. ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y) m[i]ne ch[aghatha]

Dhau. sampa[ti]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye iya[m]l[i]p[i] likhit[a h]ida ena
Jau. tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyaṁ [li]khitā [l]ipī ena

Dhau. nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṁ samayaṁ yūjevū t[i] . . .
Jau. mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m] sama[ya]m [etaṁ] yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena

Dhau. . . [na]sa akasmā [pa]libodhe va [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā
Jau. [muni]s[ā]naṁ [a] ne [pal]i[k]i

Dhau. ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] mate p[a]mchasu paṁchasu
Jau. ye [pa]mchasu paṁchasu

Dhau. [va]sesu [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chaṁ]d[e]
Jau. va[sesu] anu[sa]yānaṁ nikhāma[y]isāmi mahāmāta[m] achamda[m]

Dhau. s[a]khinālaṁbhe hosati etaṁ aṭhaṁ jānitu [ta]thā kala[m]ti
Jau. aphal[usa]m ta

Dhau. atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a]
Jau. pi kumāle [v]

Dhau. aṭhāye [ni]khāma[yisa] hedisameva vagam no cha atikāmayisati
Jau. m[ayī]

Dhau. timni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte pi (CC) [a]dā a
Jau. [lā]t[e]

Dhau. te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānaṃ tadā ahāpayitu atane
Jau. vachanik[a] ada [anusa]yānaṃ n[ikha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne

Dhau. kaṃmaṃ etaṃ pi jānisaṃti taṃ pi ta[th]ā kalaṃti
Jau. ka[mma]m [yitu] taṃ pi tathā kalaṃti

Dhau. a[tha] lājine anusathī ti
Jau. [athā]

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. (A) Devānaṃpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā cha
Jau. (A) Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyaṃ mahamatā

Dhau. vataviya (B) aṃ kichhi dakhām[i] h[akaṃ taṃ i]
Jau. l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] vataviyā (C) aṃ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakaṃ taṃ i[chh]āmi

Dhau. duvālate cha ālabhehaṃ (C) esa
Jau. hakaṃ k[iṃ]ti kaṃ kamana paṭipātayehaṃ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṃ (D) esa

Dhau. cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi aṃ tuphe[s]u
Jau. cha me mokhiya-mat[a] duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]sa a[m] t[uph]esu anusa[thi]

Dhau. mama (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṃ ki[m]ti
Jau. (E) sava-munisā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṃti me

Dhau. savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalogika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti
Jau. savenā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū¹ ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]

Dhau. h[e]v[aṃ] (F) siyā aṃtānaṃ avijitānaṃ
Jau. hevaṃmeva me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā aṃtānaṃ [a]vijitānaṃ

Dhau. ki-chha[mde] su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) m[a]va ichha mama aṃtesu
Jau. kiṃ-chhāmde su lājā aphisū ti (H) etākā [vā] me ichha [a]mtesu

Dhau. . . . i [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānaṃp[iy] [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
Jau. pāpunevu lājā hevaṃ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]

Dhau. huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhaṃmeva lahevu mamat[e]
Jau. mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhaṃ[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate

Dhau. no dukha[m] h[e]va[m] . . . un[e]vū iti khamisati ne
Jau. [n]o kha[m] hevaṃ cha pāpunevu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne

¹ The last eight words are repeated thus: [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṃ[tī] m[e] savena hita-sukh[e]na yujevū.

Dhau. Devānaṃpiye [aph]ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṃ [va]
Ḥau. lājā e s[a]kiye khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ

Dhau. cha dhammaṃ chalevū hidaloka palaloka[m] cha
Ḥau. cha dhamma[m] chaley[ū] ti hidalog[aṃ] cha palalogam cha

Dhau. ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe
Ḥau. ālādhayey[ū] (I) etāye cha aṭhāye hakaṃ tupheni anusāsāmi

Dhau. ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṃ anusāsitu chhamdaṃ cha veditu
Ḥau. ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kaṃ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhamda[m] cha] vedi[t]u

Dhau. ā [hi] , dhi[t]i paṭimñā cha mamā [a]jalā (I) s[e] hevaṃ kaṭu
Ḥau. ā mama dhiti paṭimñā cha achala (Ḥ) sa hevaṃ [ka]ṭu

Dhau. kaṃme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i [cha] tāni ena
Ḥau. k[aṃ]me [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te

Dhau. pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Devānaṃpiy[e] aphāka athā cha
Ḥau. pāpuneyu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṃ [n]e lājā ti atha

Dhau. atānaṃ hevaṃ Devānaṃpiye [a]nukaṃpati aphe athā cha pajā
Ḥau. [a]tānaṃ anukaṃpat[i] he]vaṃ a[ph]eni anuka[m]pa]ti athā pajā

Dhau. hevaṃ may[e] D[e]vānaṃpiyasa (Ḥ) se hakaṃ anusāsitu [chha]mda[m]
Ḥau. hevaṃ [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakaṃ anusāsita [chh]āmdaṃ ,

Dhau. ch[a veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike
Ḥau. [cha v]e[di]ta [ā ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m]nā chā achala [saka]la-desā-āy[ut]ike

Dhau. hosāmi etāye aṭhāye (K) paṭibalā hi taph[e] asvāsanāye hita-
Ḥau. hosāmi et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]lam [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-

Dhau. sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalokika-pālalo[ki]kāye (L) hevaṃ cha
Ḥau. sukhāye [cha te]sa[m] hidalogi[ka]-p[ā]la[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṃ cha

Dhau. kalaṃtaṃ tuphe svagaṃ ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyaṃ
Ḥau. kalaṃtaṃ svaga[m] cha ā]lādhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyam

Dhau. ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi likhitā hida e[na]
Ḥau. es[a]tha (N) etāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m lipī li[kh]i[ta] hi]da e[na]

Dhau. [ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa]ma yujisaṃti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-
Ḥau. [ma]h[ā]mātā sāsataṃ samam yujeyū asvāsanāye cha dhamma-

Dhau. chala[n]āye cha tes[a] aṃtānaṃ (N) iyaṃ cha lipi [anu]chātum[m]āsaṃ
Ḥau. chala[nā]ye [cha] aṃtā[na]m (O) iyaṃ cha lipī a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]āsaṃ

Dhau. tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmaṃ chu [kha]nas[i] khanasi
Ḥau. s[ota]viyā tisena (P) aṃta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā

Dhau. aṁtalā pi tisena ekena [p]i [so]taviya (P) hevaṁ kala[m]taṁ
Ḥau. (Q) khane saṁtaṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m] cha [ka]laṁ[ta]ṁ

Dhau. [t]uphe chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave
Ḥau. chaghatha saṁpaṭipātayit[av]e

III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Nand. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Rām. (A) Devānaṁpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
All. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

Tōp. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Ar. me iyaṁ dhamma-li[p]i likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Nand. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Rām. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
All. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipāda[y]e

Tōp. aṁnata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]sāyā
Ar. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāy[a] agāya susūsāya
Nand. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya
Rām. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya
All. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā

Tōp. aṁena bhayenā aṁena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
Ar. aṁena bhayena aṁena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Nand. aṁena bhayena aṁena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Rām. aṁena bhayena aṁena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
All. aṁena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

Tōp. dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati chevā
Ar. dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
Nand. dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
Rām. dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
All. dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati ch[e]vā

Tōp. (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā
Ar. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Nand. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Rām. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
All. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha

Tōp. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti chā alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Ar. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Nand. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Rām. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
All. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave

<i>Tōp.</i>	(F) hemevā	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esa	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Mīr.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Ar.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	(F) herneva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	(F) herimeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	[i]yam	dhammena

<i>Tōp.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyanā	dhammena
<i>Mīr.</i>	....[nam]	dhammen[a]	v[i]dh[āne]	dha[me]	.	.
<i>Ar.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukh[i]yana	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhīyana	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dha[m]m[e]na	sukhīyana	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhīyanā	dhammena

<i>Tōp.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>	.	.
<i>Ar.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	gōtī	ti
<i>All.</i>	[gut]i	[ti cha]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Mīr.</i>	(A) De[vā]n[a]ṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	[hevaṁ ā]..		(B) dh[am]me	s[ā]dh[u]
<i>Ar.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Nand.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Rām.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>All.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū

<i>Tōp.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache
<i>Mīr.</i>	k[iya]m	.	.	[m]e	ti	(C) a[pā]sinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne
<i>Ar.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
<i>Nand.</i>	kiya	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
<i>Rām.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
<i>All.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache

<i>Tōp.</i>	sochaye		(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-
<i>Mīr.</i>	sochaye		(D)	[chakhu-dā]nā	[pi	me]	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	du[pa]da-
<i>Ar.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-
<i>Nand.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-
<i>Rām.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-
<i>All.</i>	sochaye		(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-

<i>Tōp.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Mīr.</i>	ch[a]tu[pa]desu	pakhi-vālichale[su	viv]i[dhe	me	anu]gahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Ar.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Nand.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Rām.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>All.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-

<i>Tōp.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	aṁnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Mīr.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	a[m]nāni	pi	cha	me	bah[ūni]	kayānāni]	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Ar.</i>	dakhināye	(F)	a[m]nāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Nand.</i>	dakhināye	(F)	aṁnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Rām.</i>	dakhināye	(F)	aṁnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>All.</i>	dakhināye	(F)	aṁnāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilaṁ-
<i>Mīr.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	li[khāpitā]	. . . .	anupaṭipajamtu	chil[am]-
<i>Ar.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilaṁ-
<i>Nand.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilaṁ-
<i>Rām.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilaṁ-
<i>All.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chila-

<i>Tōp.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū	tī	ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭipajisati	se
<i>Mīr.</i>	[th]itikā	cha	hot[ū]		ti	(H)	ye	[cha]	. . . . .	[sa]ti	se
<i>Ar.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭipajisati	se
<i>Nand.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭipajisati	se
<i>Rām.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭipajisati	se
<i>All.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭipajisati	se

<i>Tōp.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	tī
<i>Mīr.</i>	sukaṭam	ka[chha]tī	tī
<i>Ar.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	tī
<i>Nand.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	
<i>Rām.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	tī
<i>All.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	tī

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	ahā	(B)	kayānaṁmeva	dekhati
<i>Mīr.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānaṁm[eva]	de]
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B)	kayānaṁmeva	dekhamti
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B)	kayānaṁmeva	dekhamti
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B)	kayānaṁmeva	dekhamti
<i>All.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānameva	dekhati

<i>Tōp.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpaṁ	d[e]khati	iyam	me
<i>Mīr.</i>	. . . . .		kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	min[ā]	pāpaṁ	dekhati	iyam	me
<i>Ar.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpaṁ	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>Nand.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpaṁ	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>Rām.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpaṁ	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>All.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpakam	dekhati	iyam	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	tī	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Mīr.</i>	pāp[e]	kaṭe	tī	iyam	va]	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	[du]paṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Ar.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	tī	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Nand.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	tī	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Rām.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	tī	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>All.</i>	pāpake	kaṭe	tī	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	tī	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Tōp.</i>	esā	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāma
<i>Mīr.</i>	esā	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	[esa de]	khiye	(F)	imāni	āsinav[a-gāmīni]	nāma
<i>Ar.</i>	esa	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā
<i>Nand.</i>	esa	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā
<i>Rām.</i>	esa	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā

<i>Tōp.</i>	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	va
<i>Mīr.</i>	atha	chaṃḍ[i]ye	ni[ṭhū]li[y]e	k[o]dhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	[va]
<i>Ar.</i>	ti	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena
<i>Nand.</i>	ti	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena
<i>Rām.</i>	ti	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena

<i>Tōp.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	(G)	esa	bāḍha	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Mīr.</i>	hakam	mā	palibha[sa]yi[sa]m	(G)	...	bā[ḍham]	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Ar.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	ti	(G)	esa	bāḍham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam
<i>Nand.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	ti	(G)	esa	bāḍham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam
<i>Rām.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	(G)	esa	bāḍham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye
<i>Mīr.</i>	[hi]dat[i]kāye	iyam	me	pālatikāye
<i>Ar.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye
<i>Nand.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye
<i>Rām.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	[ā]ja	hevaṃ	āhā	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Ar.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Nand.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Rām.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu

<i>Tōp.</i>	janasi	āyatā	(D)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	vā	damḍe	vā	ata-patiye	me
<i>Ar.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	va	d[a]mḍe	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Nand.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	va	damḍe	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Rām.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesam	ye	abhihale	va	damḍe	va	ata-patiye	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūkā	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	janasa
<i>Ar.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti

<i>Tōp.</i>	jānapadasā	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	chā	(E) sukhīyana-
<i>Ar.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	(E) sukhīyana-
<i>Nand.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	(E) sukhīyana-
<i>Rām.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	(E) sukhīyana-

<i>Tōp.</i>	dukhīyanaṃ	jānisaṃti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam
<i>Ar.</i>	dukhīyanaṃ	jānisaṃti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam
<i>Nand.</i>	dukhīyanaṃ	jānisaṃti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam
<i>Rām.</i>	dukhīyanaṃ	jānisaṃti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam

<i>Tōp.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F) lajūkā	pi	laghamti
<i>Ar.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū		(F) lajūkā	pi	laghamti
<i>Nand.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F) lajūkā	pi	laghamti
<i>Rām.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F) lajūkā	pi	laghamti

<i>Tōp.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G) pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdaṃnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Ar.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G) pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdaṃnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Nand.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G) pulisā[ā]ni	pi	me	chhamdaṃnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Rām.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G) pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdaṃnāni	paṭichalisamti

<i>Tōp.</i>	(H) te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūkā	chaghamti
<i>Mīr.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	[ka]	chaghamti
<i>Ar.</i>	(H) te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūka	chaghamti
<i>Nand.</i>	(H) te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūka	chaghamti
<i>Rām.</i>	(H) te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūka	chaghamti

<i>Tōp.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I) athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Mīr.</i>	[ā]lādha[y]i[tave]	(I)	.	.	.	.	.	tu asvathe
<i>Ar.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I) athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Nand.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I) athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Rām.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I) athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe

<i>Tōp.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihāṭave	hevaṃ
<i>Mīr.</i>	[ho]ti	vi[ya]	.	.	.	.	.	[l]i[ha]ṭave	hev[am]
<i>Ar.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	paṃjaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihāṭave	ti hevaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihāṭave	ti hevaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihāṭave	ti hevaṃ

<i>Tōp.</i>	mamā	lajūkā	kaṭā	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Ṣ) yena	ete	abhītā
<i>Mīr.</i>	[mam]ā	[la]jūk[a]	.	.	.	ye (Ṣ) yen[a]	ete	a[bh]itā
<i>Ar.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Ṣ) yena	ete	abhīta
<i>Nand.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Ṣ) yena	ete	abhīta
<i>Rām.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Ṣ) yena	ete	abhīta

<i>Tōp.</i>	asvatha	saṃtaṃ	avimaṇā	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Mīr.</i>	asvatha	saṃ	.	.	[pa]vataye[v]ū	ti	[e]te[na]
<i>Ar.</i>	asvathā	saṃtaṃ	achhimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Nand.</i>	asvathā	saṃtaṃ	avimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Rām.</i>	asvathā	saṃtaṃ	avimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	abh[i]hāle	va	daṃḍe	vā	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Mīr.</i>	me	[laj]ū[kā]n[am]	.	.	.	.	ata-patiye	kaṭ[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	abhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Nand.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	[a]bhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Rām.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	abhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>All.</i>	.	[kānaṃ	abhihāle	vā	daṃḍe	vā	ata-pa]t[i]y[e	kaṭe]

<i>Tōp.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	[h]i	esā	kiṃti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Mīr.</i>	(K)	ichhitavi	.	.	.	[h]āla-samatā	ch[a]	siyā
<i>Ar.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kiṃti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Nand.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kiṃti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Rām.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	ki[m]ti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>All.</i>	(K)	[i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]	h[i]	e[s]a	k[i]m]t[i]	..... la-sama[t]ā	cha	siyā

<i>Tōp.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	chā	(L)	ava	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>Mīr.</i>	daṃḍa-sa[ma]	.	.	.	.	.	.	[me]	āvuti	[ba]ṃdhana-
<i>Ar.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>Nand.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>Rām.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>All.</i>	da[m]ḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āva	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-

<i>Tōp.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīl[i]ta-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasā[n]i
<i>Mīr.</i>	[badh]ānaṃ	munisā[naṃ]	.	.	.	vadhānaṃ tiṃni di[va]sāni
<i>Ar.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisā[na]m	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	yote	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>Mīr.</i>	[m]e	y[o]te	diṃne	(M)	.	.	.	payisa[m]ti	j[i]v[i]tāye
<i>Ar.</i>	me	yote	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>Nand.</i>	me	[yo]te	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>Rām.</i>	me	[y]ote	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>All.</i>	.	yote	diṃne	(M)	....[k]ā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye

<i>Tōp.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	vā	nijhapayitā	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>Mīr.</i>	tāna[m]	nāsaṃtaṃ	[v]ā	ni	.	.	pālatikaṃ
<i>Ar.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	va	nijhapayi[ta]ve	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	va	nijhapayi[tav]e	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	va	nijhapayitave	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>All.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	vā	nijhapayitā	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ

<i>Tōp.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Mīr.</i>	u[pa]vāsaṃ	vā	k[a]....	(N)	.	.	.	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Ar.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Nand.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Rām.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>All.</i>	upavāsaṃ	vā	[ka]chha[m]ti	(N)	....	[h]i	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi

<i>Tōp.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Mīr.</i>	[k]ālasī	pā[la]tam	ālādha[ye]	.	.	.	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Ar.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	va[ḍha]ti	vividhe
<i>Nand.</i>	[kālas]i	pālatam	ālādhayevū	t[i]	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Rām.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>All.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayev[u]		(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe

<i>Tōp.</i>	dhamma-chalane	saṃyame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>	dhamma-chal[a]ne	saṃyame	dā[na]	.
<i>Ar.</i>	dha[m]ma-chalane	sayame	dāna-saṃvibhāge	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>All.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
<i>Ar.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Nand.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Rām.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B) saḍuvīsati-[va]sābhisitena
<i>All.</i>	(A) [p]iye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	imāni	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyathā	suke	sālīkā	alune
<i>Ar.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālīka
<i>Nand.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyath[ā]	suke	sālīka
<i>Rām.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālīka
<i>All.</i>	me	imāni		jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālīkā

<i>Tōp.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	naṃdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūkā	ambā-kapīlikā	dalī
<i>Ar.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	naṃdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duḷi
<i>Nand.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	naṃdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duḷi
<i>Rām.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	naṃdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duḷi
<i>All.</i>	chaka[v]āke	.	[naṃdī]m[u]khe	gelāṭe	jatūk[ā]	ambā-kipilikā	duḍi

<i>Tōp.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-pupuṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭ[a]-
<i>Ar.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-pupuṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-
<i>Nand.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-pupuṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-
<i>Rām.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-pupuṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-
<i>All.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-

<i>Tōp.</i>	sayake	paṃna-sase	simale	saṃḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Ar.</i>	seyake	paṃna-sase	simale	saṃḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Nand.</i>	seyake	paṃna-sase	simale	saṃḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Rām.</i>	seyake	paṃna-sase	simale	saṃḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>All.</i>	. . . . k[e]	p[a]ṃna-sase	'simale	saṃḍa	.	.	[ta]-kapote

<i>Tōp.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭipogam	no	eti	no	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>All.</i>	gāma-kapote	sa[v]e	chatu[pa]de	ye	paṭ[i]bhogam	[no]	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	..... i	[e]lakā	chā	sūkālī	chā	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>Ar.</i>	khādiy[a]ti	(C)	ajakā nāni	ḍakā	cha	sukālī	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>Nand.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā nāni	ḍakā	cha	sūkālī	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>Rām.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā nāni	ḍakā	cha	sūkālī	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	nā	.	.	.	.	.	[p]ā[ya]mī .

<i>Tōp.</i>	va	avadhi[y.	p.ta]ke	pi	cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Mīr.</i>	.	.	[potake	pi	cha]	k[ā]n[i]	.	.	ke (D) [vadh]i-kukuṭe
<i>Ar.</i>	va	avadhya	potake		cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Nand.</i>	va	avadhya	potake		cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Rām.</i>	va	avadhya	potake		cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe

<i>Tōp.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpetaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	vā	
<i>Mīr.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajī[ve]	.	.	ta[v]iye	(F)	dāve	[a]naṭhāye	vā
<i>Ar.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	va	
<i>Nand.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	va	
<i>Rām.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	va	
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	sajīve	no	jhā[pa]	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	vihiṣāye	vā	no	jhāpetaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	vihiṣāye	vā	no	[jhāpe]ta[vi]ye	(G)	jī[v]ena	jī[v]e	no	pusi[ta]viye
<i>Ar.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusita iye
<i>Rām.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye

<i>Tōp.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁāsīsu	tisāyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁāsīsu	[t]isāya[m]	pu[m]na[mā[si]ya[m]	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Ar.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁāsīsu	tisyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁāsīsu	tisiyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁā[s]īsu	tisyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	[n]i

<i>Tōp.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadāy[e]	dhuvāye	chā	anuposathaṁ
<i>Mīr.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	p[a]ṭipadā	dh[r]uvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>Ar.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>Nand.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>Rām.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>All.</i>	chā[v]u[da]saṁ	[pa]ṁnaḍa[da]	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yevā	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Mīr.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketav[i]ye	(I)	etān[i]	yeva	divasāni	n[ā]ga-
<i>Ar.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Nand.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Rām.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-

<i>Tōp.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	van[a]si	kevaṭa-bhogasi	y[ā]ni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyān[i]	no	[ha]ṁtaviyāni
<i>Ar.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nik[ā]yāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
<i>Nand.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
<i>Rām.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Mīr.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye	[chā]vudasāye	paṁ[na]ḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḷasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitaviye	ajake	eḍake	sūkale
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitavi[y]e	ajake	eḷake	sūkale
<i>Ar.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitaviye	ajake	eḷake	sūkale
<i>Nand.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitaviye	ajake	eḷake	sūkale
<i>Rām.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitaviye	ajake	eḷake	sūkale

<i>Tōp.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhiyati	no	nilakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Mīr.</i>	e vā pi aṁ[n]e	nī[la]khi[ya]ti	[no]	nilakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasun[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhiyati	no	nilakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Nand.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhiyati	no	nilakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Rām.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhiyati	no	nilakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>)	tisāye	punāvasune

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātu[m]māsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	....[v]īye
<i>Ar.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Rām.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[lakha]n[e]	no kaṭaviye]

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Mīr.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena	me	etāye	a[m]talikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>All.</i>	(<i>L</i>) [y]ā . . . . .	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Ar.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Nand.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Rām.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>A</i>) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	ahā	(<i>B</i>) duvāḍasa-
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>A</i>) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(<i>B</i>) duvā[ḍa]sa-
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>A</i>) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(<i>B</i>) duva[ḷa]s[a]-
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>A</i>) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(<i>B</i>) duvāḍasa-
<i>All.</i>	(<i>A</i>) [p]īye	[P]iyada[s]ī	l[ā] . . . . .	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	vasa-abhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	lokasā	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Ar.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Nand.</i>	[va]sābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Rām.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ

<i>Tōp.</i>	apahaṭṭā	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vaḍḍhi	pāpovā	(C)	hevaṃ	lokasā	hita-
<i>Ar.</i>	apahaṭṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vaḍḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevaṃ	lokasa	hita-
<i>Nand.</i>	apahaṭṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vaḍḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevaṃ	lokasa	hita-
<i>Rām.</i>	apahaṭṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vaḍḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevaṃ	lok[a]sa	hita-
<i>All.</i>	. . . .	t[am]	. . . .	[dḥ]i	[pā]....	(C)	heva[m]	lokasa	hita-

<i>Tōp.</i>	[sukhe]	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyam	nāṭisu	hevaṃ	patiyāsaṃnesu	
<i>Ar.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyam	nāṭisu	hevaṃ	patyāsaṃnesu	
<i>Nand.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyam	nāṭisu	hevaṃ	patyāsaṃnesu	
<i>Rām.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyam	nāṭisu	hevaṃ	patyāsaṃnesu	
<i>All.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	[iya]m	. . . .	[va]m	[paty]āsa[m]ne[su]	

<i>Tōp.</i>	hevaṃ	apakaṭṭhesu	kimam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmī	ti	tatha	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	hevaṃ	apakaṭṭhesu	kimmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmī	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	hevaṃ	apakaṭṭhesu	kimmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmī	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	hevaṃ	apakaṭṭhesu	kimmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmī	ti	tathā	cha
<i>All.</i>	[heva]m	apaka[ṭṭ]e[su]	kimam	[k]ā[ni]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

<i>Tōp.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṃḍā	
<i>Ar.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṃḍā	
<i>Nand.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṃḍā	
<i>Rām.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-n[i]kāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṃḍā	
<i>All.</i>	[v][dah]āmi	(D)	hevaṃmeva	[sa]va..[k]āyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	[sa]va-pāsaṃḍā	

<i>Tōp.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e	chu	iyam	at[a]nā	pachūpagamane
<i>Mīr.</i>	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	ūpagamane
<i>Ar.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e	chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Nand.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e	chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Rām.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e	chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>All.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	[pū]jāyā	(F)	e	chu	iy[a]m	atānā	pachupagamane

<i>Tōp.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>Mīr.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	saḍu isitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>Ar.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)	saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>Nand.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saḍuvisati-va[s]ābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>Rām.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saḍuvisat[i]-vasābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>All.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Tōp.</i>	lipi	likhāpitā	
<i>Mīr.</i>	li[pi]	li	
<i>Ar.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Nand.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Rām.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>All.</i>	lipi	likhāpitā	ti

IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION AND COGNATE INSRIPTIONS

<i>Rūp.</i>	(A) Devānāmpiye	heva[m]	āhā	(B) sāti[ra]kekāni	aḍhati[y]āni
<i>Sah.</i>	(A) Devānāmpiye	he[va]m	ā		[iyāni]
<i>Bair.</i>	(A) Devānāmpiye		āh[ā]	(B) s[ā]ti	
<i>Mas.</i>	(A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa	Asok[a]sa			[a]ḍh[a]t[i] . . ni
<i>Brah.</i>	(B) Devānāmpiye	āṇapayati		(C) adhikāni	aḍhātiyāni
<i>Śidd.</i>	(B) [Dev]ā[na]mpiye	heva[m]	āha	(C) adhikāni	a[ḍhā]t[i]y[āni]
<i>Ḥat.</i>	(B) Dev[ā]n[a]				

<i>Rūp.</i>	va	ya	sumi prakāsa	[Sa]k[e]	(C) no	chu	bāḍhi
<i>Sah.</i>	[savachhalāni | a]	m	upāsake	sumi |	(C) na	chu	bāḍham
<i>Bair.</i>	vasān[i]	ya	hakam	upāsake	(C) [no	chu]	bāḍham
<i>Mas.</i>	vashā[ni] |	am	sum[i]	Bu[dha]-Śake			
<i>Brah.</i>	v[a]sāni	ya	hakam	. . . sa[ke]	(D) no	tu	kho
<i>Śidd.</i>	vasāni	ya	ha[kam]	u]pāsake	(D) no	tu	kho
<i>Ḥat.</i>	. . .	ya	hakam	. . . .	(D) . . .		kho
							bāḍha

<i>Rūp.</i>	pakate				(D)	sātīleke	chu	
<i>Sah.</i>	[palaka]m[t]e				(D)	sav[a]chhale		
<i>Bair.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Mas.</i>	(C)				.	[t]ire ..		
<i>Brah.</i>	prakamte	husam	ekam	savachharam	(E)	sātireke	tu	kho
<i>Śidd.</i>	pakamte	husam	ek[am]	sa[vachha] ..	(E)	[sātire]ke	tu	kho
<i>Ḥat.</i>	.	.	.	.	(E)	.. ti[reke]	.	.

<i>Rūp.</i>	chhavachhare	ya	sumi	haka[m]	sagh[a]	up[e]te	bāḍhi	ch[a]
<i>Sah.</i>	sādh[ke]	a[m]						
<i>Bair.</i>	.	a[m]	mamayā	saghe	[u]payāte	[bā]ḍha	cha	
<i>Mas.</i>	.	[m]i		[s]amgha[m]	u[pa]gate	[uṭh]	.	.
<i>Brah.</i>	saṁvachhareṁ	yaṁ	mayā	saṁghe	upayite	bāḍhaṁ	cha	
<i>Śidd.</i>	saṁvachhare	[ya]m	mayā	saṁ]ghe	upayite	bāḍhaṁ	[cha]	
<i>Ḥat.</i>	.	[ya]m	.	[yā]	.	.	.	.

<i>Rūp.</i>		pakate	(E) yā	[i]māya	kālāya	Jambudipasi
<i>Sah.</i>	. . . .	[te]	(E) [etena	cha	aṁta]lena |	Jambudīpasi |
<i>Bair.</i>	. . . .					Jambudipasi
<i>Mas.</i>	.. m[i]	u[pa]gate	(D) pure			Jambu . . . s[i]
<i>Brah.</i>	me	pakamte	(F) iminā	chu	kālēna	amisā samānā
<i>Śidd.</i>	[me]	p[akam]te	(F) i[m]inā	chu	kālēna	[a]misā samā[nā]
<i>Ḥat.</i>	. . . .				

<i>Rūp.</i>	iya	paka[rā	va]	kiti	chira-ṭhitike	siyā	(I) iya	hi	aṭhe
<i>Sah.</i>	chila-ṭhit[īke]	cha			p[a]l[ā]kame	hotu	(I) iya[m]	cha	[aṭhe]
<i>Bair.</i>	[ch]ila-ṭhit								
<i>Mas.</i>	[se a]				t[i]k[e]	cha			
<i>Brah.</i>	chira-ṭhitike	cha	iyam	[paka]			(Ṣ) iyam	cha	aṭhe
<i>Śidd.</i>	[chira]-ṭhi[t]ik[e]	cha	iyam	pakame	hoti		(Ṣ)		
<i>Ṣat.</i>								[cha]	

<i>Rūp.</i>	vaḍhi	vaḍhisiti	vipula		cha	vaḍhisiti			
<i>Sah.</i>		vaḍhisati	vipulam	pi	cha	vaḍhisati		diyaḍhiyam	
<i>Bair.</i>			lam	pi		vaḍhisati			
<i>Mas.</i>						va[dhi]siti	chā	diya[dhi]yam	
<i>Brah.</i>		vaḍhisiti	vipulam	pi	cha	vaḍhisiti			
<i>Śidd.</i>		va[dh]isiti	vipu[la]m	p[i]	cha	vaḍhisiti			
<i>Ṣat.</i>		.. [dhi]s	... [p]ulam	pi					

<i>Rūp.</i>	apaladhiyenā	diyaḍhiya	vaḍhisata	(Ṣ) iya	cha	aṭhe	pavatis[u]	
<i>Sah.</i>	aval[a]dhiyenā	diy[a]dhiyam	vaḍhisati	(L) ima	cha	aṭham	pavatesu	
<i>Bair.</i>		diyaḍhiyam	vaḍhi[sa]ti					
<i>Mas.</i>	he[vaṁ]	ti						
<i>Brah.</i>	avaradhiyā	diyaḍhiyam	[vaḍh]isiti					
<i>Śidd.</i>	[a]	[yaḍhiya]m	vaḍhisiti					
<i>Ṣat.</i>		[ya]dhiyam						

<i>Rūp.</i>	lekhāpeta	vālata	(K) hadha	cha	athi	sālā-ṭh[abh]e	silā-
<i>Sah.</i>	[likhāpa]yāthā		(M) ya	..	[vā]	ath[i]	hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata

<i>Rūp.</i>	ṭha[m]bhasi	lākhāpetavaya	ta	(L) etinā	cha	vayajanenā	yāvataka
<i>Sah.</i>	pi	[likhāpayatha	t]i				
<i>Sār.</i>						(I) āvate	

<i>Rūp.</i>	tupaka	ahāle	savara	vivasetavā[ya]	ti		
<i>Sār.</i>	cha	tuphākam	āhāle	savata	vivāsayaṭha	tuphe	etena viyamjanena

<i>Rūp.</i>	(M)		vy[u]ṭhenā	sāvane	kaṭe		
<i>Sah.</i>	(Ṣ) iyam	[cha	savane		v]ivuthena	(K) duve	sapaṁnā
<i>Brah.</i>	(K) iyam	cha	sāvaṇ[e]	sāv[ā]p[i]te	vyūthena		
<i>Śidd.</i>	(K) i[ya]m	[cha]	sā[va]ṇe				
<i>Ṣat.</i>	(K) i		s[āvaṇe]			[th]e[na]	

<i>Rūp.</i>		(N) 200	50	6	sata	vivāsā	ta
<i>Sah.</i>	lāti-satā	vivuthā	ti	200	50	6	
<i>Brah.</i>		(L) 200	50	6			
<i>Śidd.</i>		(L) [200]	50	6			
<i>Ṣat.</i>		(L) 200	50	6			

INDEX

THIS index contains every word of Aśoka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (*cha*, *pi*, *va*, *ku*). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōprā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed:

Gir. = Girnār.
Kāl. = Kālsī.
Shāh. = Shāhbāzgarhī.
Mān. = Mānsehrā.
Dhau. = Dhauli.
Jau. = Jaugaḍa.
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa).
Sōp. = Sōpārā.
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.

Mir. = Delhi-Mīrath.
Ar. = Lauriyā-Ararāj.
Nand. = Lauriyā-Nandangarh.
Rām. = Rāmpurvā.
All. = Allahabad-Kōsam.
Qu. = Queen's edict.
Kaus. = Kauśāmbī edict.
Sām. = Sāmchī.
Sār. = Sāmāth.
Rum. = Rumindēi.

Nig. = Nigālī Sāgar.
Rūp. = Rūpnāth.
Sah. = Sahasrām.
Bair. = Bairāt.
Calc. = Calcutta-Bairāt.
Mas. = Maski.
Brah. = Brahmagiri.
Sidd. = Siddāpura.
Jaṭ. = Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.
Bar. = Barābar.

A

- a (= ā) Kāl. XIII, 6; Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 9, 10.
a (= yat) Kāl. XII, 31.
aa Mān. VI, 26.
aam Mān. VI, 30.
am Kāl. IV, 12, X, 28; Mān. IV, 17, XII, 2; Dhau. VI, 3, 5, Sep. I, 2, 3, II, 1, 2; Jau. VI, 3, 5, Sep. I, 1, 2, II, 1, 2; Sah. I, 2; Bair. 3; Mas. 2.
-amñiatha Mān. XII, 4.
-amñiathā Gir. XII, 5.
amñi Shāh. VIII, 17.
amñie Gir. V, 5, VIII, 5; Shāh. II, 4, V, 13, XIII, 4.
[a]mñta Shāh. II, 3.
amñtaml[a]m (*read amñtalam*) Tōp. VII, 15.
amñta-mahāmātā Tōp. I, 8 f.
amñtara Shāh. VI, 14.
amñtaram Gir. IV, 1, V, 3, VI, 1, VIII, 1; Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. V, 21.
amñtalam Kāl. IV, 9, V, 14, VI, 17, VIII, 22; Dhau. IV, 1, V, 3, VI, 1, VIII, 1; Jau. IV, 1, VI, 1; Tōp. VII, 12.
amñtalā Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 15.
amñtalikāye Tōp. V, 20.
[amñta]lena Sah. 2.
amñtā Kāl. II, 4; Jau. II, 1; Sah. 5; Bair. 7; Brah. 6.
amñtānam Dhau. Sep. II, 4, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 4, 15.
-a[mñ]lik[a] Dhau. Sep. I, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 5.
amñtikam Sār. 6, 7.
Amñtikini Shāh. XIII, 9.
Amñti[a]kas[a] Gir. II, 3.
Amñtiyako Gir. II, 3.
Amñtiyokasa Shāh. II, 4; Dhau. II, 2; Jau. II, 2.
Amñtiyoke Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 1.
Amñtiyoko Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9.
[A]mñtiyogasā Kāl. II, 5.
Amñtiyoge Kāl. II, 5.
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Amñt[e] . . . Mān. XIII, 10.
[A]mñt[ek]ina Gir. XIII, 8.
Amñteki[ne] Kāl. XIII, 7.
amñtevasinā Brah. 10; Jaṭ. 16.
[a]m[t]evi(vā)sine Sidd. 19.
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amñtesu Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5.
Amñdhra-Palideshu Shāh. XIII, 10.
[A*]mñdhra-Pārimdesu Gir. XIII, 9.
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amñnata Dhau. VI, 7; Jau. VI, 7; Tōp. I, 3.
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amñnānam Tōp. VII, 27.
amñnāni Kāl. IV, 10, VIII, 22; Dhau. IV, 2, VIII, 1; Jau. VIII, 1; Tōp. II, 14, V, 14, VII, 30.
amñnāye Kāl. III, 7, IX, 24; Dhau. III, 2, IX, 2; Jau. III, 2, IX, 1.
amñne Kāl. II, 5, IV, 11, V, 15, 16, VIII, 23, IX, 25; Dhau. IV, 4, V, 4, VIII, 3, IX, 4, Sep. I, 9; Jau. IV, 5, IX, 4; Tōp. V, 17, VII, 27; All. Qu. 3.
amñnesu Dhau. V, 7; Tōp. VII, 26.
ambā-kapilikā Ar. V, 3.
ambā-kapilikā Tōp. V, 4.
ambā-kipilikā All. V, 2.
ambā-vaḍikā All. Qu. 3.
ambā-vaḍikyā Tōp. VII, 23.
amñmisam-[de]vā (*read ami**) Sah. 2.
akarena Shāh. XII, 4; Mān. XII, 4.
akalikam Shāh. IX, 20.
akalike Mān. IX, 7.
akasmā Dhau. Sep. I, 9, 20, 21; Jau. Sep. I, 4 f.
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akāliky[e] Kāl. IX, 26.
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-agama Shāh. XII, 7; Mān. XII, 7.
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agi-kamdhani[i] Mān. IV, 13.
agi-kamdhāni Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 2.
agi-kh[a]mñdhāni Gir. IV, 4.
agena Gir. VI, 14, X, 4; Dhau. VI, 7, X, 3; Jau. VI, 7; Tōp. I, 4, 5.
agenā Kāl. VI, 21, X, 28.
agrabhuti-susrusha Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. XIII, 4.
agrena Shāh. X, 22; Mān. VI, 32, X, 11.
agre[na*] Shāh. VI, 16.
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a[cha]yika Shāh. VI, 14.
achay[i]k[am] Shāh. VI, 15.
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achhatim Gir. XIII, 7.
achhi(vi)mana Ar. IV, 6.
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ajakā Ar. V, 5.
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-aja(jha)ksha- Mān. XII, 8.
[a]jalā Dhau. Sep. II, 7.

- ajā Kāl. IV, 9, 10.
 -ajhakha- Gir. XII, 9.
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 [a]ñamāññasa Gir. XII, 7.
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 -atha- Shāh. X, 21.
 aṭham Kāl. VI, 18, IX, 26; Shāh.
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 [a*]ṭham Shāh. IX, 20.
 aṭha-kamme Kāl. VI, 17; Dhau.
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 aṭha-kramam Shāh. VI, 14.
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 aṭhami-pakhāye Ar. V, 10.
 aṭhami-pakhāye Tōp. V, 15.
 aṭhaye Shāh. IV, 10, V, 13, VI, 14,
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 -aṭhay[e] Shāh. I, 2.
 [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]jita[sa] Shāh.
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 aṭha-sam̐tiraṇa Shāh. VI, 15.
 aṭha-sa[m̐]tiraṇaye Shāh. VI, 15.
 [a]ṭha-sam̐tilanā Kāl. VI, 20.
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 aṭha-sam̐tilanāya Dhau. VI, 4; Jau.
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 -aṭhasi Tōp. VII, 25.
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 -aṭhāye Kāl. I, 3; Dhau. I, 3; Jau.
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 ata-prashada-bhatiya Shāh. XII, 5.
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 atikāmayisati Dhau. Sep. I, 24.
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 Atiyok[e]na Shāh. XIII, 9.
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 -atha- Gir. X, 1; Kāl. X, 27.
 atha-kamme Gir. VI, 2.
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- adhithane Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 25.
 -adhibhānāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 4; Jau. V, 4.
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 -[adhi]yaksha- Shāh. XII, 9.
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 -anusastiya Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14.
 -anusastiye Shāh. III, 6; Mān. III, 10.
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 -anu[sath]i Dhau. VIII, 3.
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 uchavucha-rage Mān. VII, 33.
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 uchāvacham Gir. IX, 1, 2.
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 uchāvucham Kāl. IX, 24; Dhau. IX, 1.
 uchāvucha-chhamdā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 1.
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 -upadane Shāh. IX, 18.
 -upadaye Mān. IX, 2.
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 upadahevū Töp. IV, 5.
 -upadāne(ye) Kāl. IX, 24.
 -upadāye Dhau. IX, 1; Jau. IX, 1.
 upadhāl[a]yeyū Calc. 7.
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 upayite Brah. 3; Sidd. 6.
 upavāsam Töp. IV, 18.
 upahamti Kāl. XII, 33; Shāh. XII, 6; Mān. XII, 6.
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upāsake Sah. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Sidd. 5.
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 [e*]kaṁ Shāh. V, 11.
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 ekadā Gir. XIV, 5.
 eka-deśam Shāh. VII, 3; Mān. VII, 33.
 eka-desam Gir. VII, 2; Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau. VII, 2.
 eka-pulise Dhau. Sep. I, 7, 8.
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 etasi Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2, 6; Jau. Sep. II, 12.
 etā(ta)kā Jau. Sep. II, 5.
 etāni Kāl. I, 4; Jau. I, 4, Sep. I, 6; Töp. V, 13; Calc. 6.
 etāya Gir. IV, 11, V, 9, VI, 12, XII, 8, XIII, 11.
 e[t]āyathāya Brah. 5.
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 etāyeva Gir. III, 3.
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 eva (= ēvam) Gir. IX, 1; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. III, 9.
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 esatha Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 13.
 esā Gir. VIII, 3, 5, XIII, 4; Dhau. VIII, 3; Töp. III, 19, IV, 14; Ar. I, 5; Rūp. 2; Brah. 12; Sidd. 19; Jaṭ. 19.
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 -opagāni Gir. II, 5, 6; Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3; Töp. VII, 23.
 -opaya Mān. VIII, 36.
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 -kaṁdhani Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13.
 -kaṁdhāni Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 2.
 -Kaṁbocha- Dhau. V, 4.
 -Kaṁboja- Gir. V, 5, XIII, 9; Kāl. V, 15; Mān. V, 22.
 -Kaṁbojeshu Kāl. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.
 -Kaṁboya- Shāh. V, 12.
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 kaṁmatalā Kāl. VI, 20; Jau. VI, 5.
 kaṁ[mana] Dhau. Sep. I, 2.
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 kaṁmasa Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8.
 kaṁmāni Töp. IV, 5, 13.
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 -kaṁme Gir. VI, 2; Kāl. VI, 17; Dhau. VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1.
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 kachhati Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 2; Ar. II, 4.
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 kaṭa Mān. II, 7, V, 21; Ar. IV, 6.
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 kaṭavi[ye*] Kāl. IX, 25.
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 -kapā Gir. IV, 9, V, 2.
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 -kapilikā Töp. V, 4.
 -kapote Töp. V, 6.
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 kāmarā Dhau. Sep. II, 10; Brah. 4; Sidd. 9.
 -kāmatā Kāl. XIII, 36; Töp. I, 6.
 -kāmatāya Ar. I, 2.
 -kāmatāyā Töp. I, 3.
 [kā]raṇam Gir. XIV, 5.
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 kālanam Kāl. XIV, 23.
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 kālāpita Rum. 3.
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 kiṭi (= kirtim) Gir. X, 2; Kāl. X, 27, 28.
 kiṭim (*read* kiṇti) Dhau. Sep. I, 11.
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-chalanē Kāl. IV, 11, 12; Dhau. IV, 5, 6; Jau. IV, 5, 7; Tōp. IV, 20.
-chalanena Dhau. IV, 2; Jau. IV, 2.
-chal[an]enā Kāl. IV, 9.
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-chikisa Shāh. II, 4; Mān. II, 7.
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 chhamdamnāni Tōp. IV, 9.
 -chhamdā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau.
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 -chhamde Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau.
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 -chhamdo Gir. VII, 2; Shāh. VII,
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 -chhatim Gir. XIII, 7.
 -chhade Mān. VII, 33.
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 chhamitave Gir. XIII, 6.
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 -chhamde Jau. Sep. II, 5.

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 jānapadam Tōp. IV, 7.
 jānapadasa Gir. VIII, 4; Dhau.
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 jānapadasā Kāl. VIII, 23; Tōp.
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 jānitu Dhau. Sep. I, 22.
 jānisamti Dhau. Sep. I, 25; Tōp.
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 jivam Gir. I, 3; Dhau. I, 1; Jau.
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 jiva-nikāyāni Tōp. V, 14.
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 -ñatikesu Shāh. XIII, 5.
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 -ñāikā Gir. XIII, 4.
 -ñātikānam Gir. XI, 2.
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- tatrā Gir. XIII, 1.
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- tadatvaye Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 9.
- tadatvāye Kāl. X, 27; Dhau. X, 1;
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- tadā Gir. XIII, 5; Kāl. I, 3, XIII,
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- tadā anatha (*read* tad-anatha) Kāl.
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- tadāpano(ne) Gir. X, 1.
- tadiśe Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14.
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- ta(te)na Gir. XII, 4.
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- tasa Gir. II, 3, VI, 10, IX, 6, XII,
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- t[ā] Kāl. V, 13.
- tādiśe Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 3.
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- tāni Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Tōp. VII,
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- tive Kāl. XIII, 35.
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- tisam Jau. Sep. I, 9.
- t[is]a-na[kha]tena Dhau. Sep. I, 17.
- tisāyam Tōp. V, 11.
- tisāye Tōp. V, 15, 18.
- tisiyam Nand. V, 8.
- tisena Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 10; Jau.
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- tistamto Gir. IV, 9.
- tisteya Gir. VI, 13.
- tisiyam Ar. V, 7.
- tī (nom. masc.) Gir. I, 10.
- tī (= ti) Tōp. II, 16; Mīr. III, 2.
- till[i]ta-damḍānam Tōp. IV, 16.
- tillita-damḍānam All. IV, 2.
- Tivala-mātu All. Qu. 5.
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- tisu Tōp. V, 11, 16.
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- tutḥāyatam[ā]ni Tōp. VII, 27.
- tupaka (*read perhaps* tuphākam)
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- t[u]phāk[a] Dhau. Sep. I, 13, II, 8.
- tuphākam Sār. 9.
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- tuphe Dhau. Sep. I, 4, 7, 18, II, 6,
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- tupheni Jau. Sep. II, 8, 11.
- tuphesu Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau.
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- Turamāyo Gir. XIII, 8.
- [tulanā] Jau. Sep. I, 6.
- Tulamaye Kāl. XIII, 7.
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- tuse Tōp. V, 9.
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- tūlanā[ya] Dhau. Sep. I, 11.
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- t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitena Kāl. V, 14.
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- tenada Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII,
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- tenā Kāl. IX, 27, XI, 30, XIII, 6.
- tenesā Gir. VIII, 3.
- tesha Shāh. XIII, 5, 6, 8; Mān.
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- tesham Kāl. XIII, 37; Shāh.
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- tesa Gir. XIII, 4; Dhau. Sep. II,
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- tesam Gir. XIII, 7; Jau. Sep. II,
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- toshe Mān. VI, 29.
- tosho Shāh. VI, 15.
- Tosaliyam Dhau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1.
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- to[s]o Gir. VI, 8.
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- trī Gir. I, 12.
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- thambbhāni Tōp. VII, 23, 32.
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 -p[a]l[ā](li)shave Kāl. X, 28.
 palikilesam Dhau. Sep. I, 8; Jau. Sep. I, 4.
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 -palig[o]dha[ye*] Shāh. V, 12.
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 -pahaṭa Ar. VI, 2.
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 pāna-sahasasu Jau. Sep. I, 2.
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 pānāni Kāl. I, 3, 4; Dhau. I, 4; Jau. I, 4.
 pānālabbhe Kāl. IV, 9; Dhau. IV, 1; Jau. IV, 1.
 pānesu Jau. IX, 3.
 pāpam Gir. V, 3; Tōp. III, 18.
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 pāpunātha Dhau. Sep. I, 6; Jau. Sep. I, 3.
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 -Pārīndesu Gir. XIII, 9.
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 -P[ā]lāde[sh]u Kāl. XIII, 10.
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 -pālalokikāye Dhau. Sep. II, 3, 9; Jau. Sep. II, 13.
 -pālaloki[k]e[na] Jau. Sep. II, 4.
 -pālalokikena Dhau. Sep. I, 6; Jau. Sep. I, 3.
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 -pāśadā Kāl. XII, 32.
 -pāśadāna Kāl. XII, 31.
 -pāśamda Kāl. XII, 33, 34.
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-pāśamdashī Kāl. XII, 33.
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 -pitushu Shāh. III, 6, IV, 9, XI, 23, XIII, 4; Mān. III, 10, IV, 15, XI, 12, XIII, 4.
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 -puluva Kāl. V, 14.
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 -p[r]ajavidhane Shāh. VIII, 17.
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 -prashamdam Shāh. XII, 4, 6.
 -prashamdamśa (read 'dasa) Shāh. XII, 4.
 -prashamdanam Shāh. XII, 2.
 -prashamdanī Shāh. XII, 1.
 -prashamdes[h]u Shāh. V, 12.
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 -prashada- Shāh. XII, 5; Mān. XII, 3.
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 bahu-tavata[ke] Shāh. XIII, 1.
 bahu-tāvatakam Gir. XIII, 1.
 bahu-tāvatake Kāl. XIII, 35.

bahuni Kāl. I, 3, IV, 9; Shāh. I, 2, IV, 7; Mān. I, 4, IV, 12.
 bahunē Tōp. VII, 22.
 bahuvidha Shāh. XII, 2; Mān. IX, 3, XII, 2.
 bahuvidham Gir. IX, 3; Kāl. IX, 24; Shāh. IV, 9, IX, 18; Dhau. IX, 2.
 bahuvidhā Gir. XII, 2; Kāl. XII, 31.
 bahuvidhe Gir. IV, 7; Kāl. IV, 11; Mān. IV, 15; Dhau. IV, 4; Jau. IV, 5; Tōp. II, 12.
 bahuvidhena Tōp. VII, 27.
 bahuvidhesu Tōp. VII, 25.
 bahu-śruta Shāh. XII, 7; Mān. XII, 6.
 bahu-srutā Gir. XII, 7.
 bahuhi Kāl. IV, 10; Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14.
 bahūni Gir. I, 8 f., IV, 1; Dhau. IV, 1; Jau. I, 3, IV, 1; Tōp. II, 14.
 bahūsu Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2; Tōp. IV, 3.
 bahūhi Gir. IV, 4; Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3.
 bādha Kāl. XIII, 36; Tōp. III, 21; Bair. 3; Sidd. 5; Jat. 4.
 bādham Gir. VII, 3, XIII, 2; Kāl. VII, 22; Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 2; Tōp. VII, 22; Ar. III, 3; Sah. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2, 3; Sidd. 6.
 bādhataram Gir. XII, 6.
 bādhatale Kāl. XII, 33.
 bādhi Rūp. 1, 2.
 bābhana-samanesu Tōp. VII, 29.
 b[ā]bhanā Kāl. XIII, 37.
 -bābhanānam Dhau. VIII, 2, IX, 4; Jau. IX, 4.
 bābha[n]bhi[yes]u Dhau. V, 5.
 bābhanesu Tōp. VII, 25.
 -bābhanesu Dhau. IV, 1, 4.
 bāmhaṇa-samaṇānam Gir. III, 4 f., VIII, 3.
 bāmhaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[nam] Gir. XI, 2.
 bāmhanā Gir. XIII, 3.
 bāhira(re)su Gir. V, 7.
 bāhilesu Kāl. V, 16; Dhau. V, 6.
 Bu[dha]-Śake Mas. 2.
 Budhasa Nig. 2.
 Budhasi Calc. 2.
 Budhe Rum. 2.
 Budhena Calc. 3, 6.
 bramaṇa Shāh. XIII, 4.
 -bramaṇana Shāh. IX, 19, XI, 23; Mān. IV, 12, VIII, 35, IX, 5, XI, 13.
 -bramaṇanam Shāh. IV, 7, VIII, 17.
 [bra]maṇa-śramaṇana Shāh. IV, 8 f.
 bramaṇa-śramaṇana[m] Shāh. III, 6; Mān. III, 11.
 bramaṇibheshu Shāh. V, 12.
 bramaṇibhyeshu Mān. V, 23.
 [bramaṇe] Mān. XIII, 6.
 bramaṇa-samaṇānam Gir. IV, 6.
 brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānam Gir. IV, 2.

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-bhamḍata Shāh. III, 7.
 -bhamḍatā Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. III, 3.
 bhamte Calc. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8.
 -bhagam Shāh. XIII, 7.
 Bhagavam Rum. 4.
 bhagavatā Calc. 3, 6.
 bh[agi]ni[nā] Kāl. V, 16.
 bhaginīnam Dhau. V, 6.
 bhage Mān. VIII, 37.
 -bhage Shāh. XIII, 7; Mān. XIII, 7.
 bhago Shāh. VIII, 17.
 -bhaṭakanam Shāh. XI, 23, XIII, 5.
 -bhaṭakashi Kāl. XI, 29, XIII, 37.
 -bhaṭakasa Shāh. IX, 19.
 -bhaṭakasi Kāl. IX, 25; Mān. IX, 4, XI, 12; Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 3.
 -bhaṭakesu Tōp. VII, 29.
 bhatamayeshu Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22 f.
 bhatamayesu Kāl. V, 15.
 bhaṭi[mayesu] Dhau. V, 4.
 -bha[da] Mān. III, 11.
 -bhatakamhi Gir. IX, 4, XI, 2.
 bhata(tu)na Mān. V, 24.
 bhatamayesu Gir. V, 5.
 -bhatita Shāh. VII, 5, XIII, 5; Mān. VII, 33.
 -bhatitā Gir. VII, 3; Kāl. VII, 22, XIII, 37.
 -bhatiya Shāh. XII, 5; Mān. XII, 5.
 -bhatiyā Gir. XII, 6; Kāl. XII, 33.
 bha[dak]e Mas. 7.
 -bhayāni Calc. 5.
 bhayena Ar. I, 3.
 bhayenā Tōp. I, 4.
 bhavati Gir. IV, 10, VI, 7, VIII, 5, XI, 2, 4.
 bhava-śuti(dhi) Mān. VII, 33.
 bhava-śudhi Shāh. VII, 2, 4 f.; Mān. VII, 32.
 bhava Gir. XII, 3.
 bh[ā]khati All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5; Sār. 4.
 -bhāgiye Rum. 5.
 bhāge Gir. VIII, 5; Kāl. VIII, 23, XIII, 39; Dhau. VIII, 3; Jau. VIII, 4; Sōp. VIII, 10.
 -bhāge Kāl. XIII, 39.
 -bhāgo Gir. XIII, 6.
 -bhādatā Gir. III, 5.
 bhāt[ā] Gir. XI, 3.
 bhā[ina]m Kāl. V, 16.
 bhātinā Kāl. IX, 25, XI, 30; Dhau. IX, 4; Jau. IX, 4.
 bhāt[i]nam Dhau. V, 6.
 bhātrā Gir. IX, 6.
 bhāva-sudhi Kāl. VII, 21, 22.
 bhāva-sudhiṃ Gir. VII, 2.
 bhāva-sudhitā Gir. VII, 3.
 bhāva-sudhi Dhau. VII, 1, 2; Jau. VII, 1.
 bhāsite Calc. 3, 6.
 bhikhu All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5.
 bhikhuni All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5; Sār. 4.
 bhikhuniye Calc. 7.
 bhikhuni-saṃghasi Sār. 5.

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bhi[khun]inam Sām. 3.
 bhikhu-[p]āye Calc. 7.
 bhikhu-saṃghasi Sār. 5.
 [bhikh]ū Sār. 4.
 [bhi*]khūna[m] Sām. 3.
 -bhīta Ar. IV, 2, 6.
 -bhītā Tōp. IV, 4, 12.
 bhumj[a]mānasa Gir. VI, 3.
 bhutana Mān. IV, 14.
 -bhutana Shāh. XIII, 8.
 bhutanam Shāh. IV, 7, 8, VI, 16; Mān. IV, 12, VI, 30.
 bhuta-pruva Shāh. V, 11; Mān. V, 21.
 bhuta-pruvarṇ Shāh. VI, 14.
 bhuta-pruve Shāh. IV, 8.
 bhutānam Kāl. IV, 9, 10, VI, 20; Tōp. VII, 30.
 -bhumika Shāh. XII, 9; Mān. XII, 8.
 -bh[u]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34.
 bhuya Gir. VIII, 5.
 bhuye Kāl. VIII, 23; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 36; Dhau. VIII, 3; Tōp. VII, 30.
 bhūta-puve Gir. IV, 5.
 bhūta-pru[v]. Gir. VI, 2.
 bhūta-pruvarṇ Gir. V, 4.
 -bhūtā Mas. 4.
 bhūtānam Gir. IV, 1, 6, VI, 11; Dhau. IV, 1, 4, VI, 5; Jau. IV, 4.
 -bhūtānam Gir. XIII, 7.
 -bhūmikā Gir. XII, 9.
 bhetave Sām. 2; Sār. 3.
 bheri-ghosha Shāh. IV, 8.
 bheri-ghoshe Mān. IV, 13.
 [bhe]n-ghoso Gir. IV, 3.
 bheli-ghosam Dhau. IV, 2.
 bheli-ghose Kāl. IV, 9.
 -bhogasi Tōp. V, 14.
 Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, 10.
 Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u Kāl. XIII, 9.
 bhoti Shāh. IV, 10, VI, 14, 15, VIII, 17, IX, 20, XII, 9, XIII, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11; Mān. XII, 9.
 bhotu Shāh. V, 13, VI, 16, XIII, 12.
 bhrata(tu)na Shāh. IX, 19.
 bhratuna Shāh. V, 13, XI, 24; Mān. IX, 5, XI, 13.

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ma Kāl. XIII, 16; Shāh. IV, 10, XIII, 11; Mān. IV, 18.
 maa Shāh. III, 5, V, 11, 13; Mān. V, 19, 25.
 maṃ Tōp. IV, 8, 9.
 maṃgala Shāh. IX, 18.
 -maṃgala Shāh. IX, 18.
 maṃgalam Gir. IX, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; Kāl. IX, 24; Shāh. IX, 18, 19; Mān. IX, 3; Dhau. IX, 1, 2; Jau. IX, 2.
 -maṃgalam Gir. IX, 5; Shāh. IX, 19.
 maṃgale Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 2.
 -maṃgale Gir. IX, 4; Dhau. IX, 3, 4.

-maṅgalena Shāh. IX, 20.
maññate Gir. XII, 2, 8.
maññā Gir. XIII, 11.
maññam[ti] (*read* maññati) Kāl. XIII, 14.
mañnat[i] Kāl. XII, 34.
mañn[ate] Dhau. X, 1.
Maka Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.
Makā Kāl. XIII, 7.
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-magalam Shāh. IX, 20.
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-magale Kāl. IX, 25, 26; Mān. IX, 4, 5, 7.
-magalen[ā] Kāl. IX, 27.
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Magā Gir. XIII, 8.
ma[geshu] Mān. II, 8.
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mago Gir. I, 11, 12.
machhe Töp. V, 13.
-machhe Töp. V, 4, 5.
majura Shāh. I, 3; Mān. I, 4 f.
majulā Kāl. I, 4; Jau. I, 4.
majham Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 5.
majhamena Gir. XIV, 2.
majhimā Töp. I, 7.
majhime[na] Dhau. XIV, 1; Jau. XIV, 1.
majhimenā Kāl. XIV, 20.
maññati Shāh. X, 21, XII, 2, 8; Mān. X, 9, XII, 2.
maññat[ū] Shāh. XIII, 11.
maññate Gir. X, 1.
maññishu Shāh. XIII, 11.
mate Kāl. XIII, 35, 39; Mān. XIII, 2.
maññati Mān. XII, 7, XIII, 12.
mañ[ishu] Mān. XIII, 12.
mata Gir. XIII, 1.
-mata Gir. XIII, 2; Mān. I, 3; Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2.
-matam Shāh. VI, 15, XIII, 3, 6, 7.
-matatarām Shāh. XIII, 3.
-matatale Kāl. XIII, 36.
mata-pitushu Shāh. III, 6, IV, 9, XI, 23, XIII, 4; Mān. III, 10, IV, 15, XI, 12, XIII, 4.
-matā Gir. I, 6; Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2.
-mate Gir. VI, 9; Kāl. XIII, 38, 39; Shāh. I, 2, XIII, 7; Mān. VI, 30, XIII, 3, 6, 7; Dhau. VI, 4; Töp. VI, 9.
-mat[o] Gir. XIII, 6.
-matre Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, 1.
madava Kāl. XIII, 4.
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madhuriyaye Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14.
madhuliyāye Kāl. XIV, 22.
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manuśa-chikisa Shāh. II, 4; Mān. II, 7.
-manuśanam Shāh. II, 5, XIII, 6; Mān. XIII, 6.
manuśopakani Shāh. II, 5.
m[a]nushān[a] Kāl. XIII, 39.
-manu[shāna]m Kāl. XIII, 38.
manuśa-chikisā Kāl. II, 5.
manuśa-chikichhā Gir. II, 5.
-manuśanam Gir. II, 8.
manuśopagāni Gir. II, 5; Kāl. II, 5.
man[o]-atleke Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8.
mama Gir. III, 2, V, 2; Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. Sep. I, 17, 23, II, 2, 4, 5, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 8, II, 9, 11, 13; Töp. I, 5, VII, 27; Ar. IV, 6.
mamam Jau. Sep. II, 7.
mamate Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Jau. Sep. II, 6.
mamayā Kāl. V, 13, 14, VI, 17, 19; Dhau. VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1; Töp. VII, 24; Bair. 3.
mamā Kāl. V, 13, 16; Dhau. Sep. I, 5, 12, II, 6; Töp. IV, 12.
mamāye Dhau. Sep. II, 4.
mamiyā Töp. VII, 28.
mamiyāye Jau. Sep. II, 6.
maya Shāh. V, 11, 12, VI, 14, 15; Mān. V, 19, 21, VI, 27, 29.
mayā Gir. III, 1, V, 2, 4, VI, 2, 8; Brah. 3; Sidd. 6.
maye Dhau. Sep. II, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 11.
maranam Gir. XIII, 2; Shāh. XIII, 3.
[marane] Mān. XIII, 3.
malane Kāl. XIII, 36.
mahamte Dhau. XIV, 2; Jau. XIV, 1.
mahathavaha Shāh. X, 21.
mahatatā Rūp. 2; Sah. 3.
ma[ha]taneva Bair. 5.
[ma]hathāvā (*read* °thāvahā?) Kāl. X, 27.
mahathravaham Mān. X, 9.
mahana[sa]si Shāh. I, 2; Mān. I, 3.
maha-phala Shāh. IX, 18, XIII, 11; Mān. XIII, 12.
maha-phalā Kāl. XIII, 14.
maha-phale Mān. IX, 4.
mahamatā Jau. Sep. II, 1; All. Qu. 1.
-mahamatra Shāh. V, 11, 12, 13, XII, 9; Mān. V, 21, 26, XII, 8.
mahamatrana Shāh. VI, 14.
mahamatranam Shāh. VI, 15.
mahamatrehi Mān. VI, 28.
mahalake Shāh. V, 13, XIV, 13; Mān. V, 24.
mahā-apāye Dhau. Sep. I, 15.
mahātpā Brah. 6; Sidd. 12.
mahātpeneva Brah. 4; Sidd. 9.
mahāthāvah[ā] Gir. X, 1.
mahānas[amhi] Gir. I, 7.
mahānasasi Kāl. I, 3; Jau. I, 3.
mahāpāy[e] Jau. Sep. I, 8.
mahā-phale Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau. IX, 3, Sep. I, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 8.

-mahāmātā Kāl. V, 14, 16.
mahāmat[e]hi Kāl. VI, 18.
mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 1; All. Kauś. 1.
mahāmāta[m] Jau. Sep. I, 11.
mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 25, II, 1, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 1, 10, II, 14; Töp. VII, 26; Brah. 1; Sidd. 2.
-mahāmālā Gir. V, 4, 9, XII, 9; Kāl. V, 14, XII, 34; Dhau. V, 3, 7; Töp. I, 9, VII, 23, 25, 26.
mahāmātānam Brah. 1; Sidd. 1 f.
mahāmāte Sār. 8.
mahāmātehi Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3.
mahāmātresu* Gir. VI, 6.
-mahālakānam Töp. VII, 29.
mahālake Gir. XIV, 3; Kāl. V, 16, XIV, 20; Dhau. V, 6.
ma[hā]kesu Dhau. V, 5.
mahidāyo Gir. IX, 3.
mahīyite Rum. 2; Nig. 3.
mā Gir. XIII, 11; Kāl. IV, 13; Dhau. IV, 7; Jau. IV, 8; Töp. III, 21.
Māgadhe Calc. 1.
māta-pitishu Kāl. III, 8.
mātari Gir. III, 4, IV, 6, XI, 2.
mātā-pitishu Kāl. XI, 29.
m[ā]tā-piti-shushushā Kāl. XIII, 37.
mātā-pitishu Kāl. IV, 11; Dhau. III, 2; Töp. VII, 29; Brah. 9.
[mā]tā-pitishu Jat. 13.
m[ā]tā-pitu-susūsā Dhau. IV, 4.
-mātu All. Qu. 5.
-mātram Gir. XIII, 1.
mātr[i] Gir. XIII, 3.
mādava Gir. XIII, 7.
mādhuliyāye Jau. XIV, 2.
mādhūratāya Gir. XIV, 4.
mānuśanam Gir. XIII, 5.
māne Töp. III, 20.
migaviyā Kāl. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 1.
mige Kāl. I, 4; Jau. I, 4.
mita - śamth[ū]a - sha[h]āya - [nā]tikya Kāl. XIII, 38.
mita-śamthutā(te)nā Kāl. XI, 30.
mita-śamthuta-nātikyānam Kāl. XI, 29.
mita-śamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu Kāl. XIII, 37.
mita-śamthuta-nātikyān[am] Kāl. III, 8.
mita-śamthuten[ā] Kāl. IX, 25.
mita-śamthute[s]. Jau. III, 2.
mita - samsta(stu)ta - sahāya - nātik[esu] Gir. XIII, 3.
mita-[sa]stuta-nātikānam Gir. XI, 2.
mita - sastut[ā] - nā[i]k[e]na Gir. XI, 3.
-mite Kāl. XIII, 35.
mitena Jau. IX, 5.
mitra-[sam] . . . Mān. XIII, 5.
mit[r]a-sa[sam]stu . . . Mān. XIII, 4.
mitra - sam[stuta] - nātikana Mān. XI, 13.
mitra-samstuta-nātikānam Shāh. III, 6, XI, 23; Mān. III, 10 f.
mitra-samstuta-nātinam Gir. III, 4.
mitra-samstuta(te)na Shāh. XI, 24.

mitra-saṁstuta-sahaya-śatika Shāh. XIII, 5.
 mitra - saṁstuta - sahaya - śatikeshu Shāh. XIII, 4 f.
 mitra-saṁstutena Mān. IX, 6, XI, 13.
 mitra-sastutena Shāh. IX, 19.
 mitrena Gir. IX, 7.
 mina Tōp. III, 18.
 min[ā] Mīr. III, 2.
 [m]isam-deva Sah. 3.
 misā Rūp. 2; Brah. 4; Śidd. 8.
 misibhūtā Mas. 4.
 mukhate Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3.
 mukhato Gir. VI, 5; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. VI, 28.
 mukha-mut[ā] Shāh. XIII, 8.
 [mukha]-mute Mān. XIII, 9.
 mukhā Tōp. VII, 27.
 mukhya-mute Ar. VI, 5.
 m[ute] Shāh. XIII, 1.
 mut[ō] Shāh. XIII, 6.
 -mut[ā] Shāh. XIII, 8.
 -mute Kāl. VI, 19, XIII, 36; Mān. XIII, 9; Ar. VI, 5.
 -mu[n]ā (*read* -munisā) Jau. Sep. I, 2.
 Muni-gāthā Calc. 5.
 -m[uni]śānaṁ Mān. II, 8.
 munisā Dhau. VII, 1; Jau. VII, 1; Sah. 3; Brah. 3.
 -munisā Jau. Sep. II, 2 f.
 munisānaṁ Dhau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 4; Jau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 2, 10; Tōp. IV, 16, VII, 29, 30.
 -munisānaṁ Kāl. II, 6; Tōp. VII, 23, 24.
 munise Dhau. Sep. I, 5.
 -munise Jau. Sep. I, 4.
 -munisesu Dhau. Sep. I, 6; Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 4.
 munisopagāni Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3.
 mula Shāh. XII, 2.
 mularṁ Shāh. VI, 15.
 mulani Mān. II, 8.
 mulāni Kāl. II, 6.
 mule Kāl. VI, 19, XII, 31; Mān. VI, 30, XII, 2.
 musā-vādaṁ Calc. 6.
 mūlaṁ Gir. XII, 3.
 mūlāni Gir. II, 7.
 mūle Gir. VI, 10; Dhau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 12; Jau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 6.
 me Gir. V, 2, 8, VI, 3, 4, 8, 9, 13, X, 1; Kāl. III, 7, V, 14, 17, VI, 17, 18, 19, 20, X, 27, XIII, 15; Shāh. V, 11, 13, VI, 14, 15, 16, X, 21, XIII, 11; Mān. III, 9, V, 20, 26, VI, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, X, 9, XIII, 12; Dhau. III, 1, V, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, VI, 1, 2, 4, 6, X, 2, Sep. I, 3, 16, II, 2; Jau. III, 1, VI, 2, 4, 5, 7, X, 1, Sep. I, 2, 3, 6, 8, II, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Tōp. I, 2, 7, II, 12, 13, 14, III, 17, 18, 21, 22, IV, 2, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, V, 2, 19, VI, 2, 7, 9, VII, 14, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25,

26, 27, 30, 31; Sām. 7; Calc. 8; Brah. 3; Śidd. 7; Bar. III, 3.
 meñati Shāh. XIII, 11.
 mai (*read* me) Brah. 6.
 mokshay[e] Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 23.
 -mokhāni Tōp. V, 20.
 mokhāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5; Jau. V, 6.
 mokhiya-mata Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2.
 mokhya-mata Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2.
 mokhya-mate Tōp. VI, 9.
 mokhya-mute Nand. VI, 6.
 Moneya-sūte Calc. 5.
 morā Gir. I, 11.
 mrigaviya Mān. VIII, 34.
 mrig[e] Mān. I, 5.
 mrugaya Shāh. VIII, 17.
 mrugo Shāh. I, 3.

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ya Gir. IV, 10, V, 2, VI, 5, 6, 11, IX, 4, X, 3, XII, 3, 9, XIII, 6; Shāh. XIII, 7, 12; Mān. XIII, 13; Rūp. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Śidd. 5; Jat. 3.
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 yaṁ (*read* iyaṁ?) Dhau. IV, 8.
 yaṁti Kāl. XIII, 11; Mān. XIII, 11.
 yata Gir. II, 6, 7, XIII, 9; Kāl. XIII, 10; Sah. 7.
 yatā Kāl. XIII, 38, 39.
 yatra Gir. II, 7, XIII, 5; Shāh. II, 5, XIII, 9, 10; Mān. XIII, 6, 11.
 -yatra Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 34.
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 [ya*][tha] Shāh. III, 6.
 yathā Gir. II, 2, III, 3, IX, 9, XII, 2, 8; Kāl. III, 7; Tōp. VII, 22; Śidd. 11.
 yathārahaṁ Brah. 11; Śidd. 20; Jat. 18.
 yada Shāh. I, 2.
 -yada Mān. VIII, 35.
 yadā Gir. I, 10; Kāl. I, 3.
 yadi Shāh. IX, 20.
 yadiśaṁ Shāh. IV, 8, XI, 23.
 yamatro Shāh. XIII, 6.
 yava Shāh. IX, 19.
 yavatake Mān. XIII, 7.
 yaśo Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 9, 10.
 yasho Kāl. X, 27, 28.
 yasa Gir. VII, 3; Shāh. VII, 4; Mān. VII, 33.
 yaso Gir. X, 1, 2; Kāl. X, 27; Dhau. X, 1, 2; Jau. X, 1.
 yā Gir. XIII, 6; Dhau. IV, 6; Tōp. I, 9, VII, 28, 29; Rūp. 2.
 -yātām Kāl. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 1.
 -yātā Gir. VIII, 3; Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 2.

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-yātām Gir. VIII, 1.
 yāti Sār. 9.
 yāni Gir. II, 5; Tōp. V, 14, VII, 28, 30.
 yārisaṁ Gir. IX, 7, XI, 1.
 yārise Gir. IV, 4.
 yāvataka Rūp. 5.
 y[ā]vata[k]o Gir. XIII, 5.
 yāva - saḍuvīsati - vasa - abhisitena Tōp. V, 19.
 yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa Ar. V, 13.
 yāva - saḍuvīsati - vasābhisitena Nand. V, 14.
 yāvu Sār. 7.
 yujamtu Gir. IV, 11; Kāl. IV, 13; Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 18.
 yujamtu Dhau. IV, 7.
 yujisamti Dhau. Sep. II, 10.
 yu[j]ey[u] Jau. Sep. I, 10.
 yujeyū Jau. Sep. II, 3, 4, 14.
 yujevū Dhau. Sep. II, 3.
 yuta Shāh. III, 6.
 -yuta- Mān. V, 23.
 -yu[ta]m Tōp. VII, 23.
 yutani Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, 11.
 -yutasa Gir. V, 5; Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22; Dhau. V, 4.
 -yutas[ā] Kāl. V, 15.
 -yutasi Kāl. V, 16; Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 25; Dhau. V, 7.
 yutā Gir. III, 2; Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. III, 1.
 -yutānaṁ Gir. V, 6.
 yutāni Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. III, 3.
 -yutāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5.
 yute Gir. III, 6.
 -yutena Tōp. IV, 6; Mas. 5.
 y[ū]jeyū Jau. Sep. I, 3.
 yūjevū Dhau. Sep. I, 6, 20.
 ye Gir. II, 3, V, 5, 8, XII, 8; Kāl. II, 4, 5, V, 14, VI, 18, IX, 25, XII, 32, XIII, 35, 5, 12, 17; Shāh. II, 3, 4, V, 11, 12, 13, VI, 14, 15, IX, 18, 20, XII, 7, XIII, 1, 3; Mān. II, 5, 6, V, 19, 20, 22, 25, VI, 28, IX, 4, XII, 5, XIII, 9, 11; Dhau. V, 1, 2, Sep. I, 8; Jau. Sep. I, 4; Tōp. II, 16, IV, 3, V, 7, VII, 11, 30; Sām. 4; Mas. 4.
 yena Kāl. XIV, 22; Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14; Tōp. IV, 9, 12.
 yeva Mān. I, 4, IV, 15; Dhau. IV, 6; Jau. I, 4, IV, 6; Tōp. VII, 29; Mīr. V, 7.
 yevā Kāl. I, 3, XIV, 19; Tōp. V, 13.
 yeśu Kāl. XIII, 37.
 yesha Shāh. XIII, 5.
 yeshaṁ Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 5.
 yesaṁ Gir. XIII, 4.
 yesu Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. XIII, 4.
 yehaṁ Kāl. VI, 20; Mān. VI, 31; Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 6.
 yo Gir. V, 1, 3, 8, XII, 5; Shāh. V, 11, X, 21, XII, 5, XIII, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12.
 yo (= ēva) Shāh. IV, 9, XIII, 11, XIV, 13; Mān. IV, 16.

yojana-śateshu Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 9.
 [yo]jana-shateshu Kāl. XIII, 6.
 Yona-K[a]mb[oj]a-Gaṁdhārānam Gir. V, 5.
 yote Tōp. IV, 17.
 [Y]o[na]-Kāmb[oj]a . . Gir. XIII, 9.
 Yona - Kāmbocha - Gaṁdhālesu Dhau. V, 4.
 Yona - Kāmb[o]ja - Gaṁdhālānam Kāl. V, 15.
 Yona-Kāmb[oj]a-Gadharana Mān. V, 22.
 Yona-Kāmb[oj]eshu Kāl. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.
 Yona - Kāmb[oj]a - Gaṁdhārānam Shāh. V, 12.
 Yona-Ka[r]n[oy]eshu Shāh. XIII, 9.
 Yona-raja Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9.
 [Yo]na-rāja Gir. XIII, 8.
 Yona-rājā Gir. II, 3.
 Yona-lājā Kāl. II, 5, XIII, 6; Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 2.
 Yoneshu Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 6.
 Yone[su] Gir. XIII, 5.

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-rage Mān. VII, 33.
 -rago Shāh. VII, 3.
 raja Shāh. III, 5, VII, 1, VIII, 17; Mān. I, 2, III, 9, IV, 16, V, 19, VI, 26, VII, 32, VIII, 35, IX, 1, X, 9, 10, XI, 12, XII, 1.
 -raja Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9.
 rajani Shāh. XIII, 9.
 ra[jane] Mān. II, 6.
 rajano Shāh. II, 4.
 raja-vishava[si] Mān. XIII, 10.
 raja-vishavaspi Shāh. XIII, 9.
 rajina Mān. I, 1, IV, 18.
 rajine Mān. I, 3, f, II, 5, 6, IV, 13, 14, 16, VIII, 37, XIII, 1.
 rajuko Shāh. III, 6.
 raña Shāh. IV, 10, XIV, 13.
 raño Shāh. I, 1, 2, II, 4, IV, 7, 8, 9, VIII, 17, XIII, 1.
 Rathikanam Shāh. V, 12.
 Rathika-Pitnikana Mān. V, 22.
 rati Gir. VIII, 5; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 36.
 -rati Shāh. XIII, 12; Mān. XIII, 13.
 [ra]ti Sōp. VIII, 9.
 rabhasiye Shāh. XIII, 8.
 raya Shāh. I, 1, V, 11, VI, 14, IX, 18, X, 21, 22, XI, 23, XII, 1.
 -raso Gir. XIII, 10; Shāh. XIII, 11.
 -rāgo Gir. VII, 2.
 -rāja Gir. XIII, 8.
 rāja-vi[sa]yamhi Gir. XIII, 9.
 rājā Gir. I, 5, III, 1, IV, 8, V, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 2, IX, 1, X, 1, 2, 3, XI, 1, XII, 1.
 -rājā Gir. II, 3.
 rājāno Gir. II, 4, VIII, 1, XIII, 8.
 rājūke Gir. III, 2.

rāñā Gir. I, 2, IV, 12, XIV, 1.
 rāño Gir. I, 7, 8, II, 1, 4, IV, 2, 5, 8, VIII, 5.
 Ri(Rā)stika-P[e]tenikānam Gir. V, 5.
 ruchhani Mān. II, 8.
 rupani Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13.
 rūpāni Gir. IV, 4.
 rochetu Shāh. XIII, 11.
 ropapita Mān. II, 7, 8.
 [ropa]pi[tani] Mān. II, 8.
 ropāpu[ā] Gir. II, 8.
 ropāpitāni Gir. II, 6, 7.

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lakhane Tōp. V, 19.
 laghamti Tōp. IV, 8.
 lajā Kāl. X, 27, 28.
 lajāne Kāl. XIII, 7.
 lajinā Kāl. XIV, 19.
 la[ju]k[e] Dhau. III, 1.
 lajūka Ar. IV, 2, 5, 6.
 lajūkā Tōp. IV, 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, VII, 22.
 lajūkānam Tōp. IV, 13.
 laj[ū]k[e] Kāl. III, 7.
 Lathika-[P]itenikesu Dhau. V, 4.
 -lati Kāl. XIII, 18.
 ladha Shāh. XIII, 11.
 ladham Shāh. IX, 20.
 ladhā Gir. XIII, 10.
 ladhe Kāl. IX, 27, XIII, 5, 12; Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, 9, 11.
 ladhesha(shu) Kāl. XIII, 35.
 ladh[e]shu Kāl. XIII, 39; Shāh. XIII, 2; Mān. XIII, 2.
 ladhesu Gir. XIII, 1.
 ladho Gir. XIII, 8; Shāh. XIII, 8.
 [la]pitam Shāh. XIV, 13.
 la[p]it[e] Kāl. XIV, 21 f.; Mān. XIV, 14.
 -lase Kāl. XIII, 13.
 laha(hu)kā Kāl. XII, 32.
 l[a]hiye All. Kauś. 2.
 lahu Tōp. VII, 30.
 lahuka Shāh. XII, 3, XIII, 11; Mān. XII, 3.
 lahukā Gir. XII, 3; Kāl. XIII, 14.
 [lahuke] Tōp. VII, 24.
 lahu-da[m]data Shāh. XIII, 11.
 lahu-damdata Kāl. XIII, 16 f.
 lahey[ū] Jau. Sep. II, 6.
 lahevu Dhau. Sep. II, 5.
 lā(li)khāpetavaya Rūp. 5.
 -lāgā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 1.
 -lā[g]e Kāl. VII, 21.
 Lāghulovāde Calc. 5 f.
 lāja Kāl. IV, 11; Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Tōp. I, 1, II, 10, III, 17, IV, 1, V, 1, VI, 1; Bar. III, 1.
 l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. II, 1.
 lā[ja]-viśavashi Kāl. XIII, 9.
 lājā Kāl. I, 2, III, 6, V, 13, VI, 17, VII, 21, VIII, 22, IX, 24, X, 28, XI, 29, XII, 31; Dhau. III, 1, IV, 5, V, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 2, IX, 1, X, 1; Jau. I, 2, III, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, IX, 1, Sep. II, 5, 6, 10; Tōp. VII, 11, 14, 19, 23, 26, 28, 29; All. I, 1, II, 1, III, 1, V, 1; Calc. 1.
 -lājā Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 2.
 lajāne Dhau. II, 2, VIII, 1; Jau. II, 2; Tōp. VII, 12, 15.
 lā[j]āno Kāl. II, 5.
 laj[ā]la[dh]i Dhau. Sep. I, 15.
 lājā[la*]dhī Jau. Sep. I, 8.
 lajina Rum. 1; Nig. 1.
 lajinā Kāl. IV, 13; Dhau. I, 1, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, II, 2; Bar. I, 1, II, 1.
 lajine Kāl. I, 2, 3, II, 4, 5, IV, 9, 10, 11, VIII, 23, XIII, 35; Dhau. I, 3, IV, 2, 3, 5, 8, VIII, 3, Sep. I, 26; Jau. I, 3, II, 1, IV, 2, 6, VIII, 4, Sep. II, 11.
 lajihi Tōp. VII, 24.
 lati Kāl. VIII, 23.
 lāti-satā Sah. 6 f.
 -lābhesu Gir. IX, 2.
 [li]khapita Mān. I, 1, XIV, 13.
 likhapitu(ta) Shāh. I, 1.
 likhapite Mān. IV, 18.
 likhapesami Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14.
 [likhāpayatha] Sah. 8.
 [likhāpa]yāthā Sah. 7.
 likhā[pa]yāmi Calc. 8.
 likhāpayisam Gir. XIV, 3.
 likhāpāpita Tōp. VII, 31.
 likhāpita Ar. I, 2, II, 3, IV, 1, VI, 1, 5.
 likhāpita Kāl. XIV, 19; Dhau. I, 1; Jau. I, 1; Tōp. I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10.
 likhita Shāh. I, 3; Mān. I, 4, V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 12; Dhau. Sep. I, 19; Jau. Sep. II, 14.
 likhitam Gir. XIV, 3, 5; Shāh. XIV, 14; Jā. 21.
 likhitā Gir. I, 10, V, 9; Kāl. XIII, 15; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, Sep. II, 9; Jau. I, 4, VI, 6, Sep. I, 10.
 likhite Kāl. IV, 12, XIV, 21, 23; Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. IV, 18, XIV, 14; Dhau. IV, 7, 8, XIV, 2, 3; Brah. 13.
 likhiyis[āmi*] Dhau. XIV, 2.
 lipi Dhau. Sep. I, 17, 19, II, 9, 10.
 -lipi Kāl. I, 1, 3, V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 15, XIV, 19; Tōp. I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10.
 lipim Sār. 7.
 lipikarāparadhena Gir. XIV, 6.
 li[pi]kareṇa Brah. 13; Jā. 22.
 li[p]ikalapalādhena Kāl. XIV, 23.
 lipi Jau. Sep. I, 9, 10, II, 14, 15; Sār. 6.
 -lipi Gir. I, 1, 10, V, 9, VI, 13, XIV, 1; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, 4, VI, 6; All. VI, 3.
 -libi Tōp. VII, 31, 32.
 Lūmmini-gāme Rum. 4.
 lukhāni Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4.
 lupāni Kāl. IV, 10.
 lupāni Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3.

lekhāpitaṁ Gir. IV, 11, 12.
lekhāpitā Gir. I, 2, VI, 13, XIV, 1.
lekhāpeta Rūp. 4.
lekhāpeśāmi Kāl. XIV, 21.
lekhitā Kāl. I, 1, 3, IV, 13, V, 17, VI, 20.
-loka Dhau. Sep. II, 6.
-loka- Gir. VI, 9, 11, 14, colophon;
Kāl. VI, 19, 20; Shāh. VI, 15, 16; Mān. VI, 30, 32; Dhau. VI, 4, 5, 7; Jau. VI, 5, 7.
-loka[m] Dhau. Sep. II, 6.
lokasa Tōp. VII, 28; Ar. VI, 1, 2.
lokasā Tōp. VI, 2, 4.
loke Tōp. VII, 24, 28.
-logarā Jau. Sep. II, 7.
-lochayitu Kāl. XIV, 23; Dhau. XIV, 3.
lochetavyā Gir. IV, 12.
-locheti Shāh. XIV, 14.
lochetu Kāl. XIII, 17.
-lochetpā Gir. XIV, 6.
lo[ch]e[sh]u Shāh. IV, 10.
lopāpitā Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 3, 4; Jau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.
lopāpitāni Dhau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.
lopitāni Kāl. II, 6.

V

va (= ēva) Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. IX, 18, 19, X, 22, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7, XIV, 14; Mān. III, 10, IX, 6, 7, X, 10, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7; Dhau. IV, 1, Sep. I, 7, 23, II, 5; Jau. IV, 1; Tōp. III, 21, VII, 30; Ar. III, 2; Rūp. 3; Sah. 3; Mas. 6.
va (=vā) Gir. V, 5, 8, VI, 2, 3, 7, 9, VII, 2, 3, IX, 5, 7, 8, X, 1, 2, 4, XI, 1, 3, XII, 2, 3, 5, 8, XIII, 2, 3, 4, 6, XIV, 5, 6; Kāl. XII, 31, XIII, 37; Shāh. V, 12, &c.; Mān. V, 22, &c.; Dhau. V, 1, 2, 6, 7, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2, Sep. I, 20, 21; Jau. V, 2, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2; Tōp. IV, 14, 17, 18, V, 8; Ar. IV, 2, 7, 8, V, 7; All. Qu. 3.
va (*abbreviation for* vasāni) Rūp. 1.
vaṁṇanato Shāh. III, 7.
vagām Dhau. Sep. I, 24.
[va]ge Jau. Sep. I, 5.
vagenā Kāl. X, 28.
vagreṇa Shāh. X, 22; Mān. X, 11.
vacha-guti Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 2; Mān. XII, 2.
-vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1.
vachanena Dhau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; Brah. 1; Śidd. 2.
v[a]chanenā All. Qu. 1.
vacha-bh[u]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34.
vacha-bhūmikā Gir. XII, 9.
vachamhi Gir. VI, 3.
vachasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.
vachi-gutī Gir. XII, 3.
v[a]ṭitaviya Jau. Sep. I, 7.
va[ṭ]ita[v]ij[e] Dhau. Sep. I, 13.
-vaṭikā All. Qu. 3.

-vaṭikyā Tōp. VII, 23.
vaḍhati Tōp. IV, 20.
vaḍhayati Gir. XII, 4; Mān. XII, 4.
vaḍhayisati Gir. IV, 7; Dhau. IV, 5; Jau. IV, 5.
vaḍhi Shāh. IV, 10; Rūp. 4.
-vaḍhi Kāl. XII, 31, 34, 35; Shāh. XII, 2, 8, 9; Mān. XII, 2, 7, 9; Tōp. VI, 3, VII, 29, 30.
vaḍhita Ar. I, 4.
vaḍhitam Shāh. IV, 9.
vaḍhitā Tōp. I, 6, VII, 28, 29, 30.
vaḍhite Gir. IV, 5, 7; Kāl. IV, 10; Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14; Dhau. IV, 1, 3, 5; Jau. IV, 1, 5; Nig. 2.
vaḍhito Gir. IV, 1; Shāh. IV, 7.
vaḍhithā Tōp. VII, 14, 17.
-vaḍhiya Shāh. V, 12.
vaḍhiyati Kāl. XII, 32.
-vaḍhiyā Kāl. V, 15; Tōp. VII, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22.
-[va]ḍhiye Dhau. V, 4.
vaḍhiṣati Shāh. IV, 9.
vaḍhisamti Tōp. VII, 29.
vaḍhisata (*read* °siti) Rūp. 4.
vaḍhisati Tōp. VII, 22, 28; Ar. I, 4; Sah. 5, 6; Bair. 7, 8.
vaḍhisiti Rūp. 4; Mas. 7 f.; Brah. 7, 8; Śidd. 14, 15.
vaḍhi Dhau. IV, 7.
-vaḍhi Gir. XII, 2, 8, 9.
vaḍhiṣati Tōp. I, 6.
vaḍheti Shāh. XII, 4.
vaḍheyā Tōp. VII, 13, 16, 18.
-vataṁ Kāl. X, 27.
vataviya Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1.
vataviyam Brah. 10; Śidd. 17; Jaṭ. 14.
vataviyā Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; All. Qu. 2; Mas. 6 f.; Brah. 1; Śidd. 3.
vataviye Kāl. IX, 25, XI, 30, XII, 34; Mān. IX, 5, XI, 13, XII, 7; Dhau. IX, 4, Sep. I, 13.
vatavo Shāh. IX, 19, XI, 24, XII, 8.
vatavyam Gir. IX, 5, XI, 3, XII, 8.
vadha Kāl. XIII, 36; Shāh. XIII, 3.
-vadhānam Tōp. IV, 16.
vadhi Gir. IV, 11; Kāl. IV, 12, 13.
vadhi-kukute Tōp. V, 9.
vadhite Kāl. IV, 9, 11; Mān. IV, 12.
-vadhi[y.] Tōp. V, 8.
-vadhiyāni Tōp. V, 2.
vadhiyisati Kāl. IV, 11.
-vadhiye Tōp. V, 13.
[va]ḍhi Gir. IV, 11.
vadhe Kāl. XIII, 37; Mān. XIII, 5.
vadho Gir. XIII, 2; Shāh. XIII, 5.
-vadhya Ar. V, 6.
-vadhyāni Ar. V, 1.
-vadhye Ar. V, 8.
vadhra(dhri) Mān. IV, 18.
vadhraiṣati Mān. IV, 15.
vadhri Mān. IV, 17.
vadhrite Mān. IV, 15.
-vadhriya Mān. V, 22.
-vanasi Tōp. V, 14.
vapaṭa Shāh. V, 12, XII, 9.
vapuṭa Mān. V, 22, 25, XII, 8.

vayajanenā Rūp. 5.
-vayata Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, 11.
vayo-mahālakānam Tōp. VII, 29.
-varsa- Gir. VIII, 2.
-valākesu Tōp. VII, 29.
-vaśa- Kāl. IV, 13.
-vasha- Kāl. XIII, 35; Shāh. III, 5, IV, 10, V, 11, VIII, 17, XIII, 1; Mān. III, 9, IV, 18, V, 21, VIII, 35, XIII, 1.
vashati Kāl. XIII, 37.
vasha-śatani Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. IV, 12.
vasha-śatehi Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14.
vashā[ni] Mas. 2.
vasheshu Shāh. III, 6; Mān. III, 9.
-vasa- Kāl. III, 7, V, 14, VIII, 22; Dhau. III, 1, V, 3, VIII, 2; Jau. III, 1; Tōp. I, 2, IV, 1, V, 1, 19, VI, 2, 9, VII, 31; Rum. 1; Nig. 1, 3; Bar. I, 1, II, 2, III, 2.
vasati Shāh. XIII, 4.
vasana Shāh. XIII, 5.
vasa-satāni Kāl. IV, 9; Dhau. IV, 1; Jau. IV, 1.
vasa-satehi Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3.
-vasāni Calc. 5.
vasāni Dhau. IV, 8, Sep. I, 24; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Śidd. 4.
vaseyu Gir. VII, 1; Shāh. VII, 2; Mān. VII, 32.
vas[e]vu Kāl. VII, 21.
[va]sevū Dhau. VII, 1.
vasesu Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. III, 2, Sep. I, 21 f.; Jau. III, 2, Sep. I, 11.
vā *passim*.
vā (= ēva) Kāl. III, 7, IV, 9, X, 28, 29, XII, 33, XIII, 39; Jau. X, 2, Sep. II, 5; Tōp. III, 18; Calc. 3.
v[ā]tave Calc. 4.
-vādam Calc. 6.
vālata Rūp. 4.
-vālīchalesu Tōp. II, 13.
-vāsa- Gir. III, 1, IV, 12, V, 4.
vāsa-satāni Gir. IV, 1.
v[āsa]-satehi Gir. IV, 4.
vā[sā]petaviy[e] Sām. 7.
vāsesu Gir. III, 2.
virṇapayitaviye Sār. 5.
viketaviye Tōp. V, 13.
vigadabhi Rum. 3.
vijay[a] Kāl. XIII, 16.
vijayam Gir. XIII, 11; Kāl. XIII, 17; Shāh. XIII, 11.
vija[yaṁ*] Shāh. XIII, 11.
vijayataviya Kāl. XIII, 16.
vi[ja]yashi Kāl. XIII, 16.
-vijayashi Kāl. XIII, 13 f.
-vijayaspi Shāh. XIII, 11.
vijaye Gir. XIII, 11; Kāl. XIII, 13; Shāh. XIII, 8, 11; Mān. XIII, 9, 11; Dhau. XIV, 2; Jau. XIV, 1.
-vijaye Kāl. XIII, 5, 17; Mān. XIII, 9.
vijayo Gir. XIII, 10; Shāh. XIII, 10, 11.

-vijayo Shāh. XIII, 8, 12.
 vi[ḥ]ita Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, 1.
 vijitam Gir. XIV, 3.
 -vijitam Kāl. XIII, 36; Shāh. XIII, 3.
 vijitamhi Gir. II, 1.
 vijitasi Kāl. II, 4, III, 7, V, 16; Mān. II, 5, III, 9, V, 25, XIII, 8; Dhau. II, 1, III, 1; Jau. II, 1.
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 -saṅpatipati Kāl. IV, 9; Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 1, Sep. I, 15; Jau. Sep. I, 8.
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 hveyū Jau. Sep. I, 6, II, 5.

CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv–xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning ‘on tour’, assigned to *vyushṭa*, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 5, 30, viz. ‘having spent the night (in prayer)’. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1106 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J–K of the Sahasrām edict (Text, p. 171) as follows: ‘And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).’ The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But *vivāsayātha* at Sārṇāth (section I, p. 162) and *vivasetaṇā[ya]* (read *vivāsetaviye*) at Rūpnāth (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but ‘expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)’; and *vivāsāpayāthā* at Sārṇāth (section J, p. 162) would mean ‘issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns)’. See Thomas, JRAS, 1915. 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. *For* instruction *read* exhortation.

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom. *Read as follows*: The two Sanskrit masculines *prāṇa* and *vyiksha* are used as neuters: *pānāni* (I, 3, 4) and [*lu*]kḥāni² (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. *Add*: According to the *Suttanipāta*, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkāka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows.

Page 12, Roman text, line 12. *For* ta² (M) etāya *read* (M) ta etāya.

„ „ Cancel note 2.

„ 13, section (M). *For*: For the following purpose *read*: Now for the following purpose.

„ 15, note 7, line 4. *For* XIII, I *read* XIII, l. 4.

„ 56, note 21. For the Rāshṭrikas see the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.

„ 69, section (M). *For* converts *read* exhorts.

„ „ note 3. *Add*: See also *Kāvyaṇṇakāṣa*, sec. ed., p. 57. मञ्च हसन्ति occurs already in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ. IV, 1, 48, *Vārttika* 3.

„ 73, Roman text, line 9. *For* duva[.a]śa- *read* duva[ḍa]śa-.

„ 95, line 3. *For* (thus) *read* (this).

„ 96, section (N). *For* arise to you *read* arise in you.

„ „ „ (T). *For* badly fulfils this duty *read* fulfils this duty badly.

„ 97, „ (V). *For* edict *read* rescript.

„ „ „ (CC), line 3. *For* thus, as *read* just as.

„ 99, Translation, section (A). *For* (thus) *read* (this).

„ „ „ „ (E), line 2. *For* thus *read* so.

„ 100, section (I). *For* inspire confidence to them *read* inspire them with confidence.

Page 100, section (J). *For* entertain *read* maintain.

„ „ „ (K). *For* inspire confidence to those (borderers) *read* inspire those (borderers) with confidence.

„ 100, section (M). *For* inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) *read* inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.

„ 119, Nāgarī text, line 4. *For* सुसूयाया *read* सुसूयाया.

„ „ Roman text, line 4. *For* su[sū]yāyā *read* su[sū]sāyā.

„ 133, note 6, line 3. *For* kākāpāda *read* kākāpada.

„ 137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN). *For* conversion *read* exhortation.

„ 142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For* sukataṁ *read* sukaṭaṁ.

„ 145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgarī text, line 3. *For* हेव *read* हेवं.

„ 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. *For* sukataṁ *read* sukaṭaṁ.

„ 179, line 19. *For* . . . [ki]tī *read* . . [ki]tī.

„ 184, line 23. *For* tim *read* tīm.

„ 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For* [āl]as[y]e[na] *read* [āla]s[y]e[na].

~~V.A.~~
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